



LAILA AND MAJNUN

Early 18th century

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TO THE MURDERED PEOPLES

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

(Translated)

THE horrors of war perpetrated during these last thirty months * have rudely shaken the minds of thoughtful persons in the West. The martyrdom of Belgium Serbia Poland — of all the miserable countries of Eastern Europe trodden down by invasion can no longer be forgotten. But if these iniquities revolt us because we are their victims what of the fifty years and more during which the civilisation of Europe has practised the same evils or allowed others to practise them around her?

* Who can say what price the Red Sultan of Turkey paid to his mutes of the European Press and of the Embassies for the blood of two hundred thousand Armenians slaughtered during the first massacre of 1894—1895? Who has ever raised his voice against the sufferings of the people delivered over as a prey to the rapine and plunder of colonial expeditions? Who when a single corner of the veil is lifted up from this or that part of the field of misery — Damiraland or Congo — has been able to endure the sight without horror? What civilised man can recall without a blush the massacres of Manchuria and of the China expedition of 1900—1901 when the Emperor of Germany gave Attila to his soldiers for an example and the united armies of civilisation rivalled one another in acts of vandalism against a culture more ancient and lofty than their own?

What help has Western Europe given to the persecuted races of Eastern Europe?

* The article was written by Romain Rolland in November 1911 (C.F.A.)

What help to Jews Finns Poles? What help to Turkey Egypt China in the day of their struggle towards self regeneration?

For sixty years China poisoned by the opium of India longed to deliver herself from the bondage of the evil which was killing her. She found after two wars and a humiliating treaty the opium poison (which had brought 11 000 000 000 francs into the coffers of the East India Company) forcibly imposed upon her by England. And even after China today has completed the heroic task of ridding herself in ten years of her deadly disease she has needed all the pressure of indignant public opinion brought upon European States to compel the most civilised of them to renounce the profits which the poisoning of a whole people brought into their banks. Yet what wonder is there in this when Western Governments have not yet renounced the income they obtain by poisoning with alcohol their own people?

On one occasion writes M. Arnold Porret a missionary of the Gold Coast of Africa told me how the negroes explained the war in which Europeans had become white. The God of all the world asked the Europeans sternly —

What have you done with your brother?

They became pale

Western civilisation today has the odour of a dead body. It has called in the grave diggers. Asia is on the watch.

The civilisation of Europe said the great Hindu Rabindranath Tagore last

shapeless and deformed mystical exhalations of the soul drunk with the Infinite seeking an unhealthy gluttony of joy by suffering self-inflicted and inflicted on others insanely conceived tyrannies of the reason when it claims to impose the unity that it does not possess but only desires inflamed vagaries of the imagination lighting up the remembrance of the past, learned phantasmagoria of historic records that have received official sanction patriotic history or history written in such a way as to brandish woe to the conquered or glory to the conquered according to requirement. And then surging upon the tide of passions all the secret demons which Society casts up as the tide ebbs in times of peace and order. Each one of us finds himself enlaced in the arms of this Octopus. Each one finds in himself the same confusion of good and evil forces bound and entangled together in an inextricable skein.

From all this comes the feeling of fatalism which crushes down mankind in the presence of such a crisis. Yet it is only discouragement before the magnitude of the task which stands in the way of deliverance. If each one did what he could and nothing more there would be no fatalism at all. The fatalism from which we suffer is made up of each man's weak surrender. In giving in each one becomes responsible for the weakness of others.

But the shares of responsibility are not equal. Honour to whom honour is due. In the medley of European politics today the biggest factor is Money. The hand that holds the chain binding the body social is Wealth—Wealth and his band of satellites. Wealth is the true master the true head of the State. Wealth is responsible for the back-doors of our Chambers of Commerce and for our shady business transactions.* Not that we can make

this or that group this or that individual responsible for the evils from which we suffer. We are not such simpletons as all that! No let us have done with scapegoats! They are too comfortably convenient!

When we read the history of the great German capitalists who purchased mines in Normandy and between the years 1908-1913 had become owners of one-fifth part of the mineral sub-soil of France and then used this ore in their own great steel factories to make the cannon which the German armies are now firing then we can get some idea of the lengths to which moneyed men will go till they become indifferent to anything else—like Midas of old who turned into gold everything he touched. Do not however attribute to them vast designs and dark. They do not look so far ahead. They only seek to amass quickly as big a heap as possible. That which finds its climax in them is that anti-social selfishness which is the plague of our present age. These wealth-seekers are merely representative men in an age enslaved to money. The learned men the Press the politicians—the herds of the different States—those puppets of a tragic peep-show all these whether they like it or not are the instruments of the money-makers who use them for a screen.* And oh the stupidity of the peoples—their fatal submission to their mysterious depths of ancestral savagery,

CHARLES in *Pages Libres* January 13 1907. The power of financial oligarchies collective and independent of all control has appeared clearly in the government of the States of Europe—republics and monarchies alike.

* Let me quote a few lines from Manoris who is so lucid when he does not give himself over as a prey to his own fixed idea—The Money State is now the Minister in charge gilding and decorating with titles the intellect while it puzzles it and sends it to sleep. It can when it likes prevent the intellect from knowing a single point of truth and if it sees the truth from speaking about it and if it speaks about it from being listened to and heard. How can a country know its own need if those who know them can be put under the constraint of silence, by a moralist or?

What a true picture of the present time!

* Read the series of illuminating public articles during the last ten years by Francis Delais—for example that of January 1 1907 in *Pages Libres* on External Affairs of 1906 (the Algerian year). One can see there a good example of what I call Inductively Deductive. As a supplement to this read the financial article of the *Revue* (Nov. December 1906) signed Lys and the commentary on it by Paul R.

rices—the most to blame side by side with the least to blame—brothers in blood and suffering brothers in a common misfortune now be brothers in pardon and resurrection!

Forget your spite and hate which will ruin you altogether. Wear the black robes of your common sorrows, they smite all the great family of mankind. In your common grief in the common slaughter of millions of your brothers you have obtained already a sense of your deep unity. After the War this unity must bring down to the ground the barriers which shameless interest will wish to build up stronger than ever.

If this unity is not accomplished—if this war has not for its first fruits—a social renewal of all the nations—then farewell Europe Queen of Thought Guide of Mankind! You have lost your way you tread a cemetery—your place is there. Lie there sleep there! Let others lead the world.

All Souls Day 1916

(This translation has aimed at giving the spirit of the original. It is not strictly literal C.F.A.)

Illustrative Passages

[The above pamphlet was written by Roman Rollin as the first part of the booklet which he published. The second part is taken up with the following illustrative passages from the Poet Rabindranath Tagore's lecture entitled—India's message to Japan.]

When things stood still like this and we in Asia hypnotised ourselves into the belief that it could never by any possibility be otherwise Japan rose from her dreams and in giant strides left centuries of inaction behind overtaking the present time in its foremost achievement.

One morning the whole world looked up in surprise when Japan broke through her walls of old habits in a night and came out triumphant.

Japan the child of the Ancient East, has also fearlessly claimed all the gifts of the modern age for herself. She has shown her bold spirit in breaking through the confinements of habits, useless accumulations of the busy mind seeking safety in its thrift and its locks and keys. Thus she has come

in contact with the living time and has accepted with eagerness and aptitude the responsibilities of modern civilization.

This it is which has given heart to the rest of Asia. We have seen that the life and the strength are there in us only the dead crust has to be removed. We have seen that taking shelter in the dead is death itself and only taking all the risk of life to the fullest extent is living.

Japan has imported her food from the West but not her vital nature. Japan can not altogether lose and merge herself in the sentimentality which she has acquired from the West and be turned into a mere borrowed machine. She has her own soul which must assert itself over all her requirements.

The whole world waits to see what this great Eastern nation is going to do with the opportunities and responsibilities she has accepted from the hands of the modern time. If it be a mere reproduction of the West then the great expectation she has raised will remain unfulfilled. For there are grave questions that the Western civilization has presented before the world but not completely answered. The conflict between the individual and the state, labour and capital, the man and the woman, the conflict between the greed of material gain and the spiritual life of man, the organised selfishness of nations and the higher ideals of humanity, the conflict between all the ugly complexities inseparable from grant organisations of commerce and state and the natural instincts of man crying for simplicity and beauty and fulness of leisure—all these have to be brought to a harmony in a manner not yet dreamt of.

Therefore you cannot with a light heart accept the modern civilization with all its tendencies, methods and structures and dream that they are inevitable. You must apply your Eastern mind, your spiritual strength, your love of simplicity, your recognition of social obligation in order to cut out a new path for this great unwieldy car of progress shrieking out its loud discords as it runs. You must minimise the

that shattered itself to pieces against the eternal

The East with her ideals in whose bosom are stored the ages of sunlight and silence of stars can patiently wait till the West hurrying after the expedient loses breath and stops Europe while busily speeding to her engagements disdainfully casts her glance from her carriage window to the reaper reaping his harvest in the field and in her intoxication of speed can not but think him is slow and ever receding backwards But the speed comes to its end the engagement loses its meaning and the hungry heart clamours for food till at last she comes to the lowly reaper reaping his harvest in the sun For if the office can not wait or the buying and selling or the craving for excitement love wants and beauty and the wisdom of suffering and the fruits of patient devotion and reverent meekness of simple faith And thus shall wait the East till her time comes

Eastern Asia has been pursuing its own path evolving its own civilization which was not political but social not predatory and mechanically efficient but spiritual and based upon all the varied and deeper relations of humanity The solutions of the life problems of peoples were thought out in seclusion and carried out behind the

security of aloofness where all the dynastic changes and foreign invasions hardly touched them But now we are overtaken by the outside world our seclusion is lost for ever Yet this we must not regret as a plant should never regret when the obscurity of its seed time is broken Now the time has come when we must make the world problem our own problem we must bring the spirit of our civilization into harmony with the history of all nations of the earth we must not in foolish pride still keep ourselves fast within the shell of the seed and the crust of the earth which protected and nourished our ideals for these the shell and the crust were meant to be broken so that life may spring up in all its vigour and beauty bringing its offerings to the world in open light

In this task of breaking the barrier and facing the world Japan has come out the first in the East She has infused hope in the heart of all Asia This hope provides the hidden fire which is needed for all works of creation Asia now feels that she must prove her life by producing living work she must not be passively dormant or feebly imitate the West in the infatuation of fear or flattery For this we offer our thanks to this land of the rising sun and solemnly ask her to remember that she has the mission of the East to fulfil

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE YELLOW PERIL

SOME weeks ago Field Marshall Sir Douglas Haig in the course of a discussion of the political problems of the future and its perils expressed his conviction that certain changes were necessary in order that the British Empire might successfully weather the impending storms One point in his address was of especial interest to India He contended that a new spirit of comradeship must be infused into the relations of its various parts and pointed out with soldierly directness that

the only means of accomplishing this was by securing to every nation under the Imperial Aegis equal rights privileges and responsibilities

As far as one is able to appreciate his position from the summary available it would appear to be this —The British Empire both because of its geographical diffusion and the wide racial diversities which exist within it has only one hope of successfully solving the problems which will face it in the coming age This hope

He shaped it out of cloud and clay
 He touch'd it finely till the steel
 Possessed the flower from a heart that felt
 He fed it with large thoughtful humane
 To help a People's need
 He brought it out into the sun—
 They blessed it to his face
 'Oh great pure Deed that first un lone
 So many bad and base
 Oh generous Deed heroic Deed
 Come forth! Be perfected Succeed
 Deliver by God's grace
 Then Sovereigns Statesmen north and south
 Rose up in wrath and fear
 An heroic protesting by one month
 What monster have we here
 A great Deed at this hour of day
 A great just Deed—and not for pay
 Absurd—or sincere

There is no use to complete the above
 Times have changed since the lines were
 written and we trust and believe that
 Mr Montagu's great deed will not be
 too great for the age in which we live
 If it is then alas for the age

As this paper has been headed *Some
 Thoughts on the Yellow Peril* it will
 probably occur to the reader to question
 what relation the foregoing bears to that
 subject. In the writer's opinion a very
 intimate connection exists

In the course of his speech Sir Douglas
 Haig expressed his fear of an eruption of
 the yellow races as a possibility of the
 future. He also spoke of other Oriental
 races as presenting potential perils if the
 discontent arising from unfair treatment
 and racial discrimination were allowed to
 grow. An Anglican Bishop also has recently
 been expressing himself in England upon
 this so-called Yellow Peril and in
 America its possibilities have been long a
 subject of discussion. In the opinion of
 the writer of the article the peril is a very
 real one. Given certain circumstances it
 would appear highly probable that the
 next hundred years may witness a struggle
 before the magnitude of which the recent
 war will assume insignificant proportions.

Yet it is hardly fair to call it the
Yellow Peril. Thousands of years have
 elapsed without any attempt upon the
 part of the Far East to encroach upon the
 West. History furnishes no indications
 that military aggressiveness has been a
 part of the genius of China—or even of

Japan until she came under the influence
 of the Western Spirit

No if such a catastrophe ever takes
 place it will be because the views of such
 bodies as for example the Indo British
 Association succeed in gaining sufficient
 power to mould the view point and policy
 of Europe and America

We are convinced that they never will—
 that they are the manifestations of a
 dying school of thought (or thoughtless-
 ness) and that a nobler broader concep-
 tion of national responsibility and obliga-
 tion is even now displacing it. But they
 are for all that the expression of a mental
 attitude which has largely influenced the
 political attitude and actions of Europe
 in the past. Of this there can be no
 doubt. We might go even further and
 assert that even at this moment those in
 the West upon whom the broader and
 juster vision has dawned are a micro-
 scopic minority, howbeit an influential and
 growing one

Let us examine as far as we may the
 mental attitude of the average Western
 and see if what we find does not have a
 vital bearing upon the question of the so
 called Yellow Peril. In order to do so
 it will be needful for us to glance very
 briefly at the relations which existed
 between Europe and the Orient in ancient
 times

In the days of Greek and later of
 Roman ascendancy in the West the great
 nations of the Orient—especially India—
 were treated as equals. The learning of
 the Brahmins and Gymnosophists was
 highly spoken of and in the days of Pliny
 India's trade with Europe brought her in
 nearly fifty million sesterces in coin per
 annum. Embassies were exchanged upon
 several occasions between Rome and
 various Indian potentates and the Emperor
 Trajan is reported by Dion Cassius to
 have entertained one such embassy with
 great magnificence and to have given its
 members senators seats at the theatre.
 There is also ample evidence that at one
 time there were Roman soldiers serving in
 the bodyguards of Indian kings. The
 writings of Clement of Alexandria
 contain allusions to India based upon

conviction will be apparent that there is no true civilization but his own. If the reader will consider for a moment he will perceive how fully this accounts for the attitude of the average Western to the people he comes in contact with in the East.

With the earlier phases of modern Western mental development it is not our purpose to deal in this paper. The later ones are much in evidence in these days and most enlightening. In less than a century the West has claimed the right to subordinate the wishes and aspirations of the rest of the world to the exigencies of that form of civilization which she has evolved for herself. There can be no doubt of this. In spite of the fact that she even now staggers, torn and bleeding as a result of the peculiarities of her system, her confidence in it appears little shaken. What other conclusion can be drawn from the new system of mandates she has just evolved? Does it not imply the conviction that she considers it her duty to guide the destinies of other races—races that do not appear likely to conform of themselves to the system she has evolved? Indeed one hears much loose talk about her duty to them and the various aspects of the white man's burden are receiving a good deal of honest attention set down at the root of the matter is not the position of most people crudely this? We the enlightened nations have evolved a superior form of civilization based upon an orderly system of barter and trade. Our programme includes the use of your raw materials which we consider vital to our welfare. We propose in exchange to sell you our manufactures and if you are not yet sufficiently civilized to appreciate and desire them we shall take steps to make you so. If you consent to this and take no measures to protect your own industries at the expense of ours we shall permit you to govern yourselves provided always that no political exigency arises which would make it necessary for us to annex you. If this should ever become necessary we shall of course confer upon you the blessings of education and what little share in the management of your own affairs your natural

lack of ability and incapacity makes possible.

This seems to the writer to express the average view point of the West at its best until comparatively recently. At its worst it was merely a scramble to plant the flag of one's country upon the shore of any island or continent where the flag of no other powerful European country had been previously set up and quite irrespective of the wishes of its inhabitants claim it as belonging to one's king.

During the early part of last century however a new spirit began to evince itself. Men began to understand that these many arbitrary acquisitions brought with them responsibilities to consider the welfare of the people upon whom they had forced their rule. At first there were only a few solitary voices raised on behalf of this new ideal but with the years the vision grew until at the time of this writing the Imperial Government not only admits the right of the people of India to a present real share in the administration of their country but also acknowledges that the time must come before long when Indians shall govern India within the Empire.

Yet here arises a difficulty. To admit a right is one thing to have the courage to grant it quite another. Not only as regards India but also as regards the whole question of the relations of the present dominant races to the rest of the world two schools of thought are fighting desperately—the old and the new. One represents the conviction of innate superiority involving the right to acquire and exploit without any reference to the desires and feelings of the exploited. The other—and so far as India is concerned Mr. Montagu seems to be its champion—represents the new spirit and the one upon which the future welfare of the world must depend. It embodies the recognition of the right—not merely of every Western nation—but of every nation to what the late German Kaiser used to call a place in the sun. It represents the honest attempt to make realities of the cant phrases and partly catch words of the last century and as it grows and develops it will

come to include the recognition of the right of every race whether great or small, to follow along orderly lines of progress its own destiny in accordance with its own desires and propensities. At present it has its limitations but it carries within it the germ of mankind's political and social salvation, because its conceptions are deep-rooted upon the eternal bed rock of justice.

The great question is—Will it triumph at this juncture? Or is it to be submerged by the older, grosser more selfish conception? If it is, let the world beware. If the West decides to reject the new light—to still uphold its ancient claim of a right to annex, control and exploit the rest of mankind, irrespective of their wishes and feelings, a time will come when the nations of Europe and America will have to face, not only a yellow peril, but the peril of all the races whose feelings and rights they have outraged through the centuries. It will not be in our day it may not even be in the days of our grandchildren but it will surely come. The rest of mankind will rise in indignation and with a might which justice gives the wronged, and ask 'By what authority do you arrogate to yourselves the right to parcel us among yourselves, to force us into treaties against our wills drawn up to your gain and our loss? You have denied us the right of entry into your own countries while claiming the right of entire freedom to do what you like in ours. Not only have you refused in your own lands any of the privileges you have claimed for yourselves in ours but even in the lands of

our birth you have denied us the rights which are ours by every moral law. In what lies your justification when you force us to destroy our own systems of life and social economy so that we may adopt ourselves to your needs? We do not admit your right, we refuse in future to live at your dictation. Be gone! We will have no more of you."

We do not believe that such a situation will arise. We cannot believe that the old dark point of view will conquer. But if it does, and if as a result the world is plunged into such a sea of devastation and distress as it has never seen before, upon whom will the guilt lie? Surely not upon those races who after suffering coercion and wrong for a long period of years, rise to defend themselves and to win that freedom which every true Englishman and American values more than life.

No, there is no "Yellow Peril," and if the West be true to its highest ideals, earnestly endeavouring to give the less powerful nations those rights and opportunities which it values for itself, such a peril will never arise.

But if the counsels of the reactionaries prevail, this Peril must always be taken into consideration and recognised as a potent factor of the future. Yet in justice it should be called—not the "Yellow Peril," but the "White Peril," for those who inflict the wrong must be held responsible for the result.

Kotgarh,
June 19, 1919

SAMUEL EVANS STOKES

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA THE BUSINESS OF THE STATE

By I. J. RAI

In my last educational article I have given long extracts from Mr Fisher's speeches because in my judgment they embody the fundamental principles of

national education, accepted by all competent authorities the world over. The schemes in force in different countries vary in detail but the principles underlying them

are the same. To us in India Mr Fisher's words are of greater significance than those of others equally well placed of other countries because of our political connection with England. Here is the chief educational authority of the Empire laying down certain principles and expounding truths which are according to him of general application in all self-respecting progressively minded communities. We the Indians in India are not yet free to determine our educational policy. Even with the promise of educational autonomy to provinces the last word will practically remain with the Imperial Government. The progress of popular education in India must for a long time depend on the good will of the British officials in charge of policies and vested with powers over revenues and funds. The words of a British minister of Education will be more to us in our discussions of educational policies and schemes than those of any other authority in any other part of the world. In the region of policy the example of Great Britain is the best for our purposes and I cannot sufficiently urge upon my countrymen the importance of using the British system as a fulcrum for the raising of educational standards in India.

This does not involve a blind imitation of British methods of education nor does it mean that we should neglect to profit from what is being done by the other great nations of the world especially the United States and Japan in this department of their national life. But on the whole Britain can teach us much in this line.

In adopting Britain as our model how ever we are not bound to pass through the same processes of experiment and wastage through which she has passed in her educational evolution. It is the height of stupidity and ignorance to argue that the evolution of any nation must proceed on the same lines as that of those that are now in the vanguard of progress in the world. Why should not the younger marcher profit from the mistakes of those that have gone ahead? Why should he not avoid the wastage involved in the failures and blunders of others? Of what use is history if its warnings cannot be heeded by those

to whom they are available? Let us therefore be on our guard against the fallacious argument that we must grow through the same mistakes of which the others have been guilty in their growth towards freedom.

Nor does this mean that we can neglect the various stages of development through which we must pass before we can come up to the level of those who started long ago. What we require is a rational and comprehensive scheme taking note of the general principles which have come to be universally accepted all the world over with special emphasis on our special needs and with due consideration of the stage of social evolution in which we are and also of our resources.

Now we may assume that the following general principles of national education are accepted all over the civilized world.

1. That national education being the surest and the most profitable national investment for gain as well as the best and the most effectual insurance against loss is as necessary for national safety as the military provision for its physical defence.

Among the lessons of this Great War the most important in my judgment is the value of education to a fighter from a military point of view. Personal bravery and courage must as ever continue to be an important element in war. But even more than that the fate and safety of nations have come to depend on the intelligence and efficiency of its fighting units. Wars are now virtually fought in schools. The numbers matter a great deal but even much more than the numbers matter intelligence, skill, efficiency and discipline. Then again the efficiency of a nation does not mean merely military efficiency; the latter is so much wound up with its economic and industrial efficiency.

Economic and industrial efficiency does not mean the mere possession of gold and silver but the brains and capacity of the whole nation to turn the gold and silver and other raw materials into modern arms and ammunitions—ships, submarines, torpedoes, guns and bullets are only the concrete completed forms containing numerous other parts the manufacture of

each of which requires technical skill of the highest order—and, last but not least, food and hospital necessities. Assuming therefore, that security from without is the first duty of a State, popular, universal education alone can make it possible under modern conditions.

The war has conclusively established the fact that the idea of a mercenary standing army, consisting mostly of illiterate units, is an obsolete one, also that India cannot be defended by British people alone, nor can India depend upon Great Britain for its supply of the sinews of war, be they arms and ammunitions or the numerous other things found vital in modern warfare. If the British had foreseen this and equipped India for the inevitable struggle, they could have crushed their enemy in comparatively less time, and with greater facility. Universal education of the best modern type is therefore, an absolute necessity for the future security of India and for all that, for the best interests of the Empire, which require that the human resources of the Indian Empire should be economized to the fullest extent. It is a crime to let them be wasted so flagrantly as they have been until now.

Universal popular education must be provided by the State and should be the first charge on State revenues. Any attempt to provide for national education by private agencies and private funds is futile and to attempt it is to attempt the impossible. Moreover it diverts public attention from the State.

A national system of education must be provided for, enforced, financed and controlled by the nation and in performing that function the nation must be represented by the State. It may be pointed out, as has in fact been done by Mr. B. G. Tilak, in his views on national education that in India the nation, not being represented by the State, that function must devolve, at least for some time, on private national agencies. The remedy, in my judgment, lies in concentrating our energies on the task of converting the State into a national agency. Along with that, we can use what powers we have or are conceded to us under the new scheme for

insisting on the State providing for universal national education befitting the needs of the nation and guaranteeing in war, as well as in peace, the fullest use and development of our human and industrial resources.

National education must be provided by the nation, and whether the State is representative of the nation or not, it must be made to provide for it. The nation should be made conscious of this.

2 The old idea that the State was only concerned with making provision for elementary education, is also gone. All over the world it is recognized that the duty of the State does not end with elementary education. The economic and industrial efficiency of the nation depends upon technical and industrial education, and that also must be provided by the State. Nor can the State ignore the necessity of higher education, for intelligent and efficient leadership depends on that.

3 Education does not consist in imparting certain amounts of book knowledge and teaching the three R's. It includes the provision for the physical development of the young. It embraces a provision for the general health of the child, including feeding if necessary, to such an extent as to ensure the fullest benefit to the child from the provision for his education made by the State.

4 In short the duty of bringing up and educating the child with a view to make him an efficient intelligent and prudent citizen lies on the State, and the State must be made to fulfil it. It no longer depends on the capacity or willingness of the parents.

Some great thinkers and educationalists such as Spinoza have maintained that the Government will if it controls the education of the nation, "aim to restrain, rather than develop the energies of men." Kant remarked the same differently.

The function of education, in the eyes of a dominant class is to produce skilled but obedient men as distinguished from self thinking and self reliant men. This theory presupposes the predominance of a particular class in the Government of the nation. Democratic ideals of government bar any such assumptions. The Imperial British Government has pledged itself to the dev

lopment of responsible Government on democratic lines in India. Our own ideal is the same. It may be that so long as we do not get full responsible government national education will more or less be under the thumb of the dominant class but then the remedy lies in our own hands. Constant vigilance, constant agitation, constant education of the public mind will be our duty so long as the goal is not reached and when the goal is reached our policy will be completely in our hands. Then there will be no danger of the control of education falling into hands other than those of the future Fishers of India.

At no time can or will private efforts to further education be dispensed with. Pending the development of full national Government, private effort must do a great deal of what the Government fails to do. In short private efforts should supplement the efforts of the Government without any pretence of supplanting it or doing what it is the latter's duty to do, and what it can under the circumstances be forced to do.

Private efforts therefore should be directed to fill up the gap left by State education and also to supply the particular needs of particular classes with a view to bring up every class in the nation to the level of general national efficiency. It seems that education is one of the subjects under the new scheme (which at the time of writing I have not seen) regarding which full responsibility is going to be thrown on Provincial Legislatures. Provincial Legislatures are already legislating in some provinces at least giving the local bodies power to declare it compulsory and to provide for it. Now sitting at such a distance I am unable to say much about these moves. As at present advised I am inclined to think that this may be the provincial vicious circle in which things move in India.

We have seen from Mr Fisher's speeches that in England the policy is laid down by the national Government and the bulk of funds are provided by them. For every 17 millions sterling provided by the local rates the national purse has been giving 16 millions and the present Government in spite of the awful strain of the war on its

finances has sanctioned the additional grant of another four millions from the national purse thus making the national contribution twenty millions as against the 17 millions realized from local rates.

What is going to happen in India I don't know but of one thing I am certain in my mind that the general outline of a scheme of national education in India must be laid down by an All India agency leaving the actual working out of the details to the Provincial and local bodies. This All India agency must have a majority of Indians on its personnel and the policy laid down by them must be accepted by the Government subject to the limitation of funds. What is needed is a national policy, a national scheme and a maximum grant of national funds for the purpose to be supplemented by Provincial taxes and local rates. Of course the first need of the nation is more schools and more teachers. The second is good schools and good contented teachers. The third is vocational schools including schools for instruction in commerce and foreign languages. The fourth is technological institutes. The fifth is continuation schools. The sixth is more high schools and more universities.

I do not suggest that all this should not be done simultaneously. But I believe that the bulk of the available funds must be reserved for some time to come for more schools and more teachers to give instruction to the children of the nation on national lines.

In my judgment the first ten years of our national effort should be mainly devoted to (a) the increase of literacy, (b) the production of literate, skilled labour conscious of its rights as human beings and conscious of its rights as members of the body politic, (c) multiplication and training of the teachers with as great an increase in their remuneration as may be possible under the circumstances. It should be the duty of the State to provide higher technological and agricultural institutes in selected localities in sufficient numbers to enable the nation to develop its mineral, agricultural and industrial resources. It should be the aim of the State to fill up these institutes with Indian expert talent which if not

forthcoming at once, should be gradually but steadily introduced as competent men, trained in foreign countries as Government scholars or otherwise, return.

If Mr Fisher was right, as undoubtedly he was, in saying that national education is not only an investment, but an insurance as well, I see no reason why education in India should not be provided for, pushed and furthered wherever necessary by supplementing the amounts made available for the purpose, from the taxes and the rates, by raising additional national debt. If it was legitimate to raise money by loans for railways and for defence and for contribution to the Imperial War Fund, why is it not legitimate to raise funds for national education and the development of essential national industries by the same means?

At this stage I may as well give another passage from one of Mr Fisher's speeches. When addressing the manufacturers and business men of Bradford he asked them if it does 'not often happen in the management of a business that you find yourself compelled to face an additional outlay in order to get full value from the outlay that you have already made? And what is true of individual business is true of national business.

In order to get full value for the outlay which India has made on railways, canals and the frontier defences it is necessary to develop the intelligence the productive power and capacity of the nation (its defensive and offensive capacity) as well as its capacity to compete with other nations on equal terms in industries and manufacture. The raising of the nation's intelligence and skill the improvement of its physique and the development of its earning capacity is as important, if not more, as railways canals and forts. Sometimes it seems to me that in India the cart has been put before the horse.

My argument is that there are certain things which can only be done by the State and must be done by the State, that the State should do these things even by incurring financial obligations in the nature of public debts, if the current finances are not sufficient or adequate to do them on any decent scale, and that universal elementary education and a widespread provision for the training of teachers, and an equally widespread provision for vocational and technical education, both of the lower and higher order, are among those things which cannot be postponed without risk of serious danger to the political safety of the nation.

These things, being provided for by the State on a scale commensurate with the needs of the nation, private effort should be unsparing to contribute to the rest. All privately endowed colleges and academies should be allowed to develop into universities, conducting their own examinations, giving their own diplomas and conferring their own degrees. All research work in classical language, in history and philosophy in logic and mental and moral sciences as well as in social sciences may be left to them. The State maintained colleges and the State universities should mainly concern themselves with scientific education scientific development and research and with the natural development of the country. Not that the State and the nation have no interest in the former. Oh! no, the nation is interested in everything that develops and aids efficiency in the individual as well as in the classes, and more so in leadership but for the time being the above-mentioned division of labor between the State and private enterprise in education may be the best way of collaboration to economise our resources and get the best possible results from them.

THE LIFE OF AN INDIAN MILL LABOURER

THE time has fully come when those who have the welfare of the Indian poor deeply at heart should study closely and carefully the condition of the labourers working in the Mills at our great industrial centres. Nothing is more disappointing in the long Report of the Industrial Commission than to note the scanty attention that has been paid to this subject and the inconclusive results which have been reached by the Commissioners. The Report from the Commission to and has been written from the capitalist's point of view and labour is treated in a cursory and haphazard way.

I cannot pretend to any elaborate or detailed study of the Indian problem of labour nevertheless I will venture to put down in as simple and untechnical a manner as possible some of the experiences I have gained from living for a short time among the mill labourers in Madras and the difficulties that have thus been brought before me. The first hand information which I received by actual residence has seriously set me thinking and I have a hope that if I relate some of these thoughts while they are still fresh in my mind it may help others who are working at the same problem to take courage in their work and press forward. For the cause is a great one.

Nowhere in the world except in Japan and China are cotton mills worked at such long hours and under such exhausting climatic conditions as in India. The Indian Factory Act allows a working day of twelve hours full work the only stipulation being that there must be an interval of half an hour in the course of the day's work during which the machines are not to be used. The Mill may therefore run from 6-30 a.m. in the morning to 7 p.m. at night, with only an interval of half an hour in the middle of the day for food and

rest. When we compare such a day with that common in English or American mills we find that the Indian mills are kept running between twenty-four and thirty hours longer each week than those in the industrial West. The Indian mills run for 72 hours per week the mills in England and America run between 42 and 48 hours per week.

Now let us consider how this actually tells upon an average working man's life. I will take a record from the notes which I made while living near the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras. The man I questioned told me that he had nearly five miles to walk every day before he got to the Mill. In order therefore to be punctual without any danger of a lock-out he had to get up before half-past four—because he needed some coffee and a little food before starting and he allowed a margin of ten minutes in order to be on the safe side. When he reached his work he would have to stand at the loom from six o'clock to twelve o'clock with hardly any pause or break. Then at twelve o'clock he would have forty minutes allowed him in which to get his food which consisted mainly of colli rice and a little currie. He had to get back to his loom punctually at twenty minutes to one and to go on standing at his loom working until six o'clock in the evening. He told me that he usually reached home some time after half-past seven and then he would obtain his first properly cooked meal. He went on to describe to me how when he reached home he was so tired that he usually after taking his food went straight off to bed. He hardly saw his children at all except on Sundays.

The man who gave me these details was a respectable working man drawing good pay and it will be noticed that these Mills in Madras do not work up to the maximum limit of the Factory Act Regulations. They give forty minutes interval

for food instead of thirty minutes, and work 11½ hours instead of twelve.

But what a life to have to lead all the year round! What drudgery, what monotony! There is scarcely a break in it, except the weekly Sunday, and a very scanty list of religious festivals,—six or seven days in all besides Sundays, in the course of the year. One has to take into account the heat and noise and dust inside the mills, the strain of standing for such long hours without a break, the practical certainty, sooner or later, of digestive troubles owing to badly-cooked or fermented food, the discomfort of the rainy season walking through the mud, arriving wet through often contracting chest and lung diseases, which are aggravated by the cotton fluff that is always flying about and getting into the throat. It must be remembered that there are no workmen's compensation or sick insurance acts in India, as in the West,—no fund to draw from in case of illness. What a life!

I asked this man whether he had to work the whole six hours *standing*. He said that the men were allowed to go out for a short time in turns to the latrines by getting a pass and some men stayed there to smoke. But the work was piece work and the managers would speed up one man against another and besides this there were overseers who were ready to come down on any man if he was away too long.

Another question I asked him was about the housing of the workmen.

"Why," I questioned him, "do you live so far away from your work?"

"It is difficult," he replied, "to get even a single room near at hand. They have all been taken up, and besides I don't like the people's habits near the Mill. I have a wife and children to bring up and I prefer to live some distance away."

He told me that a considerable number of the mill labourers did as he did, especially the more respectable ones. Some lived even further away still.

I have taken this example for one of the best managed Mills in India, where the Company has done a great deal to help the men. If notwithstanding all this, the con-

ditions of this workman's life were so exacting, what must be the case in those Mills where the Factory Act is always strained to its full limits and dirt and filth and foul atmosphere and insanitary latrines are the common daily experience? I have seen a Mill of this latter type, and there the labourer's lot must have been much harder than that which I have just depicted,—though, possibly, the slackness of oversight could give the workman a greater margin for slackness in his turn.

This brings me to a third type of Mill, which interested me greatly and made me study anew the question of the length of hours. Here the Mill was in no sense conducted on what might be called antiquated or slovenly lines. There were no filthy floors or badly built rooms, with foul air and stifling heat. Every thing was quite up-to-date. The owners prided themselves on this fact. The passages and gangways were kept perfectly clear, and the latrine arrangements were modern and sanitary. The rooms were well situated for light and air and space, and there was no foul atmosphere. But, because labour was difficult to retain, on account of competition from other Mills, the great object of the managing body was to make labourers feel quite at ease and so come to prefer this Mill to any other. This was effected by employing an over plus of workmen to run the machines, paying them good wages, and then permitting each labourer a margin of leisure to go out and smoke or sleep, while the labourer next to him kept an eye on his machine, which would be kept running while he was away. This relaxation would be allowed turn and turn about. The manager himself told me that very few men did more than eight hours solid work in the course of the day. I noticed that the morning meal was eaten within the Mill. When it was brought in the men would sit down in little groups and eat it, while their fellow workmen looked after the looms of the absentees. In this way the whole Mill had its breakfast, not in the interval but during actual working hours. The men under these conditions, were contented and the Mill was popular.

I asked the manager if it would not be possible to work the Mill more efficiently by having a shorter working day and less going out to have a rest. The manager stated his own opinion that this leisurely method of work was more suited to the Indian climate and the Indian labourers' habits. It was expensive for it meant a large overstock of workers but this was compensated—when compared with Lancashire—by the cheap cost of labour and also by the greater number of hours per week that the machines could be run.

There are thus clearly two or three different types of Mill in India not one kind only. There are the old badly constructed badly arranged and badly managed Mills working up to the very limits of the Factory Act and beyond those limits where it is safe to do so. These Mills are often the curse of the country. They sweat their working men in a disgraceful manner and do not impart to them any new ideas of order, method or cleanliness. Secondly there are the Mills which keep well within the hours prescribed by the Factory Act and are thoroughly up to date and modern but take the last ounce of labour out of the workmen by rewards as well as by punishments always dealing with the fear and cupidity of the labourer at the same time offering bonuses and prizes on the one hand and threatening with penalties on the other. These up to date Mills have usually a large staff of overseers and foremen who drive the men all through the day. There is a certain educational value in Mills of this kind: they drill the workmen into punctuality, order and business efficiency. But it is a hard process in which only the fittest survive. The waste product—the men thrown back as useless—is enormous. The race is indeed to the swift and the rewards are to the strong but the weak are cast out on to the rubbish heap and our pity goes out to them. And then last of all there is the type of Mill which I have just sketched wherein slackness of a certain type is allowed and the pace is made rather by the average man than by the strong man greedily for money. Here too the educational results are not slight while

at the same time there is much less wear and tear.

I have mentioned already the question of competition with Japan and it is likely to loom larger in the future. I have visited Japan and enquired into the condition of the cotton industry there. From all that I could gather I feel certain that the strain of the work especially upon the women is far greater than in India. The way the pace is forced appears to me to be quite unnatural and abnormal and a nemesis is certain to follow later on. Coming out direct from leisurely India to strenuous Japan I could see and almost personally feel the nervous tension. The labour also appeared to be sweated labour not organised for self protection as in America and England and yet drawn from a congested and needy population.

I have brought in this Japanese problem because it confronts us in India at every turn. It is the one final argument difficult to meet which seems to stand in the way of an immediate shortening of the factory hours. For instance the following argument was used when I talked the subject over with certain employers of labour in Madras—

We would be only too glad they said to me if we could have a shorter working day in our Mills. We have given evidence to that effect before the Factory Commission. But the shorter hours agreed upon must be the standard for all India not for Madras only.

Certainly I replied let us get to work and persuade the Bombay people to fall into line. For instance why not advocate a ten hours working day?

You will never they answered induce the Bombay people to agree till Japan comes into line as well and that won't happen in a day.

In this argument we are brought up at once face to face with the international problem of modern industry. We have seen recently how the labour representatives at the Peace Conference have argued that not only military war but also commercial war must cease and disarmament must begin on the commercial side of life as well as in the military sphere. There

is a poison gas whereby a neighbouring country is flooded with sweated goods just as there is that by which armies are stricken on the battle field. Commerce itself may become another form of militarism no less ruthless than ordinary war

How far this argument concerning Japan holds good will come up for consideration in the concluding section of this paper

Shantimuketan

C I ANDRIS

MOVEMENTS IN INDIAN LITERATURE SINCE 1850

I

THE influence of England on India has been most marked and most beneficial in the department of thought and this result has been achieved without any pressure from the Government. The vernacular languages of India have been wonderfully developed and in some cases almost evolutionised by the example of English and the needs of the modern age. In one sense our literary language has become both simpler and harder. Though poetry was very highly developed in many of the vernaculars of India before the 13th century, prose was in a crude and primitive condition everywhere. It wanted flexibility, variety of expression and naturalness of movement because the learned cared to write only in Sanskrit or Persian and if the vernacular was used at all by them it was used for writing poetry. (Letters and official papers were written in vernacular prose but they are not literature). The prose written in the early British period was overladen with heavy Sanskrit and Arabic words and was as remote as possible from the spoken language of the home and the street.

Vernacular prose specially in Bengal and Bombay received a great impetus from the missionaries who published translations from the Bible, sermons and controversial treatises in it. But the style was stiff and foreign and hardly influenced our men of letters. A few vernacular prose works were also published under the patronage of the Government for the use of the officials

studying in the College of Fort William. The necessity of supplying such officers with text books was one incentive to the creation of a prose literature.

But a literature cannot be really developed except by literary geniuses. And such appeared in Bengal in the middle of the 19th century in the persons of Michael Madhusudan Dutta, the poet and Pundit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, the prose writer. Both of them greatly modernised the Bengali tongue and made it a proper vehicle for expressing the varied thoughts and feelings of modern life. Both followed the classical style, i.e. used Sanskrit words by preference and avoided colloquial or homely expressions. But at the same time there was no stiffness, no pedantry, no obscurity in their style and their genius was shown in combining clearness, sweetness and beauty of expression with strength and purity of diction and a certain music of sound.

The Bengali newspapers of the time also employed a classical but flexible and fairly simple prose. In Urdu the old Muhammadan models continued to be followed for a generation after Vidyasagar but within the past 30 years a new school of Urdu writers have risen who aim at a simpler, more vigorous and more flexible style in imitation of modern English Prose. What Vidyasagar had achieved in Bengali was achieved in Hindi 20 years after him by Harish Chandra who introduced a simple, varied but sweet and vigorous prose, rather less Sanskritised than that of Vidya-
sagar. But the influence of Bengali on

Harish Chandra is unmistakable. A similar transformation of Marathi prose took place in the last quarter of the 19th century, and it is correct to say in general that to-day nearly in all the vernaculars of India literary prose has assumed a simple and natural structure, and the old rigid structures have been discarded, chiefly through the influence of the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji.

The Indian drama has been completely changed since the middle of the 19th century and is now really a close imitation of the modern English drama. The classical Sanskrit model of Kalidasa's time has been entirely discarded. In style, plot, characterisation and scenery, the modern drama in Bengali, Urdu, Hindi and Marathi, is an open imitation of the English drama. Many English plays have been bodily translated, many have been adapted in a modified form, and only a few miracle plays of the mediæval Hindu type still survive to remind us of the old. In the earlier vernacular dramas of the British period a highly Sanskritised prose was spoken and there were long metrical speeches and outbursts as in the French drama before Victor Hugo. But very soon afterwards a colloquial prose was adopted which still holds the field. Thus the Indian drama was completely anglicised, much more quickly than our literary prose.

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar merely marks a transition stage in the development of Bengali prose. He improved it no doubt, but he did not proceed far enough in the direction of simplifying and modernising. Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novels indicate a long step in advance. The basis of his style is still the so-called "pure", i.e. Sanskrit vocabulary, but his sentences are shorter and simpler than those of Vidyasagar and he has a richer variety of expression and of feeling and far wider interests than the writings of Vidyasagar. He at first avoided colloquial expressions, but they got into his later novels. Long Sanskrit compounds are frequent in his earlier novels, but towards the close of his literary career his style became simpler and more easily intelligible to the common people. He, however, retinned to the end

the literary or strictly grammatical structure of sentences, and did not adopt the prose that is actually spoken by the people in their daily life.

II

The third stage in the development of Bengali literature is represented by Rabindranath Tagore. We shall discuss only his prose here. More than forty years ago he and his fellow workers in the monthly magazine *Bharati* deliberately avoided Bankim's Sanskritised vocabulary and used a simpler and more colloquial style without absolutely reproducing the language of the man in the street. The conservative critics raised a hue and cry that the purity of the language was being destroyed by these innovators. But this simple prose went to the hearts of millions of readers who were ignorant of Sanskrit and could understand very little of formal literary Bengali. The success of the new style was also indicated by the rise of a large number of imitators, and it is now the prevailing prose style except with a few pundits and writers on abstruse philosophical subjects.

Another solvent on Bengali prose style has been the growth of public oratory, both religious and political, and the almost phenomenal progress of the Bengali newspapers intended for the vast lower middle class. These orators and journalists have naturally adopted a style that is most readily understood by the millions, because they want to make converts to their views. (This simplification of Bengali prose has its parallel in the simple English style that Addison introduced after England became a democracy as the result of the Revolution of 1688.) The most popular literature of to-day, namely novels and dramas are written in very much easier and shorter sentences than those of even Bankim, though they often lack the vigour, grandeur and variety of Bankim's style.

For the last ten years an acute controversy has been going on in Bengal about introducing into books the exact grammatical structure and pronunciation of the language of the man in the street. At Calcutta Rabindranath has been experimenting in

provincial isolation and linguistic differences and risen to a sense of the oneness of us all. This awakened sense of nationality has added a noble and noble element to the Indian literature of our day. In plot, in treatment of subjects in the general characteristics of style, it approximates to the spirit of Europe, though retaining the

distinct features of our vernacular languages and contributing a peculiar Indian element to the storehouse of modern thought. Hence the best things in modern Indian literature do not appear utterly foreign or grotesque in the eyes of European readers.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

WILLIAM ARCHER'S 'INDIA AND THE FUTURE'

By LALPAT RAI

III

IN Chapters IV, V & VI Mr Archer discusses Hindu Spirituality, Caste and its concomitant and Manners. In the first article we have made some general observations on this part of Mr Archer's book. The object of his criticism in these chapters is explained thus:

Until Hindu patriotism is dissociated from irrational arrogance and associated with rational humility, the advance of the mass of the people towards self-respecting intelligence must inevitably be slow.

I for one am in full sympathy with this object. But that does not imply that I admit the gratuitous assumption made by Mr Archer about Hindu arrogance. Barring a few utterances which may be rightly put down as rhetoric, no sensible Indian has ever been guilty of irrational arrogance. Arrogance is hardly ever rational unless Mr Archer desires to characterize us as such. Nor do we fully understand what he means by rational humility. But Mr Archer is an English writer of repute and I a foreigner should not presume to criticize his language.

The Indian masses have no arrogance at all. If they had they would not have submitted to foreign rule for so long. Nor can that charge be laid at the door of the old-fashioned Pandits and Maulvis. They are rationally humble if we may use such an expression. Are the English-educated classes then arrogant? Decidedly not. Some of them have only recently started prying the white man in his own coin. There are some reactionaries who have been encouraged to justify and excuse every Hindu custom by their English masters as also to depreciate the adoption of European manners and European standards. So it is hardly fair to hurl this charge in such a sweeping fashion against us. The truth is that the English in India were so much accustomed to a display of irrational humility on the part of the

Indians that the new spirit of independence which sometimes starts extolling the Indian civilization to the detriment of the European galls their sense of pride and they call it arrogance. There is no arrogance however though occasionally there is an exhibition of false pride and a tendency to underestimate the difficulties of the situation. So far back as 1915 in one of the articles I contributed to the *Modern Review* I warned my countrymen against the dangers of over sanguineness. While pessimism is positively harmful as dispiriting and discouraging, optimism may be misleading as tending to produce a frame of mind which is always sanguine, prone to belittle difficulties and to neglect very necessary precautions.*** The best and the safest course therefore will be to steer clear of extreme views to weigh the situation as accurately as may be possible in the light of our own history.*** Practical wisdom lies in eschewing over-estimating as well as under-estimating. While it is no good under-estimating our difficulties and over-estimating our capacities, it is perhaps more harmful to have a very low opinion of ourselves and our people.*** We have so long been in doubt about ourselves about the world and about the good in the world that it is time to exchange this latter attitude of mind for confidence in self confidence in our people and hope for a better future.

Now when I was a boy at school and later even when at college the atmosphere around me was one of extreme under-estimation and humility. For over three quarters of a century the educated Hindus had accepted the word of the missionaries about their religion and their past. The missionaries had made even a much lower estimate of us, our culture and our capacity than Mr Archer has now done. The study of Sanskrit was then at a discount. We knew almost nothing of our history except what was told us by our masters. Giving credit to our foreign censors for honesty, truthful

the rest of the world including Europe and America (d) That since then while Europe and America have in certain respects lessened the volume of their insanity, 'credulity' and barbarism though they have added to it in certain others India has been thanks to her political and economic conditions more or less stagnant (e) That India's future goal ought to be not an imitation of Europe's insanity, and barbarism, but an assimilation of its sanity and civilization

As regards the ridicule which Mr Archer heaps on the Vedas and the other literature of the Hindus all that I want to say in this place is that they have survived the attacks of greater men than himself and surely the evidence of their intrinsic worth is greater and more weighty both in the number of the witnesses and the character of their evidence than that to be found in this book. Mr Archer's witnesses are not generally of the best kind. They can be hardly considered disinterested and impartial. For example Mr Archer quotes a Missionary commentator of the Vedas saying that the horizon of the Rishi is confined almost invariably to himself. He prays for happiness of neither wife nor child nor for the good of his village or his clan nor yet for his nation or people. He manifests no common joys any more than common sorrows. A more ludicrous statement than this is impossible to be conceived as the Vedas are quite full of prayers of the latter kind. In fact most of the prayers are in the plural number. In some places whole chapters are devoted to prayers for common good. Take for example Atharva III 30 or Yaj XII 88 or Rig V 191. Speaking of monstrous conceptions he quotes a hymn from the translation of Max Muller which has been times out of number explained by other scholars as symbolic and which only illustrates the danger of translating the Vedas literally and in utter disregard of the fact that the Vedic language is *laugika* and etymological and that the same word is often used in different senses. It is impossible for me to attempt to reply to Mr Archer's criticisms in detail (I was very nearly tempted to use Mr Archer's own language and call it his ravings) as that would involve the writing of another volume of the same or perhaps bigger size. I am sure I could fill a volume with quotations from European scholars of high repute and authority testifying to the spirituality of the Hindus and the high value of their philosophy and literature. Mr Archer has himself admitted that in places though very grudgingly and halfheartedly which is rather inconsistent with his general sweeping denuncia-

tion of it otherwise I think Hindu spirituality can well take care of itself. Hindu caste is disintegrating and so we need waste no time over it. As to Hindu manners I would not like to change them very materially. The practice of wearing nose rings and heavy ear rings by the women is disappearing because (a) there are not enough precious stones to go round Europe and America are consuming most of them (b) the vast bulk of the population cannot afford to invest any part of their miserable pittance of income in jewelry (c) the commercial spirit of the age is catching India by the throat.

I am not sorry for it. I do not like either the nose-rings or the ear rings not even when the latter are worn by white women. But I may here add by way of explanation that manners are more or less matters of local custom and so is the idea of beauty. What is revolting to the Asiatic sense of decency is at times extremely beautiful to the European and vice versa. A European is crazy in admiring certain things which our Asiatic detests. I say this not because I admire the practice of wearing nose-rings and ear rings but because to me the matter seems to be so trivial that Mr Archer's repeated references to it seems to me to be evidence of bad manners. Mr Archer was horrified at the sight of blood at the temple of Kali in Calcutta. The sight is no doubt horrible to any man of aesthetic sense but I will tell a story to Mr Archer of how I was shocked when I visited England the first time. The Headmaster of a famous College was showing me the two things for which his institution was famous—their kitchen and their organ. When he took me to the former the sight I saw shocked me beyond description. Reader can you imagine what I saw? Seventy carcasses being roasted at once. That was the thing of which my kindly host was proud. Of course I said nothing. But to me it was as bad as cannibalism. As to the habit of truthfulness I will advise Mr Archer to read the comedy of Nothing but the truth which Mr Collier has been presenting in American theatres. I hope Lord Curzon will also glance at it. The chancellories of Europe also will furnish much material on that subject. Let him consult Messrs Bertrand Russell, Lewis Dickinson, Neilson and others who have written volumes on the causes of the war.

* The jewellery on the persons of American women in New York and in jewellery stores would exceed the whole of British India's wealth in cash or jewels.

AN INDIAN EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION TO AMERICA

It seems on this side of the Atlantic that Hindustan is living in the stone age of education. If she really wishes to take her rightful place among the great nations of the world India must have a more modern educational system. But where will she go to seek for the ideals of newer education?

In the past the Indian zone of observations has been chiefly confined to only one country in the West and that too admittedly backward in matters educational. Be that as it may this zone should now be pushed and widened to the United States. Here one can see at this moment better than at any other what reconstructional plans are engaging the thoughts of American leaders, what re-educational experiments are in progress for the disabled in war, what new departments are being added to colleges of science and agriculture.

A few years ago the English government in India sent a fish commission to this country to study American fisheries. Is it too much to expect that American colleges and universities will be considered as worthy of careful study as American fisheries? At all events the Indian leaders who are interested in the educational advancement of India should send a commission to America at an early date. The commission should be made up of the very best educational experts India can afford. The founders of the University of Mysore, Women's University of Poona, the Hindu University of Benares as well as the organizers of the proposed Muslim University at Aligarh and the Nazimnia University in Hyderabad should be willing to co-operate in sending this mission to America. If the needed means and initiative fail to come from the government they should be furnished by the nation itself. For after all education is the most important piece of business in the Indian agenda just now.

It is interesting to note that several foreign countries including Japan and England have recently sent commissions of education to the United States to make an intensive study of the American educational system. Why should not India also go and do likewise?

An Indian educational commission to America is not at all an idle speculation; it is eminently practical. Many of the leading American educationists whom I have consulted on the subject have given it their unqualified approval and whole-hearted support. Dr. Walter A. Jessup, the President of the State University of Iowa with which I have the honor to be connected for the past few years wrote to me in part:

'Should the proposed Commission visit the

United States we would be pleased to have them make Iowa City and the State University of Iowa their headquarters while studying the schools, colleges and universities in the central part of United States. We believe that it would be to the advantage of such a commission to make this place their headquarters since in Iowa City there may be found typical public schools of all grades including the State University with its professional colleges of law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and engineering and its college of liberal arts, graduate college and college of education.

The College of Education of the State University of Iowa is equipped with an experimental school including both elementary and secondary grades and is used as a substation of the United States Bureau of Education.

In the event that the proposed Indian Commission should come to Iowa City the State University of Iowa would do everything in its power to facilitate their work.

I also bring encouraging words of greetings from no less a distinguished man in the world of education than the Honorable P. P. Claxton, the Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Education at Washington. Dr. Claxton whose position is very similar to that of the Minister of Education in the British Government sent me among others the following lines: I wish to assure you and others who are interested in the matter that it will give me great pleasure to lend whatever assistance I can to this Commission either personally or through the United States Bureau of Education.

Education in India has been more or less unsatisfactory. The time has come when the frozen decorative ideals of the past should be shattered and swept out of the halls of learning. There is now a great need of a co-ordinated and well-directed plan to build a new education for new India. And as a basis for such an educational reform a commission of expert investigators and trained educators should come to America and see first hand the creative work that is being done in commerce, industry, art, literature and science. The results of such an investigation are bound to give immense stimulus for reconstruction of educational life and make it quiver to the very soul of India.

It only remains for me now to add that if an educational commission should come Mr. R. K. Khemka, the very able President of the Hindustan Association of America which has for years been helping the newly arrived Indian students to choose right American colleges, will be delighted to place his services at the disposal of the

mission Should it desire, both Mr Khemka and I would be willing to look after the preliminary details of its visit and pilot it through the country Those who are interested in the plan or want information concerning American educational opportunities are invited

to communicate with the President of the Hindusthan Association, 116 West 39th Street, New York City

Iowa City,
U S A

SUDHINDRA BOSE, M A, PH D,
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of Iowa

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Condition of the Hindu University.

A correspondent signing himself *A Senator of the Hindu University* has attempted to reply to my article on the Hindu University published in the June Number Along with much irrelevant matter, evasion of the main issues and replies to what I never said or suggested he has contradicted several of my statements of facts Now my membership of every academic and administrative body of the Hindu University has given me a more accurate and first hand knowledge of the present condition of the Hindu University and the causes thereof than a mere Senator can have

I shall not weary the reader by refuting every one of Senator's contradictions A few typical instances will suffice to convince him where truth lies The sudden and capricious changing of the starting point of the college day given on p 656 is based on the diary of a professor who kept an accurate record of these changes with dates But Senator nonchalantly denies it, saying that the change was made from *season to season* If the latter had been the case, there would have been only *one* change in the year and not *six* as was actually the case last year The duration of the "period" was so uncertain that one day about midday no bell was rung though more than 48 minutes had passed Two professors inquired at the office which professed helplessness in the absence of the Principal's special instructions on the subject as the periods were being changed so often

Again, Senator writes It is plain untruth to say that Mr Gurtu is going away' This writer's notion of truth and untruth must be diametrically opposed to that of all honest men, seeing that Mr Gurtu openly declared the severance of his connection with the Hindu University at the 1st meeting of the committee for bringing out the results and repeated it on a later date when there was a council meeting The reader can judge of the veracity of a writer who denies known facts in the hope that his defence of the rotten condition of the Hindu University will find credence with the innocent public outside Benares

Similarly, a show of correction has been made

in some cases where the Senator's reply is utterly irrelevant to the issue I said that Mr Chintamani and Dr Jha had resigned their seats on the Council and other bodies The contradiction of Senator is that Mr Chintamani was never in the Senate

Senator indulges in a long rhapsody on the service of Mr Malaviya to the University and his sacrifices in its cause Now, in thanking Mr Malaviya for his exertions, his worshippers should not lose all sense of proportion nor take leave of common decency, unless they wish to make their master ridiculous They have been steadily following the policy of effacing the memory of Sir Sundar Lal, but for whom the Hindu University would not have been allowed by Sir Sankaran Nair its independent existence with effect from 1st Oct 1917, as is well known at Simla It is a bad school of ingratitude in which Mr Malaviya is training his admirers Where will his memory be after his death, if we can judge from Sir Sundar Lal's posthumous reward at Benares?

When Sir Harcourt Butler was welcomed at the University in August 1918, Dr Ganesh Prasad publicly spoke of the Hindu University as the creation of Mr Malaviya Sir Harcourt in his reply said, "This University represents the enthusiasm of the Hon'ble Pandit M M Malaviya and the unfailing wisdom patriotic devotion and patient industry of your late Vice-Chancellor, Sir Sundar Lal How much the country owed to him how much it has lost in his untimely death, I know as fully as any of you If anything could deepen the infamy of the ingratitude to Sir Sundar Lal by the present rulers of the Hindu University, it was that their omission was corrected by a foreigner and outsider like the provincial governor

In the same month Mr Malaviya addressed the students of the C H C after which Dr Ganesh Prasad exhorted them to shout thrice *Malaviya Maharaaj Kijun!* The gross sycophancy produced a titter among the audience, even the idol blushed at the puer offered to him and cried out 'No, no, give three cheers for the Hindu Vishwavidyalaya' The true value of a man's services to an institution is proportioned to the sacrifice he has made for it That is the real

incidence of the tax he pays. Now it is well known that when University work made Sir Sundar Lal prolong his visit to Benares in the winter of 1917 by one day beyond his first engagement he lost for that single day Rs 5 000 in fees. It should also be borne in mind that if Mr Malaviya in collecting money for the Hindu University has impaired what professional practice he had he has on the other side of the account secured as the accredited agent of the Hindu University *entree* to high places which would have been closed to him as a stump-ordinator. The gain has been mutual.

But admitting for the sake of argument that Mr Malaviya has done for the B H U all that is claimed for him by his blind admirers we must realise what price we are being asked to pay for it. Money getting is only a means to an end. Are we to subordinate that end—the ideal the efficiency the good name of the Hindu University—to the sole purpose of touring for subscriptions and making the travelling agent the absentee dictator of the University? All mathematicians who have not forgotten their algebra and simple arithmetic in the pursuit of higher research will admit the correctness of the formula that

if $m > m'$
then $m = g$

ie If Madan Mohan Malaviya money getting machine then Malaviya must be governor general of the Hindu University.

With results for which see Babu Bhagwan Das's letter

INSIDE VIEW

The Benares Hindu University An outside View of an Inside Criticism

Every one Hindu or not who believes that Hindu culture and learning have particular contributions to make to the wellbeing of humanity must place great hopes upon the eventual achievements of the first Hindu University of recent times. But the greater one's insight into the nature of such an institution as a University and the more closely one has followed the course of the histories of other Universities the more patient one will be with regard especially to the efforts of the early years of a new University. It is perhaps before all things necessary to go slowly in circumstances of this kind. In the particular conditions of Indian Academic life which does not seem to train as yet very many prominent scholars, and in which when such

scholars are produced they are as long as possible retained in particular institutions and localities it is not possible to bring together in a short time the kind of staff which should be aimed at. It seems to us far better to wait than to appoint men about whom it is possible for people to say that their positions were gained by personal influence and not by evident merit. We have heard it said for example that one of the Professors was appointed chiefly through the influence of one about whose poetry he had written in flattering terms. For the sake of the Hindu University we shall be glad to find that such reports are radically false. In any case a good reason may be given for delay in filling University appointments until the type of man required is available. It should be regarded as the best in the circumstances to make some temporary appointments.

From what has been said—also from an inside source—there appears to be an absence of loyalty and co-operation amongst the members of the staff and it would seem from the attempt to make criticisms against the Principal that he is not treated as one has learned to expect. To us and we know Dr Ganesh Prasad neither directly nor indirectly the statements about his policy are really indefinite and not such as to give any support to the view that the University is in rapid dissolution. Had there been more efficient organisation at the beginning in the time of a certain Acting Principal of the Hindu College Dr Prasad's task might have been easier. No University can expect to do good and effective work, no Principal of a College can organise with credit to himself and the institution if there is a source of disaffection in the staff.

Perhaps it is sufficient to say here that when the Insider has worked as hard for the University as Pandit Malaviya he may have the right to write in the manner he does. We do not hold a brief for the policy which the Pandit pursues but we believe that he might give a good answer to much of what the critic says.

There is real ground for regret in the resignation of the Vice-Chancellorship by Sir P. Shiva swami Iyer. But such a man is able to state clearly any criticisms he may wish should be published for the good of the Hindu University. The last thing we can imagine is that he should wish an inside critic should present the matter as he does in a manner from which it is improbable that any good may come—except perhaps the unveiling of the Insider Critic himself.

OUTSIDE CRITIC

II The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of material advantage or interest of any other nation which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery

III The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct towards each other by the same principles of honour that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another

IV The establishment of an organisation of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right

C THE FIVE REQUISITES

I The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favourites and knows no standards but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned

II No separate or special interest of any single nation, or any group of nations, can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all

III No leagues or alliances or special understandings, shall be made within the general and common family of nations

IV No special or selfish economic combinations, and no employment of economic boycott shall be made except when the power of such boycott is vested in the League of Nations for discipline or control

V All international agreements and treaties must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world

D THE FIVE ISSUES

I Shall the military power of any nation, or any group of nations, be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples, over whom they have no right to rule, except the right of force?

II Shall strong nations be free to

wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

III Shall people be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force, or by their own will and choice?

IV Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

V Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance, or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

There are certain extremely important utterances of President Wilson, interpreting the Armistice position which were made during the days of the Peace Conference sessions. The following are the most important—

(a) *Speech to the Italian Deputies*

January 3, 1919

Our task at Paris is to organise the friendship of the world to see to it that all the moral forces that make for right and justice and liberty are united, and are given a vital organisation, to which the peoples of the world will gladly and readily respond.

(b) *Address to the Peace Conference*

January 25, 1919

We are here to see that the very foundations of this war are swept away. These foundations are the power of small bodies of men to wield their will and use mankind as pawns in their game. Nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace.

(c) *Speech in the Chamber of Deputies*

Feb 3, 1919

"We have come to work out a world which is fit to live in and in which all countries can enjoy the heritage of liberty for which France, America, England and Italy have paid so dear.

(d) *Message to the American People*

Feb 24, 1919

"The men, who are in the Conference at Paris, realise that they are the servants of their own people, and that the spirit of their people has awakened to a new purpose.

Treaty about guarantees of disarmament being given by the Allies. General Smuts confesses, in his statement of what happened, 'regret, that the abolition of militarism is confined to the enemy.'

What can be said about responsible people, who first solemnly pledge themselves that adequate guarantees of disarmament shall be *given and taken*, who then insist on the disarmament of the other side, and, last of all when the other side is disarmed refuse to give any guarantee themselves?

There is a certain action sometimes tried by sharpers called the confidence trick. It is difficult not to call the action of the Allies by that name.

(iii) No single point was insisted on more often in the Armistice terms than that of the free self-determination of peoples: that peoples should be governed according to their own choice and not merely used as pawns by the stronger nations. All the territorial articles, in the Fourteen Points keep this end in view. The principle is defined with great care and exactness in the second of the Four Factors and it is also implied in the first two of the Five Requisites and the first four of the Five Issues. Indeed it would hardly be too much to say that the War was determined by this issue. Yet in the Peace Treaty terms we know that the following four territorial changes *against the will of the peoples and by military force* have been decided:

(a) The Saar Valley, with its coal fields, which is German territory, is to be handed over to France with an international administrative control for fifteen years' exploitation after which a plebiscite is to be taken.—The disguise of this plebiscite is too thin to deceive any one.

(b) Territory bordering on Poland is to be handed over to Poland though the population is German.

(c) A part of the northern Adriatic coast is to be given to Italy even where the population is not Italian.

(d) The German rights in the Shantung Province of China are to be handed over to Japan even though China strongly and emphatically objects.

It is not unlikely that other breaches of the right of self-determination have actually been decided upon by the Council of Four, especially in Asia Minor, but, apart from this, those which have been publicly acknowledged appear to me uncontestedly to prove that the Armistice terms have been departed from in order to satisfy imperialistic aims. The terms have not been honourably kept.

B It is difficult to record concisely all the economic and financial exactions which have been levied upon Germany under the Peace Treaty. The following is a brief summary of the main points—

(a) Germany, an industrial country, depending on coal and iron, loses one third of her coal supply, and two thirds of her coal reserves.

(b) She loses one half of her iron supply, and three fourths of her iron reserves.

(c) She has agreed to grant freedom of transit through German territory to persons, goods, ships, carriages and mails from or to any of the allied or associated powers, without customs, transit duties, undue delays, restrictions, or discriminations.

(d) She restores all devastated regions, and makes good any coal deficiency. She also must give option to France, Belgium and Italy on 21,500,000 tons of coal annually (one seventh of Germany's pre-war production). For 3 years, she must deliver benzol, coal tar and ammonia to France. She forfeits 5000 railway engines, 5000 motor lorries, 160 000 railway cars.

(e) She forfeits all ocean ships of 1,600 gross tons and upwards, one half of those between 1,600 and 1,000 tons, and one quarter of her steam trawlers and fishing fleet. In addition, she is bound to build a million tons of ships for the Allies within five years.

(f) Abroad Germany is stripped literally of everything. On this account, she is practically deprived of all opportunity of taking immediate active part in industry and trade abroad—so far as the conquerors can dictate.

(g) She accepts in addition to all this, the responsibility for a war indemnity.

(called compensation) which is to be finally settled by an Inter Allied Commission not later than May 1st 1921. She pledges an initial indemnity of 20 000 000 000 marks within two years and to issue bonds for 40 000 000 000 marks assuring the full payment of these bonds within 30 years. The total discharge would require 160 000 000 000 marks. Stragglers already under an enormous public debt driven out of the world markets and economically imprisoned within Germany's own markets with her economic equipment exhausted by the war each single German family will have to pay, for the next 30 years in addition to all other burdens 300 rupees out of its own scanty domestic income to the Allies.

It is this Peace Treaty which Mr. Lloyd George declares must be fulfilled at the point of the sword and not allowed to become a scrap of paper. It is this Peace Treaty which he says can be guaranteed because the guarantees include the disarmament of Germany and the destruction of her arsenals.

It may be thus guaranteed but again we ask the question,—Is this fair is it just is it humane is it true to the Armistice proposal? There is not the least doubt that Germany was inhumane in war but that is no reason why the Allies should not be humane in peace.

I place these economic terms side by side with President Wilson's own speech containing the Fourteen Points—on the basis of which the Armistice was made. Here are his own words:—

The day of conquest and aggrandisement is gone by. We have no jealousy of German greatness and here is nothing in this programme which impairs it. We do not wish to injure Germany or to block

in any way her legitimate influence or power. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new world in which we now live.

Then take the British Officers' Official Report of conditions today in Germany:—

We were shocked at the condition in the poor quarters. *Spinach is brewed in the kitchens for babies of three weeks to three years old and the sight of babies sucking spinach soup out of their bottles in place of milk is distressing.* Charts show that babies at the end of their third year do not weigh much more than at the end of their first year.

I have put side by side with very little comment of my own the professions and the practices of the Allied statesmen towards Germany.

The Treaty which has ended the war with Germany contains no true or lasting peace because it is based upon untruth. It will have to be undone.

Just as from every corner of the world the cry went up before against the inhumanity of the war methods employed by Germany which shocked the conscience of mankind so now from every corner of the world the cry will go up against the inhumanity of these peace methods of the Allies which as soon as they are fully known and understood will shock the conscience of mankind. Inevitably this will come to pass and the voice of thoughtful men everywhere will be clear and strong.

July 9 1919
Shantiniketan

C. I. ANDREWS

THE WORKING OF THE HINDU UNIVERSITY

ABSENTEE ADMINISTRATION AND ITS RESULTS.
IT has been shown in the June Number of this Review how as the result of preferring absentees to resident Univer-

sity teachers in elections to the Executive Council of the Hindu University in 1918 not a single meeting was attended by even half of its members and that most of the

THE DUTIES OF KINGS IN ANCIENT INDIA

FROM Dr R C Majumdar's learned work on *Corporate Life in Ancient India* which has been recently published, we learn that in the Vedic Age kings were sometimes elected by the *sabhas* and *samitis* which were a part of the constitution, that the only means by which rival claimants to the throne sought to gain over the assembly was supremacy in debate that after the death of King Dasaratha the *rajakartarah* (King makers) met together to select a King¹ that the King's Privy Council (called *mantriparishad* by Kautilya) was, according to the *Mahabharata*² to consist of 4 Brahmanas 8 Kshatriyas 21 Vaisyas, 3 Sudras and 1 Suta, that the whole of northern India immediately preceding the Christian era was studded with non monarchical or republican states known as *ganas* that even in the Deccan some states were republican and some monarchical in form³ that unity was the chief refuge of the *ganas*⁴ and that it was only from the fifth century A D onwards that they ceased to be important factors in Indian politics

As an instance of the custom of electing the king may be mentioned the Junagadh inscription of the Satrap Rudradaman who ruled in Ujjain about the middle of the second century A D where it is represented that men of all castes went to him and chose him as their lord for their protection⁵

The whole subject has been treated in

the book under reference with a wealth of detail which leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that "institutions which we are accustomed to look upon as of western growth, had also flourished in India long, long ago" (p 122)⁶

My object in writing this short article is to add a few more authorities which I have come across in the course of my reading on the duties of kings In the *Mahabharata*⁷ we read,

The king who taking the sixth of the produce from his subjects fails to protect them is said to take upon himself the entire burden of their sins

Similarly in the *Bhagavata Purana*⁸,

The protection of his subjects is the highest of royal virtues by which in after life the king robs them of a sixth of their merits otherwise by exacting taxes from his subjects and yet failing to protect them he is robbed by them of his merits and himself eats their sins

But nowhere has this idea been more forcibly expressed than in the *Markandeya Purana*⁹ where the royal sixth has been

6 See also on the same subject *Buddhist India* by Rhys Davids ch II *Epic India* by C V Vaidya ch VIII Kautilya's *Arthashastra* translated by R Shamasastry Bk I, ch XII, Bk V ch VI Bk VIII ch II Bk XIII ch V, &c. *Sukraniti* translated by Prof Benoy Kumar Sarkar ch I

7 अरक्षितार राजानं बलिषद्भागहारिणम् ।

तमाहु सर्वलोकस्य समग्रं पापचारिणम् ॥

Adiparva section 213 verse 9

8 अथ प्रजापालनविधेयं राज्ञो

यत् साम्प्रदाये ऋकताय यष्टनम् ।

दुर्पान्याया हनयिष्य प्रजानां—

अरक्षितां करहारोपचयति ॥

Skanda 4 ch 20 v, 14

9 यदन्त्यं पालयते लोकदायकान्तराश्रित ।

यज्जतो बलिषद्भागं नृपतेर्नरको भूयम् ॥

निरक्षितमिदं राजं पूर्वं रक्षयिष्येत नम् ।

अरक्ष्यो रक्षयोर्यं तदानीं नृपतेर्भवेत् ॥

1 Ramayana II 67 2

2 Santiparva Section 85

3 Vide अवदानमाला no 88 (first century B C)—केचिद्देशा गणराजिना केचिद्गणराजिना इति

4 'सङ्घा' एषाहुर्महानां अथ सङ्घः—Mahabharata Santiparva section 107

5 सर्वैर्जनैर्भगिण्य एषाचार्यं दत्तितं व्रतेत् ।

quoted at p 22 Dr Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan (1884)

described as the king's *rakshanabetanam* or wages for protecting his subjects. Here a distinct contrast is implied between the king and the people over whom he reigns by virtue of which the right of the sovereign to exact tribute from his subjects is strictly limited by his obligation to render them adequate service in the shape of protection. The whole passage runs thus:

If the subjects after paying a sixth of the produce as tribute to the king have to be protected by others the king is sure to go to hell; this tribute has been fixed by former jurists as the king's salary for protecting his subjects; if the king does not protect them in return he robs them and is guilty of theft.

The Code of Manu displays a high regard for the king's position and says that the king is a great deity in human shape¹⁰ and that the Lord created the king for the preservation of order on earth.¹¹ Yet Manu declares that the king who through insatiation oppresses his own state soon loses his kingdom as well as his life with his whole family. Just as a man's vitality is undermined through physical suffering so also the king's life is shortened by the oppression of his state.¹² The Mahābhārata¹³ even goes the length of saying that an unrighteous king deserves capital punishment.

Nowhere has the object of the tribute paid to the king been more beautifully expressed than in the well-known lines of the immortal Kalidasa where he says that the king levies taxes on his subjects for their own welfare just as the sun draws up mois-

ture from the earth only to return it a thousandfold (in the shape of rain).¹⁴

The proper manner of levying the tribute has been very happily illustrated in a passage in the Mahābhārata¹⁵ and the same idea is also to be found in the Manu samhita¹⁶ and the Garuḍa Purāṇa.¹⁷

Says the Mahābhārata:

The king should tap the resources of his kingdom as gently as the bee sucks honey from the flower as men milk a cow without wounding her udder and starving the calf as the leech drinks the blood as the tigress takes her cubs between her teeth and lifts them without in fluting pain as the mouse bites the sole of the feet imperceptibly with its sharp teeth from people in affluent circumstances the king should levy taxes on a gradually increasing scale.

In the Subhāṣṭarvā of the Mahābhārata there is a long dialogue between Narada and Yudhishthira on the duties of kings from which the following extract¹⁸ is given. Narada asks Yudhishthira:

Is thy kingdom persecuted by thievish or covetous people by the imprudence of minors or the influence of women or thyself or not? In thy kingdom hast thou established large tanks and lakes full of water and hast thou distributed them in such a manner that all the lands have a proper share? Or hast thou left the agriculture of thy realm wholly dependent on the mercies of the gods? In thy kingdom do not the agriculturists feel the want of either seed or grain or food? And dost thou out of due consideration grant the tillers of thy realm loans at a small rate of interest? O child are the departments of thy state dealing with the four professions of agriculture, trade, cattle-

14 प्रदानं येन धूलं च क्षाप्नोति विमदद्योः ।
सहस्रसहस्रं ह्युत्पादत हि रश्मि रश्मिः ॥

Raghuvamśa canto 1 v. 18

15 मधुसूहो दुहन्नाष्ट, क्षमया ह्यनपादयन् ।
वृषादिभ्यो दुहन्तश्च क्षमाश्च न विकृष्येत् ॥
लघोऽक्षयं विवेकाद्, सुदुर्गे न भयति ।
याप्रोक्ष्य दहेत् पुत्राश्च सन्निभश्च कीदृशेत् ॥
अथा यदा यदा नाष्ट, यद् भूयते यदा ।
अतीक्ष्णमाशु पादेन तथा रोगं क्षमायिते ॥
यस्य क्षान्तेर्यदेन वर्धमानं प्रदायते ।
ततोभूयस्तीक्ष्णं तद्वद्वि क्षमायिते ॥

Santiparva section 88 v. 4-7

16 ch. v. 129

17 Part 1 ch. 111 v. 4-6

18 Section 5 v. 76-7

10 महतो देवतां क्षमा नरकचैव निवर्तते ।

ch. 7 v. 8

11 रक्षायनस्तु सन्त्यक्ष राजानमस्तु यमः ।

ch. - v. 3

12 नादराज्ञा स्तराष्ट्रं च क्षमयन्तश्चराः ।

क्षोभितान् मृते राजानान् विनाशं क्षमायन् ॥

अरोरुहकां प्राञ्च क्षीयन्तं प्राविशान् यथा ।

तथा राजपथि प्राञ्च क्षीयन्तं राट् क्षयन्तान् ॥

ch. - v. 111-12

13 रश्मिः क्षोभते चर्यादाः ।

Santiparva section 92 v. 9

Now mark the sequel Since that Senate meeting *eleven months* have elapsed but no duly sanctioned selections have been made available Towards the end of the academic year 1918-19, a brochure of 17 pages containing the hackneyed Chanakya *slokas* and some 180 couplets from the *Ramayan* was printed, but as the booklet has not yet been passed by the Board the Faculty and the Senate, it cannot be used in the classes Thus our academic mountain, after having been in labour for 2 years and 2 months (May 1917-July 1919) has not even brought forth the proverbial mouse An *impasse* was reached in Dec 1918 when an examiner in M A Sanskrit wrote to say that he could not possibly set his paper of the next examination as the selections from the Vedas had not yet been made The Vice Chancellor had to use his *emergency powers* and prescribe certain books to save the situation,—thus justifying Mr Sheshadri's wisdom But what time had the candidates to prepare these pieces which were announced on 19th January 1919, while the examination was to take place in April next ?*

This Sanskrit selection sub-committee was appointed on 5th May 1917 with five members But its first meeting was held on 31st October 1918 (i.e. 1½ years afterwards) only one member attending The 2nd and 3rd meetings were attended by the same number and the 4th and 5th by two members, out of five! And this (or these) "resolved" on behalf of the whole body Happily there is no quorum in a sub-committee

PROMISES AND PERFORMANCES

No private gentleman who has the least sense of responsibility will make any promise which cannot under normal circumstances be carried out Caution in this

assurance given by Mr Malaviya 'I beg leave to withdraw the resolution' Mr Malaviya immediately insisted on the word *assurance* being changed into *explanation* so that no responsibility would lie on him when his assurances afterwards came to nothing as they have actually done

* Later, the M A examination was put off to July, on account of the late epidemic

which is expected to have a permanent impersonal existence, stretching beyond the lives of its founders In raising subscriptions (or what comes to the same thing, in attracting students) there is naturally a strong temptation to humour the audience and a practised orator is apt to let his tongue run away with him But promises made on such occasions without due consideration of their practicability, have a disadvantage they come home to roost, as Mr Malaviya is now doing to the dismay of the officers of the University

Mahatma Munshi Ram, the revered leader of the Gurukul educational scheme, recently remarked in addressing the C H C students —

It may be sedition to say so in this hall but none of the founders of this University realised what they mean when they speak of this institution reproducing the educational ideal of ancient Arjavya Such dazzling promises are made by your leaders when they find it necessary to induce a shower of silver from the audience But in practice they have only added one more to the stereotyped Universities of modern India You attend lectures lead free and easy lives cram at the end of the term and go through the grind of the examination here as elsewhere

The orator and financial resource beggar of the Hindu University has been telling his audiences that it would harmonise the East and the West intellectually, that it would impart the highest modern or Western knowledge while reviving the devotion and morality of ancient India, and therefore all Hindus, all well wishers of India have a sacred duty to subscribe to it "Easier said than done," one is tempted to reply in the language of Carlyle when criticising Scott's dying speech to Lockhart

The synthesis of the East and the West can be effected only by divinely gifted geniuses who are born as the winds of Fate blow You cannot create them to order, or by mechanically stamping men with the hall mark of Ph.D. and D.Sc. In religion such a synthesis was effected by Rammohun Roy a century ago, and in literature by Rabindranath, three generations afterwards In art we are still striving respect is still more obligatory on the leaders of an institution, like a University

THE DUTIES OF KINGS IN ANCIENT INDIA

FROM Dr R C Majumdar's learned work on *Corporate Life in Ancient India* which has been recently published we learn that in the Vedic Age kings were sometimes elected by the *sabhas* and *samitis* which were a part of the constitution that the only means by which rival claimants to the throne sought to gain over the assembly was supremacy in debate that after the death of King Dasaratha the *rajakartarah* (King makers) met together to select a King that the King's Privy Council (called *mantriparishad* by Kautilya) was according to the Mahabharata to consist of 4 Brahmanas 8 Kshattriyas 21 Vaisyas 3 Sudras and 1 Suta that the whole of northern India immediately preceding the Christian era was studded with non-monarchical or republican states known as *ganas* that even in the Deccan some states were republican and some monarchical in form that unity was the chief refuge of the *ganas* and that it was only from the fifth century A D onwards that they ceased to be important factors in Indian politics

As an instance of the custom of electing the king may be mentioned the Junagadh inscription of the Satrap Rudradaman who ruled in Ujjain about the middle of the second century A D where it is represented that men of all castes went to him and chose him as their lord for their protection

The whole subject has been treated in

1 Ramayana II 672

2 Santiparva Section 8

3 Vide *Prabandha* no 88 (first century)

B C— केचित्वा गवाभीना केविज्ञाभीना इति
4 सदा एवाहुगेषाना शरणं गच्छन्—Maha
bharata Santiparva section 107

5 'सम्बन्धविनिर्णय' रत्नसूत्रे पतिल इति ।

quoted at p 22 Dr Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan (1884)

the book under reference with a wealth of detail which leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that 'institutions which we are accustomed to look upon as of western growth had also flourished in India long long ago (p 122)'

My object in writing this short article is to add a few more authorities which I have come across in the course of my reading on the duties of kings in the Mahabharata we read,

The king who taking the sixth of the produce from his subjects fails to protect them is said to take upon himself the entire burden of their sins

Similarly in the Bhagavata Purana

The protection of his subjects is the highest of royal virtues by which in after life the king robs them of a sixth of their merits otherwise by exacting taxes from his subjects and yet failing to protect them he is robbed by them of his merits and himself eats their sins

But nowhere has this idea been more forcibly expressed than in the Markandeya Purana where the royal sixth has been

6 See also on the same subject *Buddhist India* by Rhys Davids ch II *Epic India* by C V Vaidya ch VIII Kautilya's *Arthashastra* translated by R Shamasastry Bk I ch XIX Bk V ch VI Bk VIII ch II Bk XIII ch V &c *Sukraniti* translated by Prof Benoy Kumar Sarkar ch I

7 अरक्षितार राजानं बलिष्वहभागद्वारिषम् ।

तमाहु सर्वलोकस्य समग्रं पापचारिषम् ॥

Adiparva section 213 verse 9

8 अथ प्रजापालनमेव राज्ञो

यत् प्राम्परायि हुक्तताम् यच्छमम् ।

इत्थान्यथा हतव्यं प्रजानां—

अरक्षिता करदारीऽप्यमिता ॥

Skanda 4 ch 20 v 14

9 यद्वत् प्रजाते लोकदुष्टतामन्तरवृत्ति ।

यच्छतो बलिष्वहभागं नृपतेर्मैरकी भूवत् ॥

निरक्षितमिदं राज्यं पूर्णं त्यज्यतेनम् ।

अरक्ष्य कोरतकीर्यो ददौ नृपतेर्भवेत् ॥

rearing and banking managed by honest officers. On these 3 sons depends the happiness of the people.

The happiness of the people should indeed be a prime consideration with good kings according to the ancient political theorists of India. *Raja prakritiranjana*—the word 'king' in Sanskrit is derived from a root which means to please (the people).¹⁹ Whether the banishment of Sita was morally justifiable or not, the fact remains that Rama knowing in his heart of hearts that his queen was chaste and honourable²⁰ did not scruple to exile her in her delicate state of health in order to please his people. In the *Matsya Purana*,²¹ we have the following pregnant advice:

Every king should consider what are the acts which please or offend the people in his state and he should take particular care to avoid the offensive acts. O moon of the solar dynasty royal prosperity depends on the people being favourably disposed. Hence the best princes on earth should carefully act in such a way as to please the people.

In two passages in the *Vamana Purana*²² and the *Brahma Purana*²³ we have it that where the king is virtuous and powerful and his officers are well disposed towards him, and the country is well governed, and where moreover the people live in unity

and follow the path of justice, are peaceful and without mutual jealousy, there one should fix his habitation, as it is pleasant to reside in such a country, whereas it is otherwise in a country under a bad king.

The seven deadly sins of a king are—(a) excessive fondness for hunting (b) gambling (c) excessive sexual indulgence (d) drunkenness (e) financial extravagance (f) habitual use of harsh language (g) fondness for severe punishments.²⁴ In the last lines of the same chapter we are referred, for details, to the treatises of Sukra and Vrihaspati, who are said to be the founders of the science of politics.

Ancient Indian authorities were not very favourably disposed towards bureaucracies. Manu lays down the following:

Since the servants of the king whom he has appointed guardians of districts are generally knaves who seize what belongs to other men from such knaves let him defend his people.²⁵

Kalhan in his *Rajatarangini* everywhere bitterly complains against the *Kayastha*'s or royal officers, who according to Sir Aurel Stein, were mostly Brahmins by caste and ridicules their sacrosanct pretensions. According to the *Sukraniti* the king should take the side not of his officers but of his subjects.²⁶ 'For who', says Sukracharya, does not get intoxicated by drinking the vanity of office?²⁷

Alluding to Hsien Tsang's description of the grand Parliament of Religions convened by Harshavardhan under the presidency of the celebrated Chinese Master of the Law, Mr Havell says:

Another striking characteristic of Indian political life is the extraordinary deference shown by military rulers to the authorised exponents of national culture—the professional pandits.²⁸

The influence of philosophers was not the only factor in curbing royal despotism. The coronation oath which the king had to swear required him to consider always as God whatever is law and whatever is

19 रक्षिताश्च प्रजा सर्वाक्षेन राजा

Mahabharata Santiparva section 59 v 125

20 'सत्यरामा च मे देहि सीता यथा यथास्मिन्'

Ramayana Uttara kanda

21 कर्मणा केन मे लोके जनः सर्वाङ्गुराजते ।

विराजते केन तथा विजयं तमपुञ्जिता ॥

विराजजनकं लोके वज्रं नो विविशत ॥

तथाच रामप्रभा द्दि लक्ष्मी

राज्ञां मता भाङ्कराश्चन्द्र ।

तस्मात् प्रयत्नेन नरेन्द्रमुख्य

कार्याङ्गुरागो भवि मानवेष्ट ॥

ch 215 v 95-96

22 वसेत् सद्विदुर्गुराजकेषु । दुरहितेषु च जनेषु निषु ॥

ch 14 v 55

23 जितशूलो नृपो यत्र वशवान् धर्मत पर ।

तत्र नियं वरत प्रायः कृतं कुतुम्भो मुख ॥

योरा सुहृता यत्र सततं न्यायवर्तिन

आत्मायत सरिषो लोकाक्षयश्च मुखादय ॥

ch 221 v 110-11

24 आदिताद्यो लोसेवा पानसैवाग्दुषणम् ।

यामदुष्टोयश्च पादश्च सतेतानि विरक्तयेत ॥

Kalkapurana ch 84 v 42

25 Chap VII v 123

26 i 754

27 ii 227

28 *The History of Aryan Rule in India*

Harrap London 1918 p 207

in accordance with ethics and whatever is not opposed to policy and to act according to that and never to act arbitrarily."

There was no struggle says Mr Havell for freedom of conscience or for the political rights of individuals because both were established by the unwritten law of the land confirmed by every monarch in his coronation oath.

Religion took the foremost place in the political history of India by a natural psychological process because when the preliminary steps in social evolution were passed—freedom of conscience and a sufficient measure of personal liberty to ensure the contentment and material prosperity of the community—all impediments to the attainment of the highest goal of intellectual effort—spiritual freedom—had been removed.²⁹

The Sukraniti lays down that the king must never act upon his own opinions but upon the opinions of the majority.³⁰ Public opinion is more powerful than the king as the rope made up of many fibres is strong enough to drag a lion.³¹

In defining the limitations of monarchy the Hindu lawgiver is much more explicit and outspoken than the barons of England at Runnymede when they dictated Magna Carta.

Whoever the reputed author [of the *Sukraniti*] might have been he certainly was regarded as an exponent of an ancient popular tradition which every king was bound to respect for these *Visayas* were the text books for the king's education. There are always kings who forget their lessons or learn them badly but the theory that India has never enjoyed a constitution according to modern ideas is an historical fiction on which does not bear careful examination.³²

Discussing the very remarkable evidence of genuine local self government and the management of village revenues and common lands tanks gardens and charitable endowments &c by different committees of the village *Sabhas* and *Maha-Sabhas* elected after regular voting by ballot on the most approved modern methods and the exercise of judicial powers extending not only to the imposition of fines but also to capital punishment by these assemblies full details of which have been brought to

light by recent archaeological research on South Indian temple inscriptions of the ninth to the twelfth centuries A.D. Mr Havell very justly concludes that

the common belief of Europe that Indian monarchy was always an irresponsible and arbitrary despotism is so far as concerns the pre-Muhammadan period only one of the many false conceptions of Indian history held by Europeans. Neither ancient nor modern history in Europe can show a system of local self government more scientifically planned nor one which provided more effective safeguards against abuses than that which was worked out by Aryan philosophers as the social and political basis of Indo-Aryan religion. The liberty of the Englishman was wrung from unwelcome rulers by bitter struggles and by civil war. India's Aryan constitution was a free gift of the intellectuals to the people it was designed not in the interest of one class but to secure for all classes as full a measure of liberty and of spiritual and material possessions as their respective capacities and consideration of the commonweal permitted.³³

Speaking of Southern India at the dawn of the Christian era Mr Avangar in his *Ancient India* (ch. IV) says

The rulers in those days held before them high ideals of government. Their absolute authority was limited by the five great assemblies as they were called of ministers priests generals heralds (speers) and ambassadors. There appears to have been a general permit for a learned Brahmin to speak his mind in any durbar and these often gave out their opinions most fearlessly. This privilege was similarly accorded also to men of learning.

The account of the Chola administration (A.D. 900 to 1300) in chapter VI reads like a romance though gathered from the most authoritative and unimpeachable sources and demonstrates that self government of a democratic type not surpassed by any country in the modern world formed the very basis of society in Southern India.

In a little book recently written by Mr Vincent A. Smith to prove the unfitness of Indians for responsible government that most hostile of all writers was compelled to admit that

Both Hindus and Muhammadans recognised that the king had duties as well as rights and that if he was from one point of view the master he was from another the servant of the state. A

²⁹ See the quotation from Mahabharata *Antiparna*, Havell pp. 33-4.

³⁰ Havell *op cit* pp. 213-16.

³¹ "5-6 32-1 232-33

³³ iv 7 938-39 34 Havell *op cit* p. 224

33 Havell *op cit* p. 235

recent Hindu author justly observes that 'the conception of the king as servant of the state was one of the basic principles of political thought in Ancient India. The idea finds frequent expression in literature most emphatically, perhaps in the declarations of Asoka'."

Bhartrihari in the seventh century A.D. wrote as follows in his *Atisatnka* or Century of Morals

O king if thou wouldst suck the Earth like the cow tend now thy subjects like a calf, for if they are so tended constantly and well, the Earth becomes as fruitful as the mythical Kalpa tree."

36 *Indian Constitutional Reform viewed in the light of history*—by V. A. Smith (Oxford 1919) p. 20

37 राजन् दुधक्षति यदि क्षितिश्चतुसेन
तेनाद्य वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् इत्यादि ।

The prosperity of the people under a good king was, in fact, a fundamental axiom of Hindu politics

We shall conclude with two further extracts

'The king whose subjects are devoted, who is devoted to the protection of his subjects, and who has disciplined himself, enjoys great prosperity'." 'In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness, in their welfare his welfare. Whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good'."

X

सवित्रं सत्यमग्निं परिपोषयामहे
नामापहर्तुः ऋतुनि कल्पयन्ते भूमिः ॥

38 The Sukraniti, ch. I, v. 191-92

39 Kautilya's Arthashastra, Book I, ch. XIX, 39

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH CHINA ?

By ST. Nihal Singh

EVERY Oriental, no matter to what particular Eastern nation he may belong, is deeply interested in China's future, for so long as she remains a prey to chaos, the finger of Occidental scorn will be pointed towards her, to remind all Asiatics of their incompetence to manage their own affairs. I, therefore, took the opportunity of seeing His Excellency Cheng-tung T. Wang, one of the Chinese Peace Delegates, when he recently came to London on a brief visit and asked him to tell me just what the matter was with China, why the Republic was so unstable, why there was internecine conflict and why his people could not settle down to putting their house in order, and to assist in the world to create a new order.

I first met His Excellency in Shanghai fourteen or fifteen years ago, when I was engaged in journalism in the Far East when he was trying to learn all that he could of Western institutions from friendly Americans and Europeans. Shortly afterwards

we both travelled on the same steamer to Japan, where he had undertaken to work among the Chinese students, who at the time numbered something like 18,000 men and women, all eager to learn from Nippon the arts of peace and war which had enabled her to defeat Russia, and to become recognised as one of the great Powers of the world. Now that China is a Republic, it will do no harm for me to say that on board that steamer Mr. Wang told me that China would have no chance whatever until the Manchus had been swept away and the way had been cleared for the younger men to come into power and set things right. More than once while in Japan he enlarged upon that theme in conversation with me.

After leaving Tokyo I lost sight of Mr. Wang, until I met him the other day in London. During the intervening years he had gone to the United States, taken his M. A. degree from the Yale University, and returned to China just before the revolu-

tion began. Believing as he did that the Manchus should be driven out of power in the interests of Chinese progress Mr Wang threw himself heart and soul into the movement. He was at Wuchang when fighting was going on there but apparently he bore a charmed life and came out of it without a scratch. After the disappearance of the Manchus his intimate knowledge of Eastern and Western institutions and his great energy enabled him to force his way to the forefront of public life in his country and he was elected Vice President of the Chinese Senate and later was appointed Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. When Yuan Shih Kai usurped power Mr Wang remained true to the ideals of republicanism and stuck to the South. His inclusion among the Chinese Peace Delegates is for that reason significant.

For a man in the prime of life and full of energy His Excellency talks with great gravity. He told me that to understand the situation that exists in China to-day and to realise the problems that confront the Chinese patriots it is necessary to make a survey of recent Chinese history.

You may recall he said that in 1897 two German missionaries were accidentally murdered in the interior of Shantung. The Chinese murderers were apprehended and executed certain officials were punished for lax conduct indemnity was paid and two expiatory churches were erected. Nevertheless Germany refused to drop the matter and demanded that Kiao-chow be leased to her for a period of 99 years. Since that demand was enforced by a German squadron under the command of the Prince Henry of Prussia the late Kaiser's brother China had to submit.

Other European nations were watching the German game in the Far East. None of them stopped Germany from robbing China but as soon as she had succeeded in wringing concessions out of China Russia demanded Port Arthur and Dalian Great Britain Wei Hui Wei and France Kwang Chai Wan in order to maintain the balance of power in Extreme Asia.

China was helpless in the matter. Everyone believed that she had no self

respect—no national pride and thus it would be impossible to hurt her self respect and her national pride. Greatly was the world surprised therefore when the Boxer Rebellion broke out in the beginning of the present century. Many explanations were given at the time and many have been given since but the only basis on which it is possible to explain why certain Chinese massacred foreigners and laid siege to the Legation in Peking is that they resented the humiliation that the foreigners had heaped upon their country. In other words the blow out was the result of mad resentment although it was expressed in a stupid way.



CHENGTING T. WANG

Late Vice-President of the Chinese Senate
Former Minister of Commerce and Industry
Peace Delegate of the Chinese Republic

Not long after the outbreak had been put down by the joint forces of the various Western powers and Japan an indemnity levied and other harsh terms imposed upon China things appeared to settle

down. But they really never did so. There was unrest under the surface. China still nursed her bruised national pride. Those of her sons who could think for themselves and who were filled with love for their country, found it difficult to hold their heads high. Severally and collectively they felt that the weak, effete Manchu Government which was unable to give China a sound progressive, administration and which was no match for the foreign diplomatic, consular, financial and military agents was a stumbling block that must be removed at any cost and as speedily as possible.

Then came the Japanese war with Russia. That inverted values. Russia which the Chinese had looked upon as a giant, was beaten by our little neighbour from across the China Sea—our little neighbour who got her religion, literature, and art from us and who still employed our ideographs. They said that Russia's heart was not in the fight, otherwise little Japan could not have beaten her. But explanation or no explanation we could see that Japan had hurled the Russian soldiers back from the seaboard, hundreds and hundreds of miles and that in their retreat, the Russians had lost large numbers of men and great quantities of material.

"That defeat—or whatever you may like to call it—galvanised China. Thousands of our young men who used to scoff at Japanese progress hurried across the sea and entered Japanese schools and colleges. Hundreds of other young men went to America and to various other countries in Europe to learn the art and science of the West. The progressive among the provincial governors aided many of these enthusiastic young Chinese to go on their pilgrimages to the students' Mecca of the world.

"The United States of America set a high moral example to the world. It refused to take any more Chinese money for the men who had been killed or maimed and the property that had been damaged during the Boxer Rebellion. That example was, alas! lost upon the other nations, but China was deeply moved. And I am glad

to say that our Government, in spite of its weakness and shortsightedness, rose to the occasion at that time. It told the authorities at Washington that China was ineffably moved by American generosity and that it wished to make arrangements so that the money that the United States was remitting would still be spent in America. She proposed to use it in educating her promising young men and women at American schools, colleges and universities.

"It is strange how even intelligent persons all over the world continue to cherish the notion that in remitting their share of the Boxer indemnity Americans made a bargain with the Chinese that that money must be spent in the United States of America. That is a libel upon American character. The arrangement was suggested by China.

"As the young men, and aye, the young women educated abroad—and especially in the United States—returned to China to find that the Government still went on in its sleepy reactionary way, the warm young blood coursing in their veins began to boil. Controversy over affairs in Manchuria was going on between China and Japan at the time. Chinese indignation at Japanese high-handedness led to the boycott of Japanese goods. Collision between the Chinese and the Japanese in China occurred for which China had to eat humble pie. That made the young Chinese men grit their teeth and hastened the revolution, which was precipitated on October 10, 1911.

"I myself thought", said Mr. Wang, that the revolution broke out prematurely. But that could not be helped. It is not possible to control such a movement when it goes beyond a certain stage. Anyhow, premature or not it succeeded. The struggle was brief and not particularly sanguinary. The Manchus were advised to abdicate by Yuan Shih Kai. They did so. The way was thus made clear for the establishment of the new order.

"Time did not justify the placing of Yuan Shih Kai at the head of the Republic, but at the time that appeared to be the only thing to do. At any rate, in the circumstance, it was magnanimous of Dr.

Sun Yet-Sen the father of the revolution to offer the highest prize in the gift of a nation to another individual. Even though Yuan acted treacherously Dr Sun's abnegations did not go altogether unavailing. I believe it had a tremendous effect upon the world. It showed quite clearly more than anything else could possibly have done that Young China was not out merely for office and that you will concede was a great thing.

After the revolution had succeeded we found said His Excellency that our difficulties were greatly increased because the various Powers of the world—strange as it may sound—appeared to be lined up with the reactionaries against the progressives. The reactionary elements in the country were strong numerically and extremely influential. With the backing that they received from various agents and especially the money that they were given by various nations they could defy the progressives. That I think is the real reason why the progressives have not been able to succeed any better than they have done—why during the short space of 7 years there have been 4 revolutions and two attempts to re-establish the Imperial regime.

When the War began and the liberal Powers of Europe ranged themselves against the autocratic Powers of Central Europe the progressive element in China hoped that a new chapter in Chinese history would begin. We heard for instance that Great Britain was going into the fight in defence of national rights and the freedom of small nations. We wanted nothing more than to be left alone to work out our own salvation and we believed that Britain and her Allies meant their formulas to apply as much to the Far East as to the Far West.

While Chinese Progressives felt thus the Chinese Government began to negotiate with Germany for taking over the unexpired lease of Kiaochow. But these negotiations were rudely interrupted by the ultimatum served by Japan upon Germany. When China offered to join forces with the Allies to co-operate in the reduction of that German outpost her offer was objected to by a certain Power.

Early in 1915 China renewed her offer to go into the war. But for some unspecified reason that same Power was opposed to her doing so. A friendly diplomat in China advised our Government not to press her demands. What could China do?

You will see therefore pointed out His Excellency that it was not China's fault that until 1917 she remained neutral and that her contribution to the war consisted merely in sending thousands of Chinese sailors to help to keep afloat Allied merchantmen engaged in bringing food to Britain and other lands and hundreds of thousands of Chinese labourers to work behind the lines and in munition factories in France Mesopotamia and elsewhere and providing large quantities of provisions and raw materials for use in war and other industries. The entry of the United States of America into the war and her appeal to the neutrals to join the Powers associated together to crush the menace of militarism and to make the world safe for democracy paved the way for China to come in.

You may recall emphasised the Chinese statesman that no delay occurred on the part of China. Further she made it absolutely clear that she had gone into the fight from no sordid or ulterior motive. Her whole aim was to help to crush the peril to civilisation and to insure national rights and self-determination.

China's entry into the war profoundly affected the Far Eastern situation especially the situation in regard to Kiaochow. From that time onward the territory did not remain territory that had been acquired by an enemy from a nation that was neutral. With China fighting on the side of the Allies it became a territory that rightfully belonged to an Ally and that if the Allied formulas of national rights and self-determination had any meaning what ever must be handed back to China. But the Chinese delegates at Paris find that the fate of a territory which belongs to China one of the Allies is being settled on the basis of conquest. While the Allies have refused to make the territories in Africa which actually belonged to Germany the subject of barter with Germany it is proposed that the fate of Kiaochow will

was merely leased to the Germans shall be a matter to be settled by the victors with the vanquished China is to be treated in this matter as if she were not an Ally at all."

I reminded His Excellency that the Japanese had definitely promised to transfer to the Chinese the rights and privileges in the leased territory in Kiaochao that Germany was to transfer to them "Yes," said he, "I know all that. But Japan has expressed the intention of retaining part of Tsingtao as a Japanese concession. They want no more than twelve (12) square miles. That is true. But those twelve square miles contain the wharves, railway terminus and the business part of the town. Besides the Japanese desire to have certain railway mining, and industrial rights in Shantung—including the joint management of the railways with Japanese guards stationed on them."

After a short pause the Chinese statesman added with great deliberation, as if he was weighing every word that he uttered: "If the Chinese were to consent to giving such rights to Japan which, unlike Germany, is China's next door neighbour, what becomes of China's territorial integrity and her sovereignty? That is the reason why my colleagues and I in Paris have adopted an uncompromising attitude over the Kiaochao question. Since we are asking for nothing but the application of the principles for which the Allies fought so nobly, we fully expect that they will sympathise with our cause."

"Whatever the future may hold for Kiaochao it is to be hoped that alien imperialism and foreign financial interests will let us alone to work out our own salvation. If the world will give us a chance it will find that we Chinese know our own minds. Whatever the cost all the progressive elements in our country are united in their desire for the preservation of Chinese independence, and the Republican form of Government. In face of tremendous difficulties we are doing all that we possibly can to improve and extend education, sanitation and communications to revise and codify our laws and to re-organise our institutions so

that while retaining the essential Chinese characteristics, they will conform as far as possible to the most modern standards."

"Our ideals and aims should appeal to every progressive person in the Allied countries, and should guarantee to us that sympathy and help without which, as matters stand at present, it is impossible for us to establish a new world order in China. 'The spheres of influence' which menace our sovereignty and which prevent our commercial and industrial expansion, must go. So must consular jurisdiction, which offends Chinese national self respect and often causes miscarriage of justice. The postal and similar concessions wrung by the Powers from China must also disappear, for they are like grit in the Chinese eye, and they hamper Chinese progress. The Powers must also withdraw the obligation imposed upon China to levy customs at the uniform rate of five per cent *ad valorem*, irrespective of whether they are necessities or luxuries—a clear case of injustice."

"Besides all this negative help," the liberal peoples of the Allied countries can render us much 'positive' assistance. We need capital, not to carry on internecine warfare and to pursue Imperialistic and jingo politics, but to build railways and roads to develop natural resources and industries and to carry out other equally urgent measures of national amelioration. We need not only capital, but also experts who will help us to reorganise our institutions whom we are willing to pay adequately, and who, in days to come, will be sure to be gratefully remembered by China. But first last, and all the time, we desire to be left alone so that we may be able to carry on the work of regeneration undisturbed. Foreigners must cease interfering with our internal affairs—aiding one party against the other. That really is the root cause of the trouble. The minute foreigners cease giving money and other help to Chinese factions, internecine warfare will receive its death warrant, and the reign of order and progress can be ushered in."

Let us hope that this appeal of the Chinese statesman and patriot will not fall upon deaf ears.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Rabindranath's Resignation

Everyman's Review (Madras) for June, 1919 in its Notes and Comments writes

Though the title of a Knighthood is but a trifle for a man of Rabindranath's genius and celebrity, his resigning that conventional honour coveted by most men and only very sparingly conferred by the Government, and resigning it quite unprovoked and unincited by personal insults is an act of heroism and charity characteristic of the world-renowned poet. If we want to have a precedent to this we must go back to him alone, and his refusal to visit Canada and deliver lectures at the Canadian Universities because of the injustice done to the Indians settled in Canada is the only other example that can be compared to this resignation prompted by a simple and pure fellow feeling and regard for the mother-country. The letter written by the poet to His Excellency the Viceroy on the eve of his resignation will hereafter form a landmark in the history of political and literary advancement of India. Dr. Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield is famous and epoch-making in the history of English Literature because of the courage with which it upholds the dignity of human nature and condemns the hypocrisy of all scheming tyrants posing themselves as patrons of Fine Arts. Rabindranath Tagore's letter is destined to take a place secondary if at all only to that of Dr. Johnson's celebrated epistle and future generations of Indians will read and re-read it and feel inspired by the language of lofty moral indignation used by the poet against the wrongs done to his humble and beloved countrymen.

While we reproduce the above with approval, we fail to find any exact analogy between Dr. Johnson's famous letter to Lord Chesterfield and that of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore to Lord Chelmsford. Johnson wrote his letter actuated by the wrong, supposed or real, inflicted on him by Lord Chesterfield by neglecting his claims to recognition while he was in distress and then going forward to heap praises on him when he was no longer in need of any patronage. Rabindranath was never in distress arising from poverty and never sought any patronage from anybody; much less from the authorities represented by Lord Chelmsford. Thus while Johnson's letter was a protest against personal neglect Rabindranath's is nothing of the kind, being based solely on national grounds in that it contains his

resignation of all titles and honours conferred on him by a Government with which he ceases to see eye to eye as to the manner of the administration of the affairs of his country and people.

The Uplift of Indian Womanhood.

Mr. Abdul Hameed contributes a well-written article under the above heading in the June number of *East and West* now published from Simla. The article runs:

From the beginning of time Woman has occupied a very important position in Society. She has always been in a large measure the source of strength and inspiration and there are instances in the history of all nations where women have been the types of all the highest qualities. We have Savitri, the ideal of perfect Love, who conquered Death; we have St. Therese, who is held in the highest reverence as the ideal of Indian womanhood. Women have always exerted a great influence on every race. Well has it been said, "The hand that rocks the cradle is the power that moves the world." It looks impossible that a nation can be great and free if its other half is held in bondage. That is a question with which we, in the India of these changing times are confronted, and it looks as if in the path of our nation's destiny the words of the poet ring truer than ever.

The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink together, dwarfed or glorified, bond or free.

In the main, we have forgotten the high ideals of the long ago, and Indian womanhood is not given the freedom and knowledge which men enjoy and that is why our national awakening is only half complete. Women are looked upon as slaves and they are considered to have no duty higher than doing the ordinary household work. They are denied the light and air of life. As for the state of their education it is very backward and one feels the position which they nowadays occupy when it is borne in mind that on education depends the realisation of the values of life, the social, moral and political issues, as well as the knowledge of their duties in home and civic life.

It is the mothers who are the mainspring of all the activities of the race; the mothers who in their very laps arouse race-consciousness, that have been the builders and the ministrants of empires. These are the mothers like the mother of the Gracchi, that made Rome what it was—the pride of the nations, and the wonder of subsequent ages. There is no greater duty, no nobler task for Young India than the one which can be so simply expressed—'Make women realise their Self,' for only in self-realisation lies the knowledge of God and the world. Let them feel that they are the inheritors of great ideals, and that the redemption

of their nation depends on them. Woman's position with man's is one of equality, and both complement one another in the labours of life. This idea must take deep root in us, and will give rise to a reverence towards women which is their due. Therefore the first duty that we owe to women as well as to ourselves is the proper realisation of the place of women in society. Having done that and felt how indispensable they are to national as well as individual well-being, how handicapped societies and individuals are without the help and guidance of womankind, the next thing is to equip them so as to become of the greatest service. This can be achieved by a healthy and proper system of education commensurate with their needs. This must not degenerate into a fetish of instruction, that would be the greatest disservice we can do, rather let it aim at developing their highest qualities. When we have succeeded there, we shall have solved one of our greatest national problems, and raised society to a nobler level where men and women still walk as comrades and the progress of the state also in every sphere will be assured.

Unless, therefore, a feeling of sacredness and reverence surrounds womanhood and the high ideals of a golden past where women were goddesses and partakers of life, and not mere jasmine flowers, there can be no real progress. The springtide of our regeneration will not come until our women hold forth the banner of a nation's freedom. For, as the Prophet of Arabys has so exquisitely said, "Under the feet of the Mother lies Paradise."

यत्र नार्थं तु पूजां करोमस्ते तत्र देवता —where women are honoured there the gods rejoice —is a Hindu saying

Religious Education

In the June number of *The Hindusthan Review* (of Allahabad) there appears an article under the above caption in the course of which the writer, Mr Doraiswamy Iyengar, B.A., says

The present system of English education in India which was established in the thirties of the last century has been found faulty in many respects and capable of much improvement. Of late it has become the fashion in India to decry this system without thought or moderation, and lay every evil in the land on its head. Among its suggested defects none has been subjected to so much criticism as the absence of religious instruction. This protest against pure secular education received articulate voice during the national awakening of the last decade and found concrete expression in the movement for the two denominational universities. Just now this question has drawn upon itself an unduly large portion of national attention.

The writer continues.

The problem of religious education, though apparently a simple one, really involves many issues. It is the most perplexing education problem of modern times all over the world, as it is attended with insurmountable difficulties, theoretical and practical.

The crux of it is that it raises some of the deepest controversies of the modern age which have irreconcilably divided people into hostile camps. A plea for religious education falls into three parts, a case has to be made out for the universal necessity of studying religion, next, it must be proved that religious education can be satisfactorily imparted only in public schools, lastly, an actual scheme must be devised meeting all the practical difficulties. The champions of religious education mostly devote themselves to the first of these and altogether ignore the second and the third, failing to perceive the possibility of opposing religious education on any one of the three grounds even if the other two are granted. They also ignore the difference either between religious education and religious instruction, or between religious education and moral education, and confounding all of them with one another commit serious fallacies.

Continuing the writer observes.

Several reasons are advanced to show the universal necessity for the study of religion, the most pet reason being that religion is the soundest basis for morality. On this supposition very many people have indulged in a good deal of 'cheap talk' about our present system of education. This education is described as sceptical, materialistic and debased in character, capable of producing only rank agnostics and frivolous atheists without having any living faith for later life, and almost solely responsible for the moral degeneration in the country.

The writer further argues.

Leaving aside for the present the question of the difference between morality and religion, it can be seen that the summary condemnation of the present system of education as being by nature immoral and solely responsible for all the supposed moral degradation of our nation, is hardly fair. There is no doubt that the hold of traditional morality and conventional religion on the educated youth of to-day has been largely undermined, and some signs of a little moral confusion are visible in our national life to-day. But this is the result of many causes. All over the world the modern spirit is up in arms against customary morality of any sort and India has also witnessed within herself this upheaval in the world thought. The clash between the old and the new, the East and the West, is now violently raging amidst us and the commotion incidental to such a wholesale shaking of thought and life cannot be judged by the standard of a peaceful age. All our cherished standards of life, outlook on things and experience of the world have been thrown into confusion and under such conditions there is scope for some frivolous, if not positively immoral, living. Westernism has implanted within us the spirit on individualism which is the great solvent of all traditions and set forms. The Age of Authority and of unquestioning obedience to it is past and the individual is the master of himself and his opinions. Modernism is also the most formidable antagonist of all kinds of formalism, it wants to have the spirit, the inner meaning, and rejects all external forms. It is just possible that our youths have given up all the external and unessential forms of moral and religious observance, and drawn upon themselves the wrath of the large body of traditional formalists. The existing system of education is the undoubted cause of the

advent of these factors, that have shaken the hold of conventional morality but it is not inherently opposed to morality itself

Mr Iyengar goes on arguing

But is not this supposed moral depravity of our educated youths an exaggeration? Is the present system of education really so bad as is made out? It is atrocious on the part of our leaders to call the entire educated community of India by bad names, when that community has successfully acquitted itself in all the available fields of national activity and has been primarily responsible for the national progress so far attained. It is also an exaggeration to call the modern system of education as sceptical and atheistic. How many of the thousands of its products have led atheistic lives? Most of these are law-abiding men meek and pious. And besides even if the education is atheistic there ought to be no harm since the Hindu is said to be inherently the most religious of beings.

The writer continues

People say that the present system of education is essentially materialistic and as such imperfect as well as dangerous. A mere physical, external, animal sort of life is no doubt bad and the present education is to some extent responsible for such a kind of life. But this does not arise from the secular character of the education. Education in Europe is mostly secular but still spiritual. If by spiritual we imply the notion of otherworldliness, then the European and the Indian systems of education are both non-spiritual, materialistic and secular. But how is this dangerous or low? Are we to say that Mill, Spencer, George Eliot, Leslie Stephen, John Morley, Bradlaugh and Heckel are

persons of no worth because they are not spiritual in the above sense? One of the greatest leaders of modern India, the late G. K. Gokhale, was an agnostic who had adopted the intellectual creed of English Philosophical Radicalism. Was India any the worse off on account of this? A distinguished student of the material sciences like Sir J. C. Bose, who has grown up, so far as his public education went in a purely secular and materialistic environment, can prove to be a more spiritual and religious man than a Pandit who has grown up in a life-long study of religion, provided he has a tendency for introspection. Deep reflection on any thing may lead to the development of a philosophy of life eminently serviceable to its author throughout his life. Those who have read the thoughtful discourses of Sir J. C. Bose can know how he has been able to draw out an altogether original and independent philosophy of life from a deep reflection on the biologic processes of nature. The cant about the materialism of our education and its danger to the country has no foundation in fact.

It is not thus proper to condemn the present system of education in India as being responsible for all the moral evils of our national life. The environment and the character of our life are more to blame for this than the educational system.

The writer concludes

Without prejudice to these considerations the contention of Mr Justice Sheshagiri Iyer may be conceded, that if the mass of the people in a country demand religious education, it must be provided for. The best agency for it must always lie outside the school.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The British Empire and The League of Nations

In the April number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* Bishop Frodsham, who is especially dubious about the operation of the mandatory system, writes about the League of Nations in the following manner:

It would be futile to imagine that all who are concerned with the formation of the League of Nations are friends of the British Empire. They may neither side with Germany nor be planning our undoing but none the less they do not consider themselves as custodians of our imperial foundations or superstructure. On the other hand there are some who believe that the British Empire will gain in some unexplained fashion, by the mandatory system. No greater mistake could be made. And even if the British were to gain much, they would lose far more, and the whole world would share their loss, if it meant purchasing a cumbersome political machine at the cost of the new-born spirit of unity and trust which has sprung up between America and the Allies—an ethical kinship which may yet prove to be the best positive product of the war.

This article has not been prompted by any prejudice against the main principle for which the League of Nations may be presumed to stand. The British Empire stands for the same principle, which is nothing less than making the world into a peaceful home for a united human family. The main difference between the League of Nations and the British Empire is that one is a theoretical venture, the other has the right to claim experimental value; the one plans from the circumference, the other works from the centre. The League of Nations is a glorious dream, but the British Empire is a solid reality. However drab in comparison with dreamland the British Empire may appear, it exists upon this much-enduring blood-stained earth as a preliminary sketch of what the whole world can become, that is, a community of all varieties of the human race bound together by ties light as air but strong as iron. The ink upon the charter of the League of Nations is barely dry, and already the draft may be pencilled over with innumerable amendments. The constitution of the British Empire has not yet been written. It is in the heart of the people—the same people who have shown their willingness to die for the Empire but who, it is complained, refuse even to be interested in the

League of Nations The British Empire is the product of gradual development and of three hundred years of practical experience It has neither outgrown its usefulness nor is it tottering to its fall It is by far the largest and most extensive part of the edifice of human society And no greater world disaster could be conceived than that the fabric of the Empire should be undermined in order to make room for an ambitious but imperfectly thought-out scheme for building a Palace of Peace, which may turn out to be only another castle in Spain

How self-righteous !

The Monroe Doctrine.

We are indebted to *The Review of Reviews* (London) for the following interesting extracts relating to the oft-quoted Monroe Doctrine :

The genesis of the famous political doctrine known as the Monroe Doctrine, says Mr J G R Marriott, in the April number of the *Edinburgh Review*, has been the subject of considerable dispute. The theory contains in its complete form two distinct formulae, first, abstention on the part of America from any intervention in European affairs, and, secondly, the exclusion of European influence from the American continent, and both formulae date long before the President who gave them their name The first was explicitly affirmed by Washington in his Farewell Address in 1795, and by Jefferson in his First Inaugural in 1801, and it was not long before the second and strictly correlative formula was added to it, for as early as 1803 Jefferson insisted that the object of the United States should be "to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere" The first enunciation of the Doctrine, by President Monroe, in 1823 was brought about by Canning's famous endeavour to "bring in the New World to redress the balance of the Old" Mr Marriott says —

By this message Canning was gravely perturbed He had got much more than he bargained for All that he desired was the co-operation of the United States in thwarting the supposed designs of the Holy Alliance, and in particular of France, upon the Spanish colonies What he got was a general intimation, *urbi et orbi*, that henceforward the American continent would be the exclusive preserve of the American peoples, and that no further acquisitions of American soil would be permitted to European or other States

From December 1823 to December 1913 the Monroe Doctrine has been the sheet-anchor of American diplomacy Primarily put forward in reference to the Russian claim upon the North West coast and to the crisis in Spanish South America, the principles enunciated by President Monroe were from the first, perceived to possess a far wider application Canning's chagrin was amply justified The message no more discriminated between Great Britain and the absolutist Powers of the Continent than did the propagandist Decrees issued by the French Republic in the autumn of 1792 It was, in pronouncement of a great democracy just arrived at aggressive self-consciousness Its underlying spirit was in very truth antagonism, so far as concerned

affairs of the Western hemisphere, to all monarchic Europe, Great Britain included

Japan and India—As Other See Us.

Under the above heading Mr S Kami saka, Managing-Director, Japan Spinners' Union, who recently travelled in India on business, records his views about this country and its people in the pages of the *Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association*, No 24 (Tokyo), in the following words :

Rather closely connected as Japan and India are in respect of thought, they are, materially speaking, truly alienated from each other While Europe, which first came into touch with India thought about the mediæval age and which has even now but a very faint spiritual relation with India, has got ahead of Japan in entering into close material relations with India and succeeded, after exchanges of commodities, in obtaining territorial possession, Japan, to our great regret, still ranks in Indian trade among such minor European countries as have the least This is, needless to say, due to the general trend of modern civilization of the world Had our navigation been as active since the 17th century as that of Europe and our national resources as bountiful, India would have approached Japan before Europe, and Japan would have no doubt achieved as much at least as Europe did in India But our domestic conditions are too widely different from those of Europe, and our national resources too inferior to enable us to reap the same result in India It will not be, however, too exaggerated a statement to say that within twenty years hence Indo-Japanese relations will undergo a thorough change

The writer continues to observe under the sub caption "Religious Caste a Drag upon Indians. —"

International relations depend a great deal, if not entirely, upon national feelings, for national feeling plays an important role in international friendship The Indians have entertained good feelings towards the Japanese, or, more properly, show a national tendency to approach Japan But this tendency is founded not as the result of the popular feeling, but upon the national faith, which is more deeply rooted than feeling For, the Indians are a unique religious people, and their thought is so fundamentally religious, that they can conceive nothing without religion, religion is the sum total of Indian thought And according to the religion which they embrace, the caste system, entirely peculiar to India, will never be changed as long as the world remains populated To the Indian eye, therefore, the protection of the caste means more than that of the state For man is born in caste, and there exists no human being outside of caste Violate

the usage of caste, and you are doomed entirely. Members of different castes never marry, have any sort of intercourse, or sit at table together. People of the same caste get intimate but those of different castes reject one another, at the pleasure of their gods. The fundamental principle of Indian thought is religion. Religion accounts for the existence of caste, which is most strictly adhered to as something sacred. The attitude of the Indians towards other people whether neighbours or strangers or aliens, is governed by this caste spirit. Once an intimate Indian friend called me a "Brahmin of Japan" meaning that among the Japanese people who are on the whole friendly I was the most friendly to this particular Indian like one of the Brahmin caste of his country. This is enough to show how thoroughly the caste spirit permeates the thought of the Indians.

According to this Japanese gentleman "Indians are a lovable nation. Talking of the "attitude of Great Britain towards India" Mr Kamisaka observes

Great Britain is far more disadvantageously situated than Japan in regard to an understanding of the psychology of the Indians. For something stands in the way of the union of the European and Indian minds. There were some hundred thousand British subjects in India in pre-war times, but how many of this large number truly understood the customs, manners and hearts of the people? Need I mention the still greater difficulty the British people at home experience in their study of India? Still be it said to the credit of Great Britain that the British colonial policy has been a successful one.

Apart from political and financial affairs England never interferes with any Indian customs or practices pertaining to their religion but leaves such matters to the free judgment of the Indians. The British people never hint at the improvement of these practices. For they know full well that a careless interference with any religious question, which is the central thought of the Indians, might lead to serious trouble. And this fear is not imaginary or groundless for every trouble that Great Britain has experienced with Indians and every outburst of Indian rage have been directly or indirectly connected with religion. The Indians are comparatively indifferent in matters of politics, finance and other social questions. It is the Indian policy of Great Britain I believe, not to anglicize India from the foundation but to unify the internal administration, maintain order and peace in the country, increase Indian wealth and obtain as much profit herself as possible. And Great Britain has perfectly attained her object in the past, for under the British administration India has seen the most peaceful prosperity ever witnessed in Indian history, and the Indians perfectly satisfied with British government, showing no sign of discontent or complaint.

Even the anti-British feelings often reported lately, represent the views of but a small portion of the Indian people, having nothing to do with the general sentiments of the nation.

The writer, under the sub-caption "Indian Trade Prospects", concludes

I have elsewhere stated what good feeling the Indian people entertain towards the Japanese, and good feelings often pave the way for peaceful business transactions. Besides, no other nation in the world is more influenced, either favorably or otherwise by social considerations. Their characteristic exclusiveness, by which they never eat anything touched by one of another caste may be held to account for the distinctions they make in caste in race in religion, and everything else. But this same trait may influence them in business transactions and also in the purchase of daily necessities. This is the natural tendency from which no Indian can free himself. If therefore the Japanese manage to harmonise themselves with the thought and feelings of the Indians become truly intimate and friendly with them most confidently and confidently lead and guide them and at the same time improve and promote our industries to meet fully the Indian demands and exchange our industrial products for the inexhaustible natural resources of India for the mutual convenience and profit then we may safely expect to see Indo-Japanese relations most closely established within twenty years hence.

Multiplicity and the Social order

We take the following from an article under the above caption contributed to the April number of the *Harvard Theological Review* by Mr J Lowenberg

The issues of philosophy are too grave for facile theories. So are the issues of the war. The war is a struggle of general ideas of which there are exponents in every nation and some of which come to predominate now in this, now in that country. Racial and national conflicts themselves may be interpreted in terms of a deeper opposition. There are after all but a few fundamental problems, towards which there are but a limited number of ultimate attitudes. One such problem, of which the war of nations is only one instance is the problem of multiplicity. And this problem is as general as it is fundamental. It is everywhere forced upon us. We have but to open our eyes to see it reflected in a thousand shapes. Nature with its manifoldness exhibits it, the inner life with its diversity of moods, passions and motives discloses it, the social order with its variety of institutions, forces, laws, interests and claims bares it, the world with its many kinds, races, nations, states, cultures and creeds displays it. The world is everywhere multiple and diverse. This is the universal

situation. And it is this situation which creates our significant problems, practical as well as theoretical. The problem of individual ethics is the problem of choice. In a world in which there is possible but one course of action, no moral perplexity can exist. There is a problem of social morality because there are many of us. Were there but one individual, no social questions would arise. And in a world made up of one nation only, there would be no international disputes. The problems of science have meaning because many and various and complex phenomena call for interpretation. Without a multiplicity and diversity of facts to reduce to law and order, science itself would evaporate. And philosophy—what is it but an effort to reconstruct the meaning of a world in which many antitheses and contradictions seem to prevail? The work of philosophy consists in formulating the many problems of life and of reality and in appraising the validity of opposed solutions.

Again.

Is the State logically prior to Law, or is Law logically prior to the State? Is the will of the State ultimate or is there an authority, legal or moral, which ranks superior to the will of the State? Is or is not the State capable of criminal acts? These questions cannot be answered without determining the character and the reality of the State. As a mere collection of detached individuals it is irresponsible, as a mystic being existing as a sort of Platonic Idea, the State transcends the moral judgments which bind human individuals; as a 'fictitious' or "symbolic" or "hieroglyphic" personality which is and is not an individual the State again eludes responsibility. Truly romantic is the "double evaluation" of the group. As *Persona ficti* the State has all the privileges with none of the responsibilities of a person. But if the State is neither a collective name, nor a transcendent Idea nor a fiction or symbol, but a person in the ethical sense, or an organized individuality, as Plato conceived his Republic, then the State can sin as do individuals and is subject to the same moral restrictions as are its individual members.

What has Japan done in the War

Baron Makino writing in the *London Daily Telegraph* of London, an article on "Japan and China. An Official View," says

We ask nothing for Japan but those things which appear to us just and equitable, and of the justice and equity of which we may be able to convince not only the representatives of the nations in the Peace Conference, but the people of the countries they represent. We have no demands to make, we merely advance certain matters for the same consideration by other

nations as we have ourselves given to them in the light of our own position and the future of the Far East. It may be necessary to go back through the history of some years in order that we may arrive at what we regard as a fair and equitable conclusion.

After detailing *in extenso* all that has been done by the Japanese in helping in the maintenance of peace and order in central Asia and in the Far East since 1905 up to the end of the War just closed which began in 1914, the Baron concludes with the following words:

The question has been asked, 'What has Japan done in this war?' I answer only by saying that Japan has done her best. It is perhaps not unseemly to state that her fleets in the Pacific and Indian oceans and in the Mediterranean traversed over 1,200,000 miles in the work of protecting transports and merchant vessels from the submarines, and we escorted three quarters of a million men rushing to the aid of France and Britain. Japan's geographical position, her resources, and the fact that the Pacific Ocean was freed of the menace which has threatened the freedom of other seas, enabled us to provide considerable quantities of war supplies and materials to Russia, to England and to France, and including loans to Russia, the money expenditure has been a very considerable item in the budget of Japan. But these are small matters in comparison with the magnificent sacrifices of our western allies. The government and the people of Japan have been the loyal allies of Great Britain and France and the friends of Russia and of the United States. It is not for me here to enter into a relation of what we have done in detail. It is sufficient to say that what has been given or spent and what has been lost in the cause for which the allies have fought and won have been contributed in a spirit of loyalty and sympathy, and that we are here now to assist in the work of building barricades against war and in forging links of friendship and understanding between the nations of the East and of the West.

The British View of Irish Nationalism.

Under the above caption there appears an article in the *London Spectator* in the course of which the writer observes

Everyone with a faculty for argumentation must have despaired sometimes when he found himself opposed in a discussion to a person on whom logic had no effect for whom syllogisms did not exist and in whose mind a rationally presented series of connecting links in argument inspired nothing but some new and fantastic irrelevance. The man with the rational mind in such circumstances recognizes at length that all his rationality is of no avail, that every point of learning and dialectic on which he prided himself might just as

we'll not have been uttered, for he has all the time been following the futile occupation of punching a feathered or kicking against a brick wall. Englishmen who read the reports of Irish debates in the House of Commons know something of that despair. We cannot go into the whole of the debate which took place in the House of Commons the other day, but let us, to illustrate our meaning, disentangle a few arguments from the mass. The Nationalists—and the same thing is true of what may be called the moderate Sinn Féiners, if there be such persons—base their claim for independence upon the rights of small nationalities and upon what in the jargon of the day has come to be known as self-determination. Surely if these men had any glimmerings of statesmanship they would at once accept the offer that has been made to them over and over again that they may set up a Parliament in Ireland which will not control the Six Counties of Northeast Ulster where the population is predominantly Unionist and Protestant. Obviously, if the majority of the people in the South and West of Ireland have a right to determine their own political destiny, the local majority of the Six Counties have an exactly similar right. That is the merest logic. If the Dublin Parliament should succeed, there can be no doubt whatever that within three or four years the excluded part of Ulster would be begging and praying to come in. If we were Ulstermen, we should always be rubbing in the fact that the unwillingness of Irishmen in the South and West to set up a Parliament where they have a really homogeneous population is the most alarming fact in the situation. Within the area which is undoubtedly of their own way of thinking the Nationalists could carry on quite happily without being balked and tormented by all those tiresome Protestant or Unionist objectors from Ulster. We feel sure that if we were Home Rulers we should actually say, 'We would rather be without miserable anti-Irish Irishmen like you Northeast Ulster people. Directly the Nationalists began to talk in that strain, and especially if they begin to make an obvious success of their affairs, Ulster Unionists and Protestants would begin to hesitate, to ask themselves questions, and to wonder if, after all, there was any need to hold out longer.'

The writer continues :

But the Nationalists seem to be by temperament or brain power quite incapable of appreciating this history for them tells its stories in vain. Suppose that during the *risorgimento* of Italy, Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Cavour had said, 'We will have all or nothing. There shall be no partition. If we cannot include in our new State some city where the population is thoroughly pro-Austrian and full of anti-Italian patriots, then we will not create a New Italy at all.' Yet, if we can imagine the creators of New Italy being so mad, their madness would not have exceeded what is solemnly and eloquently asserted by Irish Nationalist Members in the House of Commons. Mr. Ronald Mac Neil in his excellent speech put the case extremely well. He pointed out that loyal Irishmen who had fought for the maintenance of the Union for generations were anxious not to be obstructive when war came, and they abandoned their insistence upon maintaining the Union. The answer of the Nationalists and Sinn Féiners to that was, as Mr. Mac Neil put it, that they wanted 'self-determination for Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, coupled with

'domination over those who are outside their own borders.' That, he added, 'is the sort of self-determination which I do not think the Peace Conference is likely to support.'

Further runs the article :

This reference to the Peace Conference reminds us of the appeal which the Sinn Féiners have sent to Paris demanding independence for Ireland as being the right of a small nation. We do not ourselves think that there is any sense, justice, or safety in asking other nations to settle the affairs of our sovereign State, but as the Sinn Féiners, with their customary irresponsibility, have taken this action, it would surely be advisable for the Unionists of Ulster to deliver a counter-attack. Just as an admirable counterstatement was issued by the Ulster Unionists when the Lord Mayor of Dublin dispatched his glowing misstatement about Irish history to President Wilson so might Ulster Unionists now tell the truth to the Peace Conference. They might invite the Peace Conference to rule that if small nations have the right of self-determination, a similar right shall be extended to any tract of territory, in a new small State not to be separated from the country to which it previously belonged if a majority of the inhabitants express that desire. Such a right is surely co-ordinate with the right of self-determination. Could there be a proposition more opposed to the principle of self-determination than that a nation has a right to wrench away from the allegiance it professes and loves some such district as that of Northeast Ulster? It might be said that the Unionists and Protestants of Northeast Ulster are really secured by the pledges of the Prime Minister but it would be a fine thing, and a great thing, if, in spite of the fact that they felt reasonably secure, they asserted the right we have described for other small communities.

The following lines represent the penultimate paragraph of the article :

We wish we could do justice to Mr. Macpherson's speech, in which the contrast between the prosperity of Ireland and the intense cruelty of the shootings, persecutions, and oppressions being carried out by Sinn Féiners was sharply and ably drawn. But we must content ourselves with referring finally to the speech of Mr. Lynn—a maiden speech which was a real contribution to the debate. Mr. Lynn talked of the repetition by the Nationalist speakers of the 'ancient litany' of imaginary wrongs. Here he put his finger on one of the most ridiculous of Irish irrationalities. The argument that the British Government should now do something wrong and foolish in order to atone for the faults of Englishmen of past generations is a negation of all statesmanlike ideas. If the principle of such a demand is justifiable, why is it not applied to the Roman Church? If Protestant Englishmen must make amends for injustices or crimes said to have been committed generations ago, by what right do Roman Catholics demand to be free from the same obligation? On these terms the Roman Catholics owe reparation for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and for the two Irish massacres of the seventeenth century, and for the terrible Irish rebellion of '98. Why should the poor English race be the only one to which is applied the law that 'the sins of the fathers must be visited on the children'? The argument, of course, does

not bear looking into Shakespeare is usual told the truth 'Crimes like land are not inherited

The article concludes —

We earnestly hope that Mr Lynn will press his demand for information about the relations, before and during the war, between the Sinn Feiners and Germany. He traced those relations back to 1911, and stated explicitly that during the war secret wireless installations were established, German submarines were supplied with petrol and other necessities, large quantities of German arms were landed, and elaborate arrangements were made for a German occupation. The British public wants to know exactly where the Sinn Feiners stand. What is the truth of all these matters? If a Parliament is set up in Dublin, it will, of course, be a Sinn Féin Parliament. It is really utterly indefensible for the government to say in effect 'We will not allow any information to be published about the character of these men to whom we may entrust the task of setting up a Parliament to rule the greater part of Ireland and who will have license to make any trouble they please at your very doors.' Mr Lynn has failed three times to get an answer, but we hope he will persist.

Immortality and Modern Science.

In the course of reviewing a book by Mr Edward Clodd—*A Brief History and Examination of Modern Spiritualism*—, which is the latest of the works on the subject, Dr Frank Ballard, D.D., in the recent issue of the *London Quarterly*—quotes from Mr Fiske's *Destiny of Man*—

'The materialistic assumption that the life of the soul ends with the life of the body is perhaps the most colossal instance of baseless assumption that is known to the history of philosophy

And then observes —

And we may say to day even more firmly than he did that although upon these conclusions we cannot directly base an argument sustaining man's immortality, we certainly remove the only serious objection that has ever been alleged against it. Personality is at once the most certain and the greatest reality in the universe. And physical death can no more touch that in humanity than a hammer can smash an idea, or the destruction of a violin necessitate the destruction of the player. Dr Thomson's volume just mentioned deserves much more notice than it has received, for therein he gives abundant warrant for his avowal that 'a great personality may possibly make a great brain — it is not always so — but no brain can make a great personality.' Hence it is far from enough to say that modern science just leaves unsolved the great question of human immortality. It does much more. It deliberately affirms that there is nothing, either in its efforts or its findings against the more hopeful answer to that question. In Dr Fiske's well-chosen words

When a man has canvassed all the standard objections to belief in personal permanence he finds science has discovered is concerned, immortality is as possible as it is significant."

Moreover, there is scientific proof, in undeniable facts—for all who are not wilfully blind,—of the possibility of ultra cerebral communing here, which points definitely in the direction of ultra cerebral continuity hereafter. In their scorn for telepathy Mr Clodd and his friends make much of Professor Sidgwick's attitude—almost indeed as if it was all decisive. Let us then note what he himself says concerning telepathy—

'It is for this reason that I feel that a part of my grounds for believing in telepathy, depending as it does on personal knowledge, cannot be communicated except in a weakened form, to the ordinary reader of the printed statements which represent the evidence that has convinced me. Indeed, I feel this so strongly that I have always made it my highest ambition as a Psychological Researcher, to produce evidence which will drive my opponents to doubt either my honesty or my veracity.

That should be strong enough, sceptical enough even for Professor Armstrong. And on his own terms it sets us free to accept and estimate the significance of telepathy, as being certainly a definite and pregnant 'advance in knowledge.'

It is no part of our task here even to summarize the scientific as well as religious reasons for cherishing the hope and maintaining the conviction that for human beings death does not end all. So far as Mr Clodd's book tends to check untrained credulity, we heartily welcome and endorse it. But it does not show that Sir Oliver Lodge and his co-workers are ignorant dupes nor that the S.P.R. is composed of credulous time wasters nor that modern science forecloses all psychical inquiry still less that it shuts the door of latest knowledge against our immortal hope. That which Mr. Clodd accomplishes counts for nothing against that which he ignores. The breadth and length, and depth, and height of human personality are not cribbed, cabined, and confined within a few cerebral cells. Our 'advance in knowledge' throws more widely open than ever heretofore, the door of permission to accept and appreciate all those other than scientific reasons for hope beyond the grave, which come along the lines of Christian Theism.

At least we may be thankful that amid the chaotic upheavals of our time, and with all the heavy pall of numberless bereavements on our hearts, modern science does not force upon us the miserably blind despair of the old Persian pessimist which seems so satisfactory to Mr Clodd. Rather does it leave the modern student free to say, with his eyes as wide open as his heart is full—

My own dim life should teach me this,

That life shall live forevermore,

Else earth is darkness at the core,

And dust and ashes all that is

Our real advance in knowledge, while not satisfying any more than the New Testament our curiosity as to the 'conditions of existence in any after life,' yet does not only permit but encourage us to turn to the God whom Jesus bids us ever think of as THE FATHER, with the humble yet confident trust—

Thou wilt not leave us in the dust,
Thou madest man, he knows not why
He thinks he was not made to die
And Thou hast made him —Thou art just

A Way Out in India.

To the July number of the *Asiatic Review* (London) Dr John Pollen contributes the following article under the above caption.—

"The progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire" This is the declared policy which underlies the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms—and which constitutes the basis of the Bill now before Parliament.

India is to remain an integral part of the British Empire but to have a responsible Government or rather responsible Governments of its own—and the means to effect the end desired are declared to be—

(1) The increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Administration and

(2) The gradual development of responsible Self Government

This phrase—"responsible Self Government"—sounds well and his almost as blessed an expression as "Mesopotamia"—'Angle of Vision' 'attitude or 'gesture' It may convey different meanings to different ears or none at all to the indifferent. But the meaning evidently intended is that Indians should be responsible for governing themselves without interference on the part of Great Britain. In other words, elected Indian Representatives should be in a position to declare the lines on which the electorates in the various provinces desire to be governed—and should have the right to dictate the policy to be adopted or carried out by the Executive. This means, (as Sir Francis Younghusband has pointed out), "The gradual transference of power from the people of Great Britain to the peoples of India"—and the result will be that India will be responsible for governing itself just as Australia is responsible for governing itself. This is indeed the policy which all true well wishers of India desire to see successful—if it can be made successful—and it is certainly the goal towards which faithful Administrators have been consciously or subconsciously working from the early days of the long ago. It was in this spirit that the late Mr J. A. Nairn, of the Bombay Civil Service wrote in the early seventies—

'Oh' men O the Western Islands last
Ringed white with the yeasty spume,
Declare if the wit of your forbears lives
In the tongues that fret and fume
Look back on the years that be dead and gone,
Speed hence on the Wings of Time
When first your hand on the East was laid
Like the grip of the Gods sublime
And say, when the spirit of England rose
On the dust of a hundred thrones,
If her wings were clipped by a fool loud bipped
'Mid the hasting cheers and groans?
Not so and now ye have given a voice,
Where never was voice before
Ye have laboured to teach the strength o speech

From the springs of your Western lore—
Ye have made the eyes of the blind to see
And be it for life or death
Your ear must bend to the voice that speaks
By the fire of your English breath

Men of the Western Islands have long laboured to teach the Youth of India to use the political voice and to make repeated demand for self-government and we needs must listen now—for Reform is long overdue and (as Sir Bampfylde Fuller declares) 'a democracy cannot expect to permanently dominate an alien Empire. But the Montford proposals and the provisions in the Bill now before Parliament are so complicated so confusing, and so elaborate that it is to be feared that the existing administrative machinery in India will never be able to perfect them or use them within reasonable time or in a satisfactory manner.

Thus a deadlock—or undue delay—is most certain to arise. The question therefore, is—cannot some way out of the difficulty be found? Those who know Native States think it can and it seems clear 'The federal way adumbrated by the Aga Khan, is perhaps the best. His Highness has declared that 'the problem of a Free India within the Empire can only be solved by Federalism.

Now it is asserted that certain Indian principalities are admirably administered both to the satisfaction of the 'politically-minded classes and to the gratification of the masses of the people—and it is constantly proclaimed in the Native Press that the Rulers of these States have been able to give their subjects all the reform they desire—and many Rulers, like the Thakur Sahib of Limbdi, have protested that they are quite prepared to adopt in their States the particular changes and reforms proposed by Mr Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for British India. Why not then extend the system of Indian Principalities throughout India and permit Indian Administrators to carry out the proposed reforms on Indian lines in their own way? Why not, in short, establish 'limited Monarchies' on Montford principles in the various Provinces of India?

It may be recalled that the Aga Khan has proposed that India should be divided into eight Major Provinces roughly equal in area—and each capable of developing a National Government and that Indians should preside over these Provinces side by side with Englishmen and that in certain cases Ruling Princes of proved administrative ability should be invited to leave their own territory for five years for the greater field of a provincial administration.

His Highness very justly holds that no Federal scheme for India would be complete which did not take into account Native States, for it is not too much to say that "the Indian Princes are the bulwarks of the Imperial connection—and of late years some of the best known Princes have been cherishing the ideal of a constitutional and parliamentary basis for their administrations." These things being so—why not simply and facilitate the introduction of the desired reforms into India by converting the Major Provinces into Indian Principalities under the control of Constitutional Chiefs? *The Bill now before Parliament should certainly contain a clause or clauses enacting this to be* Such a change would be well by the Indian populations out of

life the dulness and sombreness of British administration and English unsympathetic restrictions have taken so much of the light and colour and pomp and pageantry which the souls love

It is all very well to say a rily—"the day of Autocracy or Benevolent Absolutism is dead" This is certainly not true in the East—but even if it were it is not proposed to raise the dead or revive the dust All that is proposed is to set up Limited Monarchies in India—and allow the peoples to work out their own salvation in their own way and so shift the white man's burden which has certainly grown too heavy for the white staff in the India of to day A system of Provincial Parliaments in the Principalities with a Federal Parliament at Delhi would probably work satisfactorily

It has been held that some of the leading Cities in India could not well be included in Provincial Principalities and that they like Hamburg and some other great continental cities should be allowed to manage their own affairs There is much truth in this contention and such Cities could easily be

constituted 'Free Cities'—and ultimately a League of such Cities might be established from Baghdad to Rangoon and included in the 'Southern Asiatic Federation' foreseen by the Aga Khan In the Peace Treaty now under discussion at Paris the constitution of 'Free Cities' is being recognised and provided for—and in resettling India on Indian lines no great difficulty need be experienced in providing that great Indian Cities like Bombay etc should manage their own affairs independently of outside control very much as they practically do now

At any rate the proposal to create Indian Principalities pledged to the adoption of the Montford reforms—and the suggested recognition of Free Cities wherever advisable may be taken as indicating a possible way out of the dark labyrinthine maze in which Moderates and Extremists and well wishers of India find themselves more or less lost and bewildered at the present moment

Comments on the above would be quite superfluous!

THE KEEPSAKE

IT was not yet dawn, the eastern sky was just beginning to take on a greyish tint

The back door of the house of Shambhucharan opened slowly and a young girl came out with quick light steps She took the road to the river ghat, which was quite near Her face and figure could not be clearly discerned in that half light, her white widow's dress and a mass of dark wavy hair alone being visible

The river ghat was as yet entirely deserted She sat down on one of the lower steps with her feet in the water There was no sound to break the trend of her sad thoughts The girl was named Uma and was the only daughter of Shambhucharan, one of the influential Brahmin residents of the village She had been given in marriage to a man of fifty when she herself was nine But she became a widow, the very year she was married She had been living in her father's house ever since

The eastern sky gradually changed from grey to rosy red The old *Bairagee** of the village appeared on the lonely road, chanting his old songs Uma got up

hurriedly and, after a few hasty dips in the river, she filled her brass pitcher and started homewards with it

The inmates of the house seemed to be still asleep Uma set down the pitcher in the kitchen, then went out and hung up her wet cloth in the yard Then she began her cooking She was in sole charge of this department, as her father was very strict as to the duties of Hindu widows Uma had no opportunity of failing in any of those duties which the shastras have prescribed She performed all the household duties and her small leisure was spent in listening to her father reading the scriptures or holding forth on the duties and conduct of a Hindu widow

Bishnu, the younger brother of Uma, had planted a sheehi tree in front of the kitchen It was now a mass of white-and-red flowers The morning breeze caused the dew-laden flowers to drop down and cover the ground with a glorious carpet Uma came out of the kitchen and began to gather the flowers in the end of her cloth

A door opened with a harsh grating noise and a stout lady appeared in the doorway She was looking about for some

* Mendicant

Biswanath's mother took to bewailing her hard lot as soon as she heard of it. His uncle was quite upset at the mere thought of one of his relations actually working for a living. The other inmates of the great house could only gape and stare.

Biswanath was thoroughly disgusted with them all. He collected a large number of poor children, mostly belonging to the lowest castes and took them to his own room where he began to teach them to read and write. This had the desired effect. His uncle at once consented to his going out on service. Just at this juncture a vacancy occurred in the Palashpur village school. With his uncle's help Biswanath at once secured the post and started for his future place of residence.

His uncle had arranged about his lodgings too. Shambhucharan was only too glad to oblige his influential patron.

Biswanath soon grew accustomed to his new surroundings. He liked them much more than his former ones. He began to live for the first time in his life.

Bishnu went nearly mad over the new schoolmaster. His admiration and enthusiasm knew no bounds. Shambhucharan was no less delighted though he held himself in check. Biswanath's uncle knew well the value of services done. Even the dignified mistress of the house condescended to speak kindly to the new inmate of their house.

Uma was at first indifferent, but Biswanath was so totally different from the other young men of the village that she could not help gradually becoming interested. He seemed like a dweller of another world. Uma scarcely knew any young man, but she had seen many, and what she had seen of them had not called forth any feeling of admiration. They never seemed to have any higher ambition than to part their hair correctly and smoke cherpeegars and they scarcely talked anything except scandal. But this stranger seemed to belong to another kind. From what she could see and hear of him, he appeared to spend his leisure reading or during the sports of his young pupils.

She saw Biswanath every day as he came in for his meals. Uma noticed the

fact that he paid but scant attention to his food. This neglect hurt Uma. She used to feel humiliated. She tried by every means in her power to make the meals more attractive, but without much success.

But suddenly one day Biswanath became conscious of her efforts and smiled in grateful acknowledgement. "It is very kind of you," he muttered shyly.

This was the first time he had spoken to her. Uma blushed all over and escaped to the kitchen. "What a man he is," she thought, "he should not have smiled so directly at me. As if it matters anything to me whether he eats much or less."

But the next day she did not relax her efforts. She wanted to make his exile from home as comfortable as possible. But her power was limited and what could she do but cook her best for him?

But now she had the joy of noticing that her efforts had met with grateful recognition.

In this unpoetic way they came to know each other. Shambhucharan had got entangled in a tiresome lawsuit, which left him no time to superintend his daughter's upbringing and manner of life. So after the male members of the house had gone out after their multifarious duties and her stepmother had begun her afternoon nap, she sat close by the open window with the old Ramayan on her knees. Not that she had any special liking for the epic, but because this happened to be the only book in her possession. Thus passed her afternoon.

But one day Bishnu smuggled in a novel. It was like a godsend to Uma. So engrossed had she become that nothing but the threatening voice of her stepmother served to rouse her.

The book belonged to Biswanath. He was searching for it when Bishnu came and said, "I have given it to sister." After this the old Ramayan had to retire permanently and somehow the whole collection of Biswanath's Bengali books found their way to the girl widow's room.

Biswanath was absent minded by nature, but in some curious way he suddenly became fully conscious of the presence of one

and take the dust of the feet of this man. But a guess held her back and she stepped aside out of the way to let him pass. But he did not pass; he came and stood by her and asked, "Why have you come out so early? You certainly have not broken your fast yet?"

Your meals must be ready before school time," answered Uma easily.

I am not in the habit of killing people for my own convenience," said Biswanath sharply as he walked off. Besides I am feeling a bit feverish. I don't think I shall take any thing to-day.

Uma returned home quickly. She understood well this sudden fever of Biswanath.

Sorrow brought them together; joy would have kept them apart.

(2)

Do you hear, Uma, you must be pleased to be a bit quicker to-day with your work as my brother and sister are coming. I hope they will be able to have some refreshments when they arrive.

Uma was sitting lost in a reverie in her own room. Her stepmother's voice brought her back to the earth. She rose and went to attend to her duties.

Biswanath on his return from the school was rather astonished to see a man sitting on his bed and calmly smoking. His fashionable dress and carefully arranged hair clearly denoted a beau of the town. Biswanath went out after a casual glance. The young man asked Bishnu, "Is this your new schoolmaster? Seems rather high and mighty for his position. Didn't condescend more than one glance at my direction. This person was named Suresh. He was the younger brother of the mistress of the house."

He was in the habit of returning home very late for various reasons. His visit made no change in his manner of life. After the children had their supper, Uma was ordered to put the supper of the guest in his sister's bedroom and retire. After a thought, her stepmother added, "Biswanath's supper too; you can keep here. I think they would like each other's company."

Uma did as she was told, and then sat

down to her own frugal meal of puffed rice and treacle. It was nearing eleven when Suresh came back and after a stealthy glance around he approached the open door of Uma's room. Uma looked up startled whereupon the fashionable young man advanced with a broad grin and said, "My dear you don't seem to recognise me. Please be a little kind."

Uma's eyes blazed. Without a word she got up and shut the door in his face with a bang. The discomfited gallant was obliged to retire though with a very bad grace. He was not long in retaliating. He found every fault imaginable with his supper and began to complain loudly of his own ill health and the scant attention paid towards his comforts by his own family. The widowed sister who had accompanied him loyally backed him.

The mistress of the house was rather in a fix. It was too late to prepare anything new, but her darling brother refused to be content with what had been prepared. She was feeling a bit ashamed too of the ill manners of her own people in her husband's house and before the eyes of Biswanath who was an aristocrat born.

But Suresh was not the person to give up. The contest ended in calling Uma out and scolding her heartily for her neglect of her duties. She should have seen that a guest of the house had what he wanted. Suresh smiled in triumph as Uma went to prepare new dishes for him at that hour of the night with her own supper unfinished.

What a temper she seems to be in! Widows should not put on such airs. We too have to work from morning till night, but nobody can say that of us," remarked the widowed sister.

Biswanath had been hitherto sitting in amazed silence at this display of good breeding. He had been asked to take supper with Suresh and had found no way out of it. He had scarcely taken anything. Suddenly he got up and quickly went out. Suresh finished his supper alone.

Biswanath spent a sleepless night tossing from side to side. Then getting up he went out. It was already beginning to clear so he took the road to the river. He

had hoped to find the river ghāt deserted but somebody was already there sitting on the steps. The keen breeze of the early dawn was shaking the folds of her white dress and a mass of black hair sweeping over the stone steps. Biswanath approached silently then called out Uma.

Uma had been sitting there like a statue carved of stone but at his call she broke down utterly and flung herself down shaking with inarticulate sobs. Biswanath sat silently by her; he knew no words with which to comfort her. But Uma felt his tears on her loose hair.

After a while he called again, Uma. But still no answer. Suddenly a shiver went through Uma's whole frame. Whose touch was this on her hair? An electric wave seemed to sweep over her.

Biswanath did not remove his hand; he kept it where it was and said, Uma, this torture cannot go on. It is beyond me to sit still and witness it. Come with me. I am not rich but as my wife you may find something greater than riches.

For one instant Uma's senses seemed to desert her; next moment she sprang up and with a panic-stricken glance at Biswanath she vanished like a streak of lightning. She reached her room and fell down in a swoon.

She recovered after a while. A withering sense of shame and guilt seemed to choke her. Shame on her, the wayward and false woman to what had she brought herself? Was this then the result of all the austerities which her father had made her practise ever since her widowhood? So weak was she, so palpably weak that a man could propose marriage to her. To her the daughter of a Brahmin and the widow of a Brahmin to her, to whom even the thought of marriage should have been an abomination. Why had not she died before she heard such words? And what was he who can insult her so shamefully?

Uma called up all her anger and detestation to her aid and tried to harden her heart against that transgressor. But alas for the insulted conventional ideal of a woman! Whom was she trying to judge and punish? She knew well that she had no power to punish him even in her heart.

How ever much he might sin. How could she turn her heart away from the only person whose eyes had shed tears for her? She saw that she was weak and this made her all the more bitter against herself. She had not tried hard enough to conceal her sorrows and her negligence had given rise to this shocking evil. She alone was to blame and may all punishment fall on her.

Suddenly she saw Biswanath standing by her open window with a world of pain and love in his eyes. Uma sat up and panted out, Go away go away don't drag me towards sin any more.

Biswanath turned away with a white and quivering face. Another person who had been watching them closely, himself unseen, took himself off then as his task was done.

The eldest sister of Suresh had just left her bed and was about to sit down to her morning devotionals when her darling brother appeared before her with a broad grin. What is the matter? asked the lady.

Matter enough and to spare. I used to think that I alone was a scoundrel but I see now that there are many in the same boat.

The lady forgot everything about her morning prayers and asked eagerly, But what has happened?

You may well ask that. Now that sunlit schoolmaster of yours, Suresh, settled himself down comfortably for half an hour's refreshing talk.

(3)

It was a dark and still evening. The sky was covered with dense clouds and threatening an outburst every instant. The gloom was reflected on the face of every person in the house. Everyone was engaged in his or her own work but none talked. But for all the silence a strong undercurrent of perturbation was plainly discernible. The two children were seated in the yard making mud hovels with great care.

Uma's stepmother was in whispered consultation with her sister. After a while the elder one said, Then this is settled?

The other answered, 'Of course; what

alternative is there? We must consider everything. She went out and dragged away her children forcibly from their play.

The storm suddenly burst with all its accumulated fury. All the windows and doors of the house were closed instantly, only Uma left her door open and gazed awestruck at the mad dance of the elements.

The storm howled and raged outside. It was as if some demented demon was indulging in a revel. She came and stood under the black and lowering sky. It was more friendly than the faces of her relations.

A maid servant came and said, 'The mistress is calling you.'

Uma went in and found the two sisters sitting with solemn faces. As soon as she entered her step-mother cried out, 'Pack all your things, you are to start by to-morrow's train.'

Uma stood rooted to the spot. After a while she asked, 'Why are you sending me away, mother, what have I done?'

Now don't try to put on the airs of an innocent, my girl; it is too late for that, put in the widowed sister, 'let me tell you that you have been found out. I am going to Prayag to have a bath at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. After that I shall start for Benares. You are to come with me and expiate your sins. What more can a Hindu widow desire? Don't glare at me in that fashion, please. I won't put up with any impertinence. I am doing this at your father's request, not that I have any special liking for the company of such a virtuous girl as you.'

Uma came back to her room, the rain was streaming in through the open window, but she did not notice that. So she was to go away, to go away from everything she had ever loved. But she was a widow and had no right to grieve over parting from anything or any body. It was a sin, but she could not help it, which but increased her sorrow.

Suddenly a clamour broke out somewhere in the house. Shambhucharan rushed into the inner apartments. Uma heard her stepmother's voice asking, 'What is the matter?'

'A bad business, a very bad business, I don't know what I shall say to his uncle,' said her father, 'have any of you seen Bishwanath?'

'O dear no,' answered his wife, 'why, has anything happened to him? He was to have started for his home to-day, perhaps he had done so.'

'Go home indeed, how can he go home in this weather?' almost shouted Shambhucharan, 'he must have taken a boat to do that. If so, it is all up with him. I have just heard that a boat has foundered with all aboard.'

Uma had no tears now, she, who used to weep at a slight rebuke from her step-mother. She sat still like a graven image. The night came down, but the storm did not abate. It was nearing midnight, when Bishnu rushed into the room and sobbed out in a choking voice, 'sister, Bishwanath *dada* is drowned. I heard it from Bhola. I went to the river side to enquire, every body says so. He had come up after the boat foundered, but went down again as he was trying to save a little girl.' Bishnu rolled about on the wet floor in a paroxysm of wild grief, but his sister did not move.

Suresh and his elder sister were to start on their journey at the break of day. It was still dark, when they went to seek Uma, but found Bishnu sleeping on the damp floor, Uma was not there. After anxiously looking all over the house, Shambhu Charan's wife went and roused him from his heavy slumber.

Every body woke up now and joined in the search. At last a maid servant gave the information that she had heard the back door being opened a short while ago, but had taken no notice of it, thinking it to be the cat.

Shambhucharan took up a hurricane lantern and said, 'I am going to find her, but don't any of you come with me.' As he went out, Bishnu slipped out behind him in the sheltering darkness.

Shambhucharan searched all the thickets and bushes near his house, then started for the river ghāt. Something white was visible on the steps. Shambhucharan came down, it was Uma. The dark roaring river was rushing below her feet like a

THE TRIAL OF THE HORSE

By RABINDRANATH TAGORI

BRAHMĀ the creator was very near the end of his task of creation when a new idea struck him

He sent for the Store keeper and said "O keeper of the stores bring to my factory a quantity of each of the five elements For I am ready to create another creature" "Lord of the universe" the store keeper replied, "when in the first flush of creative extravagance you began to turn out such exaggerations as elephants and whales and pythons and tigers, you took no count of the stock Now, all the elements that have density and force are nearly used up The supply of earth and water and fire has become inconveniently scanty, while of air and ether there is as much as is good for us and a good deal more"

The four headed deity looked perplexed and pulled at his four pairs of moustaches At last he said, "The limitedness of material gives all the more scope to originality Send me whatever you have left"

This time Brahmā was excessively sparing with the earth water and fire The new creature was not given either horns or claws and his teeth were only meant for chewing not for biting The prudent care with which fire was used in his formation made him necessary in war without making him warlike

This animal was the Horse

The reckless expenditure of air and ether, which went into his composition, was amazing And in consequence he perpetually struggled to outreach the wind, to outrun space itself The other animals run only when they have a reason, but the horse would run for nothing whatever as if to run out of his own skin He had no desire to chase or to kill but only to fly on and on till he dwindled into a dot melted into a swoon, blurred into a shadow, and vanished into vacancy

The Creator was glad He had given for

his other creatures' habitations,—to some the forests, to others the caves But in his enjoyment of the disinterested spirit of speed in the Horse, he gave him an open meadow under the very eye of heaven

At the side of this meadow lived Man

Man has his delight in pillaging and piling things up And he is never happy till these grow into a burden So, when he saw this new creature pursuing the wind and kicking at the sky, he said to himself "If only I can bind and secure this Horse, I can use his broad back for carrying my loads"

So one day he caught the Horse

Then man put a saddle on the Horse's back and a spiky bit in his mouth He regularly had hard rubbing and scrubbing to keep him fit, and there were the whip and spurs to remind him that it was wrong to have his own will

Man also put high walls round the Horse, lest if left at large in the open the creature might escape him So it came to pass, that while the Tiger who had his forest remained in the forest, the Lion who had his cave remained in the cave, the Horse who once had his open meadow came to spend his days in a stable Air and ether had roused in the horse longings for deliverance, but they swiftly delivered him into bondage

When he felt that bondage did not suit him, the Horse kicked at the stable walls

But this hurt his hoofs much more than it hurt the wall Still some of the plaster came off and the wall lost its beauty

Man felt aggrieved

"What ingratitude!" he cried "Do I not give him food and drink? Do I not keep highly paid men servants to watch over him day and night? Indeed he is hard to please"

In their desperate attempts to please the Horse, the men servants fell upon him

and so vigorously applied all their winning methods that he lost his power to kick and a great deal more besides.

Then Man called his friends and neighbours together, and said to them exultingly,—"Friends did you ever see so devoted a steed as mine?"

"Never!" they replied. "He seems as still as ditch water and as mild as the religion you profess."

The Horse, as is well known had no horns, no claws, nor adequate teeth at his birth. And, when on the top of this all licking at the walls and even into emptiness had been stopped, the only way to give vent to his feelings was to neigh.

But that disturbed Man's sleep.

Moreover, this neighing was not likely to impress the neighbours as a proof of devotion and thankfulness. So Man invented devices to shut the Horse's mouth.

But the voice cannot be altogether suppressed so long as the mistake is made of leaving any breath in the body. Therefore a spasmodic sound of moaning came from his throat now and then.

One day this noise reached Brahmā's ears.

The Creator woke up from his meditation. It gave him a start when he glanced at the meadow and saw no sign of the Horse.

"This is all your doing," cried Brahmā in anger to Yama, the God of death. "You have taken away the Horse!"

"Lord of all creatures!" Death replied. "All your worst suspicions you keep only for me. But most of the calamities in your beautiful world will be explained if you turn your eyes in the direction of Man."

Brahmā looked below. He saw a small enclosure, walled in, from which the

dolorous moaning of his Horse came fitfully.

Brahmā frowned in anger.

"Unless you set free my Horse", said he, "I shall take care that he grows teeth and claws like the Tiger."

"That would be ungodly," cried man, to encourage ferocity. All the same, if I may speak plain truth about a creature of your own make this Horse is not fit to be set free. It was for his eternal good that I built him this stable—this marvel of architecture."

Brahmā remained obdurate.

I bow to your wisdom," said Man "but if after seven days you still think that your meadow is better for him than my stable I will humbly own defeat."

After this Man set to work.

He made the Horse go free, but hobbled his front legs. The result was so vastly diverting that it was enough to make even a frog burst his sides with laughter.

Brahmā, from the height of his heaven, could see the comic gait of his Horse, but not the tragic rope which hobbled him. He was mortified to find his own creature openly exposing its divine maker to ridicule.

"It was an absurd blunder of mine", he cried, "closely touching the sublime."

"Grandsire," said Man with a pathetic show of sympathy, "what can I do for this unfortunate creature? If there is a meadow in your heaven I am willing to take trouble to transport him thither."

"Take him back to your stable!" cried Brahmā in dismay.

"Merciful God!" cried Man, "what a great burden it will be for mankind!"

"It is the burden of humanity," muttered Brahmā.

RESURRECTION OF MOTHERHOOD AND FATHERHOOD

FROM time immemorial motherhood has been regarded in this country as the highest function of female life. So much so that God has been represented

as having taken birth as a human babe to taste a mother's love.

"Nandah kimakarod brahman

Sreya ebum mahodayam

Yas dāś mahābhāgā

Papau yasā stanaṁ harāḥ".

Sumat Bhāgāt, Skandha 10.

Chapter 8, verse 36.

King Parikṣit wondering asked Sukadeva "O Brahman, what good work Nanda and lucky Yasodā did so that God sucked her breast?"

"Nemam Birinchi na Bhābo

Na Srīrāpyangāḥ nrayā

Prasādam bēbhre gopā

Yattat prāpa bhūktī dāt"

Ibid, Chapter 9, verse 15

The favour which Yasodā received from the Savior was never obtained by Brahmā, Śiva or even Lakṣmi

Sukadeva said

"Drono baṣuṇīm prabaro

Dharaḥ bhīṣṇayā saba

Karishyamāna adeshān

Brahmanastanubācha ha

Jānyornau Mahādebe

Bhūbi Bīṣṇare Harau

Bhaktiṣyāt paramā loka

Yajāṅgo durgatim tarat"

Ibid, chapter 8, verse 38.

The chief of the Baṣu Drona in order to obey Brahmā in company with his wife Dhara said: "Grant us that favour by which we, after being born as human beings may attain that love for God by which man gets salvation"

Brahmā said "very well", and that Drona and Dhara became Nanda and Yasodā in Brindāban. Such is the dignity of motherhood or *bātsalya* which next to *mādhurya* or wisdom, is the highest form of devotion extolled by poets and saints alike. Those who have no child of their own, try to realise motherhood or fatherhood by showering their love on an artificial baby. Gopāl. They feed, dress and play with it as if it were their living child. This reminds me of the training the Americans are giving to the boarding girls to prepare themselves for future motherhood. At first they provided each girl with a doll with instruction to feed, dress and rear them as living babes. This method failed as every method without reality or religious enthusiasm behind it must fail. Now they are trying to teach the

girls motherhood by putting them in charge of some baby brought from hospitals or some such institutions. In this way they are making an attempt at the revival of ideal motherhood or resurrection of motherhood, if I may say so.

At a meeting of the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, Mrs. William Lowell Putnam in her Presidential address observed:

"Into few businesses in life are people expected to enter with such a complete lack of training as that of motherhood—perhaps the most complicated occupation that exists. Men have evolved colleges and elaborated them into universities to give themselves the training which they need for their various forms of work, and women in entering the learned professions have very properly taken this education to fit themselves for their practice. Nurses are given a very careful and prolonged training. But when it comes to motherhood, what training have we—we on whom the whole future depends of those lives which come into being through us? Nothing at all. We do not even give our girls training for the common calling of home-maker, which happily falls to the lot of most women—for really a woman has to make a home wherever she is, and I have no idea that only a woman can make it. I am not advocating doing away with the higher education of woman—far from it—I believe in all the education we get. I want not less but more of it, but if we must omit some things to make room for home-making I would cut out some of the things that are more remote from the children's daily life."

As a result of this unpreparedness for motherhood many preventable diseases play havoc among mothers and their babies. Realisation of the difficulties of rearing children has led many a modern woman in the west to avoid motherhood by artificial means, and their example, I am afraid, is being imitated in the East as well. They play into the hands of those who carry on the insidious propaganda of "birth control". This propaganda consists, according to Mrs. Putnam, of saying to people: "Do what you like and as much of it as you like and I'll show you how to get away with it." It is undermining the morals of men and women. It is more than doubtful whether the poor women with large families whom the advocates of "birth control" pretend to protect are benefited by this propaganda,

By 1 Committees in every District to co-operate with the Central Committee and suggest means for the prevention of infantile mortality. Will not the cry for help raised every year by sixteen lacs of babes born and five lacs and a half of babes un-

born raise the dead irresponsible motherhood and fatherhood from their grave of lethargy and set them to work for the preservation of these national assets?

SUNDARIMOHAN DAS, M B

THE RIGHT CURE FOR AGRICULTURAL POVERTY

A PRACTICAL Scheme of Agricultural Organisation and Rural Reconstruction in Bengal is the title of a pamphlet published by the Bengal Cooperative Organisation, 6 Dacca Lane Calcutta. It contains a lecture delivered by Mr G S Dutt, ICS Magistrate and Collector of Birbhum at a meeting of the Calcutta University Institute held on the 28th March last under the presidency of the Hon ble Mr Cumming Member of the Executive Council. The pamphlet deserves to be widely circulated and we desire to bring it prominently to the notice of the public. While the Press is kept constantly occupied with the sad and depressing events of the Indian political world and has scarcely any time to notice the slow march of progress in the everyday life of the people thanks to the guiding hand of an Indian Collector inspired by true patriotic enthusiasm, things seem to be moving in a quiet corner of the western marches of Bengal in a direction full of the richest potentialities for bringing prosperity back among the half starved masses of our rural agriculturists.

Mr Dutt makes certain observations on the working of the Co-operative Credit Societies in the success of which we know Government takes a keen interest which are far from reassuring and considering his high official position and the still higher auspices under which the lecture was delivered they are indeed remarkable. As the result of the working of the Credit Societies over a number of years it is found that instead of a reduction in the indebtedness of the agriculturists there has been an actual increase. He quotes the *Pioneer* in support of this somewhat unpopular but none the less true estimate of the situation and is emphatically of opinion that the true remedy lies not in this direction but in increasing the productive capacity of the cultivator by the organisation of a network of Branch Agricultural Associations affiliated to the District Agricultural Association under the guidance of the special expert officers of the Government Agricultural and Veterinary Departments. These Associations will grapple with such questions as the distribution of the selected seeds in

production of suitable implements utilisation of farm yard manure measures for dealing with insect pests and diseases the eradication or utilisation of the water hyacinth cattle-food cattle-diseases cattle-breeding crop-rotations sericulture fisheries drainage and cultivation of marsh lands and the introduction of suitable crops for dry uplands etc.—The smaller the area to be served by each Branch Association the better and the aim should be ultimately to have one Branch Association for every large village. The more compact these Associations the greater is the amount of corporate and educative work that may be done by them. Mr Dutt then proceeds to describe the phenomenal success attained by agricultural organisation on this system in several European countries such as Denmark, Serbia, Holland, Belgium and Italy and also in America and Japan where the movement was started so late as in 1900 but already every village in the Land of the Rising Sun has its Branch Agricultural Association and the enormous cumulative effect of their various activities on the national life can be readily understood. Their system of consolidating small holdings by mutual co-operation and exchange in order to save time space and labour in cultivation is specially instructive to us. In all these countries the condition of the agriculturists was very miserable before the movement was started but now everywhere they are in a prosperous and flourishing condition. Besides increasing the productivity of the land such an organisation provides the agriculturists with a valuable training in combined work and by interesting farmers in their economic development gradually interests them in their social and political welfare and by generating a community consciousness in the villages leads to a natural process of rural reconstruction in the country.

The Birbhum District Agricultural Association was started about a year ago. At first one Branch Association was formed for the area of each Thana or Police station. This was found too large and Associations are now being formed on a much smaller territorial basis there being a steady increase in the demand. During the four

months ending in March last the number of Branch Associations increased from 16 to 30 and there will soon be a further increase. Each Branch Association has at present 50 to 100 members with a President and a Secretary. The annual subscription payable by each member is one rupee only. The members of some of the Branch Associations range from graduates and pleaders to the illiterate cultivator. The opportunity of common discussion and mutual observation thus afforded brings the most ignorant and illiterate member up to the level of those who by virtue of education or enterprise have shown themselves most receptive of new ideas. An ably-conducted quarterly agricultural journal the *Bhumi Lakshmi* is already finding subscribers outside the district.

The remarkable hold which the movement has taken on the agricultural population of the district will appear from the following extract—

I may mention here that as a result of this activity groundnut a crop which a few years ago was practically unknown in this province but which is a very valuable crop for the high sandy soils of the western districts of Bengal now covers 1000 bighas in Burdham and a further expansion is expected shortly. Progress has also been made in the cultivation of cotton and in the process of home-extraction of groundnut oil by a simple machine. In 1918 the Branch Associations through the Agricultural Department indented new manures, seeds of superior varieties of paddy and wheat and of groundnut and other crops as well as improved varieties of

sugarcane cuttings &c. worth about Rs 8000. In the present year the indents to be made through the Department are expected to be about Rs 14000 in value. Besides this a large amount of groundnut seeds and sugarcane cuttings of superior varieties will be available from members' own plots for seed purposes. For a small district of only 1700 square miles these are no mean figures for the first year's work.

We have space only for one more quotation. An organism instinct with the vital forces of nation building and national reconstruction which born in Europe has nourished and raised nation after nation from the depths of despair to the height of prosperity within the short space of thirty years—the seedling whereof transplanted in Japan only 15 years ago has furnished the Japanese with the material wherewith to build up the inner tissues of their great national life—that very organism gentlemen has now been bidden by Nature to give Bengal her turn now taken its birth and fructified in a quiet and neglected corner of Bengal and it now invites you to sow its seeds broadcast in your land. Sons of Bengal will you or will you not accept this invitation? Sentiments of patriotism and philanthropy alone will not avail! What is needed is ceaseless and untiring effort for several years to come. The task is no easy one. It will take the best men in Bengal to fulfil this mission but I trust the best men in Bengal are there—ready to shoulder the work—and that it will be done.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

• ENGLISH

THE TWO RINGS AND RADHAMANI by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee translated from *Pengah* by Dakshina Charan Roy. Students Library, Calcutta and Dacca, published by B. M. Dutt, 67 College Street, Calcutta. Nicely printed and handsomely bound. Price Re 1.

This is really a fascinating rendering into English of two of the most fascinating novelettes in Bengali—acknowledgedly the most developed of the Indian vernaculars of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee who was in the course of a controversy in the early eighties of the last century characterised by the late Principal Huxley of the General Assembly's Institution (now the Scottish Churches College) Calcutta himself a staunch Scotchman as the Walter Scott of Bengal. The translators into English of the Bengali books of notable Bengali authors are entitled to our thanks and grateful appreciation for they do

thereby indeed an immense service to the country and its people by bringing forward its literature before the world at large. For literature according to the celebrated Dr William Ellery Channing of America constitutes the expression of the superior mind of the nation in writing and it is in the words of the Sage of Chelsea the Thought of thinking Souls. And if in the West to-day the opinion as regards Indians whom they hitherto on most occasions looked down upon as a semi-civilised people at their best is somewhat changed and modified for the better is it not largely if not solely, due to the translation into English of the

Expressions of the Superior mind of our nation and the Thought of our 'Thinking Souls' such as that of Rabindranath Tagore? Mr Dakshina Charan Roy the translator of the books under notice therefore deserves not only our heart-felt thanks but also every encouragement from us all who have every

reason to be proud of the great performances of our great authors and master minds whose writings have done so much in raising us in the estimation of the present civilized world

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—AN HISTORICAL ARGUMENT by Dr Pollard Printed at the Clarendon Press Oxford & published by the Oxford University Press 11 Philipstone Circle Bombay Pp 68 paper cover Price Re 1

Since the promulgation of President Wilson's famous Fourteen Points about a year or so ago many things pro and con have been said and written here there and everywhere all the world over by enthusiasts and pessimists alike about the proposed League of Nations initiated by him. All the same although we have willy nilly been impelled to swallow a great deal of these voluminous writings of diverse writers bearing upon this by no means unimportant subject from the view point of the world as well as here we feel bound to say in bare justice that the brochure under review contains a great deal that we have not found elsewhere and it is indeed highly readable on that account. Mr Pollard though not exactly a pessimist as to the welfare of the world arising from the League of Nations does not appear to us either over enthusiastic about its outcome and results. For instance he writes in a qualifying tone. A simple League of Nations for defence would not however provide an immediate means of solving problems which peace will leave unsettled and the future will produce. It would not directly guarantee liberty for subject nationalities nor good government for any State and it would not provide for the settlement of a single international dispute. The bare prevention of war may thus seem a poor substitute for justice. Again. The simplest form of a League of Nations will require from all of us a self-restraint and sacrifice of nationalistic pride which will tax our moral qualities to the utmost it is prudent to demand

R. MUKERJEE

A MANUAL OF DISTRICT BOARD WORK. Part I Water Supply by L. C. Sen Gupta B. E. District Engineer Berhampur Thacker Spink & Co. Pages 76 and 6 plates. Price Rs 3-8

This book dealing with all the circulars and author's experiences on the important question of rural water supply will prove an interesting reading to District Board Members and new District Engineers. The author has confined his discussions to wells of 4 and 6 diameter but our experience shows that a 5 diameter well is the most suitable and economical and is freely used by both the Hindus and the Mohomedans. In the standard plan for tanks (plate No 5) neither the side slopes nor the depths have been noted. Hence it is quite useless. An outward slope of 1 in 10 in spoil banks is too costly in places where the land is comparatively

dear. The population should be taken into consideration while determining the number and size of tanks or wells in a particular village. In a treatise like this intended for laymen a table showing the size of a tank or well for a population varying from 100 to 2000 and a chapter on the practical difficulties in sinking wells would have been very useful. The author's patent Air Water lift with slight modifications will render a well free from any pollution and so is strongly recommended. The author has stated nothing as regards construction of wells and tanks in rocky soils. Hence the book may be more appropriately named a Manual of District Board work in Bengal. The price appears to be high.

INDUSINI KUMAR BHATTACHARJYA

MOULDED FEATHERS by J. H. Cousins Published by Ganesh & Co. Madras

Mr Cousins has given to the world his songs during the present year with a lavishness that he has never displayed before. Indra whose heart he has sought and found has made him sing and the dedication of this slender volume to Harindranath Chattopadhyaya may perhaps tell of a personal factor in Mr Cousins' new found inspiration.

In a poem with a very curious title—The Poet to his Alter Ego—there is a touch of something which takes one back for a parallel to the group of Crashaw, Donne, Vaughan and Trenchard in the Seventeenth Century—the Welsh mystical poets who play such a strange part in English Literature—

Yet if you the fire would find
You must pay the price in kind
Since Life's Tree must hold in dower
Wood for Crucifixion's hour
Ere the skyward stair is made
For the Soul's high escale
And the thorny cruclet blows
To the Spirit's living Praise

It is difficult to refrain from continuing the quotation but I must leave the beautiful mystical end of the poem to be read in the book itself. The sonnets on the Taj have I think, appeared already in the *Modern Review*. They do not move me in the same way (this may be a purely individual thing and in no way representative) as the poem from which I have just quoted or as the following lines have done—

His eyes with fresh creation shone
Before him new made beauty lay
Deep wonder eyed
In art's first smarming joy, he cried
I did not think I could have done
So much with such rough clay!

Master! when our crude lives have won
The stamp that doth Thy hand display
Perchance Thou too wilt cry

(Thou even Thou Artist of earth and sky)
I did not think I could have gone
So much with such rough clay !

There seems to me very little doubt that Mr J H Cousins' period of inspiration lies before him and not behind. There has come something into his verse—with the new life of the East—which here and there breaks forth with distinctness. It is some truth if I am not mistaken that has not yet been fully revealed even to him self. Perhaps his new voyage of adventure to Japan where he has gone for a short time as Professor of English literature will reveal it.

C F A

I THE PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION OF B G
TILAK'S GITARAHASYA by V. Mangaladkar
Indan Literature Publishers Madras 1919
Price Rs 2 Pp 305 Neatly printed and bound

Madras is to be congratulated upon its publishing houses and printing presses. Neither Calcutta nor Bombay can approach it in this respect. Lokamanya Tilak wrote his *Gitarahasya* to prove that the object of the Gita is to teach the philosophy of action. His book had a phenomenal sale in Maharashtra and it has been translated into Bengali by the worthy brother of the great poet Babu Jyotirindranath Tagore. The book under review purports to be a *resume* of Mr Tilak's book. Not having read the original, we cannot say how far the author has succeeded in his attempt. To rouse India from her age-long torpor and teach her that retirement from the world is not the *summum bonum* but a life of self-sacrificing activity is the goal of human endeavour is the highest benefit that can be conferred on her. Nobody will deny that Mr Tilak is one of the most outstanding figures in the ranks of orthodox Hinduism. His great learning has been acknowledged by western scholars. That he should have crossed the seas at the call of duty should sound the death knell of the anti-sea voyage movement. In this and in suffering repeated incarcerations for the sake of what he conceived to be the truth he has shown that he is an ideal Karma Yogi. The book under review is wordy, verbose and its English is peculiar. The author would have done well to deliver his message in his mother tongue.

II RIGHTS OF CITIZENS —by S. Satyamurthi
B A B L Ganesh & Co Madras The Cambridge Press 130 pages

The Right to Personal Freedom. Freedom of Judicial Trial. Freedom of the Press. The Right of Public Meeting. Freedom to bear Arms and to serve in the Army and Navy. Freedom to Enter the Public Services—these are the subjects discussed in the book. There is a chapter on the Rowlatt Bills and an Introduction and Appendices. In the foreword it is truly said. The rights dealt with in this book are of far greater importance than any privileges which may be

exercised by the people's representatives in the reformed councils and in transferred departments of the administration. Whatever small instalment of self-government we may obtain immediately if these elementary citizen rights can be secured we shall have freedom of movement for national development and can work our own progress without them. The most attractive schemes of reform cannot take us near to that fulfilment of national right which is our birth-right. In Appendix B we have the Declaration of Rights of the Indian National Congress and Appendix A gives extracts from a High Court and a Privy Council judgement showing the utter helplessness of the Indian Press before the whims of an irresponsible executive. It is because India does not possess certain elementary rights of citizens that the spectacle is seen in India of an Indian High Court Judge who hobbles with Governors of provinces being insulted by a common Tommy in a railway train or an Indian barrister and leader of public opinion and occupying the highest position in Indian society being sentenced to a long term of hard labour or transportation for life for what the people consider no offence at all. We recommend this highly useful and timely publication to all who desire to have a clear grasp of the disabilities from which we suffer.

III FOOTSTEPS TO FREEDOM ESSAYS —by
James H Cousins Pp 181 Neatly printed and
bound Madras Ganesh & Co 1919

These are short essays on a variety of subjects literary and otherwise. They possess the author's characteristic distinction of style but some of the essays are too sketchy for publication in book form. The following extract will seem apposite to many readers who have followed recent events in the Punjab. On November 28 1918 when the poor [Irish] actor had served two months out of his two years imprisonment for singing two Irish songs (one song—one year) Robert Bridges in celebration of the end of the Great War sang

The good God bless this day
And we for ever and aye
Keep our love living
Till all men north heaven's dome
Sing Freedom's Harvest-home
In one thanksgiving !

To which every lover of freedom will say Amen and yet wonder whether the poet laureate to the Government that puts an actor to gaol for singing songs of his native land has felt the pressure of the true Footsteps of Freedom or whether the Freedom of which he sings is capable of the paraphrase—'I grant you perfect Freedom to do what I allow you to do'. But the Footsteps of Freedom move on.

IX IS INDIA CIVILISED? by Sir John
Woodroffe Second edition Ganesh & Co
Madras 1919 Price Rs 2 8 0 pp 335

THE MODERN REVIEW, FOR AUGUST, 1919

The first edition of the book was published towards the end of last year, and the demand for a second edition within six months of the publication of the first proves how greatly the book has been appreciated in India. We can only hope that this ready appreciation is not due to the fact, to which attention has been drawn by an Indian reviewer quoted in the Foreword that the book has proved in the hands of the unscrupulously and obtusely orthodox a weapon of offence and defence against the attacks of reason and commonsense. — We doubt whether a volume of recent essays by Rabindranath Tagore in which the reeking bloodstains and inhuman greed of Western nationalism and the inhuman social abuses and practical materialism and worship of Power in Indian society have come in for equally strong reprobation would prove half as palatable to Indian readers as Sir John Woodroffe's book. The time has indeed come when we should not be put out by Western misjudgment and abuse or unduly elated by Western flattery. We should be strong enough to be able to judge ourselves as well as others with sobriety and truth, and thus we can do only when we have found ourselves and have definitely taken our stand on the side of progress and development on right lines. Sir John's book should furnish the necessary corrective to Western misjudgment, and should prove more useful to Western readers than to ourselves. But as it is we fear few Englishmen will care to go through the book whereas its popularity in India has proved to be exceptional. In the Foreword Sir John explains — The character however of Indian civilisation is distinctly and predominantly religious. But as to its present manifestation the distinguished Bengali scientist Sir P. C. Ray has recently written *apropos* of those writers who are ever holding up the Europeans as mere worshippers of mammon that they forget that the Hindu society as it is is thoroughly permeated with materialism. I was referring to the ideal not to present facts which as I have over and over pointed out, are inconsistent with it. I wish to insist on this point for I should indeed be sorry if anything that I had said was understood as countenancing any of the abuses into which through a descending scale of degeneracy Hindu society had fallen.

The bulk of the present edition exceeds the first by nearly 50 pages and the letter press and binding leave nothing to be desired. The matter has also been thoroughly revised and some of the criticisms on the first edition of the book have been attempted to be met in the body of the book and all quotations have been acknowledged.

THE KING'S WIFE—by James H. Cousins
Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras 1919

Mr James H. Cousins has given us in this new drama a further exhibition of the great

versatility of his powers as an artist in word and song. The drama is of the ideal type, in which historical dates and facts may be left behind and the soul tragedy alone is regarded. How far such liberties can be taken with success in drama is doubtful and in this new work of the poet there is to me an Englishman, something of unreality in the close association of Queen Mira with the Emperor Akbar which is hard to overcome. But the beauty of the language of the drama is unmistakable and again and again I have come across passages like this which have haunted me with their cadence —

Oh! she has brought strange quiet on the world
The exquisite sadness of things beautiful
That is more sweet than laughter. She has made
The heart's pure conquest lightly, as a breath
Because her hands are eloquent with love
While power that thunders on the stubborn will
Smiles the response — that leaps to her in joy —

I cannot refrain from quoting another passage which appeared to me among the greatest in the book —

Ah! me to have lived
Through love's pure greenness when the happy rains
Made life a full glad river to have lived
Into the dry and shrivelled after time
That were indeed poor ending to our song—
Were it the end but past our little reach
I hear invisible compassionate lips
Laugh softly and in comprehending eyes
Catch a fur meaning to the shadow dance
Of children who have hurt themselves in play
And shall have sleep and waken and forget

This pure form of blank verse (that hardest of all metres) is sustained throughout the whole play and the words carry music with them as they flow on. I have wondered if the drama could not have been stronger for some roughnesses by way of contrast — some prose for instance when *characters are talking together* — some humour broad and strong to take away the strain of the sustained idealism. But the dramatist himself knew best and his play has taken an almost lyrical note throughout.

C F A

SIR SANKARAN NAIR'S MINUTES OF DISSENT WITH
CHAMPARAN AND KAIRA APPENDIX Ganesh & Co
Madras As 8 Pp 73-55

Sir C. Sankaran Nair's well argued well informed truthful and courageous minutes of dissent have won him the sincere respect of not only all Indians who know anything of politics and love their country but of some Englishmen also. Messrs Ganesh and Co have done well to bring out these minutes in a handy book form. The book buying public ought to encourage them. There are some misprints in the book e.g. p. 2 transaction for transition p. 3 Roy for Rhis p. 4 legal for regal Diadoros for Diadoros

R C

INDIAN HOME RULE By M A Gandhi Second Edition Ganesh & Co Madras Reprinted with a new foreword by the Author and a Note by C Rajagopalachar Pp 136+vi+8 Rs 1

The book should be read by all who can think for themselves

R C

This is a thought provoking book. Even were the reader would be disposed to disagree with the author he would on further reflection find some kernel of truth in the views of the great Satyagrahi. We are ourselves unable to endorse certain things that he says e.g. on education but we must say that we have derived much profit from the book by reading it from cover to cover.

The book is in the form of a dialogue between Reader and Editor. Editor being the Author himself. It is natural in the circumstances that Reader is not so acute a controversialist as Editor.

In reply to Reader's question 'When and how did the real awakening take place?' Editor says in part 'what you call the real awakening took place after the Partition of Bengal. For this we have to be thankful to Lord Curzon. At the time of the Partition the people of Bengal reasoned with Lord Curzon but in the pride of power he disregarded all their prayers—he took it for granted that Indians could only prattle that they could never take any effective steps. He used insulting language and, in the teeth of all opposition partitioned Bengal. That day may be considered to be the day of the partition of the British Empire. The shock that the British power received through the Partition has never been equalled by any other act.'

Mr Gandhi does not see real peace in the First Britannica—he holds that the present peace is only nominal for by it we have become emasculated and cowardly. He thinks that alone to be real peace which is brought about and maintained by the people of a country themselves.

Mr Gandhi holds that we were one nation before they [the English] came to India. One thought inspired us. Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation that they were able to establish one kingdom. Subsequently they divided us.

Regarding the need of a third neutral party to decide our quarrels he observes 'The fact is that we have become enslaved and therefore quarrel and like to have our quarrels decided by a third party.'

Ancient cow killing he very pertinently asks 'Who protects the cow from destruction by Hindus when they cruelly ill treat her? Who ever reasons with the Hindus when they mercilessly belabour the progeny of the cow with their sticks?' But this has not prevented us from remaining one nation.

Lawyers would like to see the ourselves as Mr Gandhi himself a lawyer at law sees them.

HINDI

VANITA VILASA by Mahatira Prasad Divedi Published by the Commercial Press of Cawnpore Pages 87 Price 5 annas

This little book is the second of the series which the Commercial Press of Cawnpore have published with the commendable intention of making the inaccessible writings of this prince of Hindi writers whose name is so closely connected with the pre-eminent Hindi monthly *The Saraswati* easily available to the public. The present volume is a collection of ten essays written at different periods of time from January 1903 to April 1913 in the form of short sketches of the lives of ten famous women of whom seven are Indian and three British. The language is simple and the book can be safely recommended for both boys and girls.

MANUSHYAKA KARTAVYA by Krishnanarayana Laglate B.A. LL.B. Published by Narayana Prasad Arora B.A. Patkapur Cawnpore (To be had of the publisher and also of the author at Hewett Road Allahabad) Pp 128 Price 6 annas

This is a Hindi translation of Mazzini's *Duties of Man*. It is only the first part of the book once published in 1909 and the second part is promised soon. The original is well known in this country. The translation is good and the only pity is that the publishers have not brought out the complete book at one time.

HINDI LINGA VICHARA by Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi (To be had of Chaturvedi Bhola Nath Sharma 5 Mukhtarum Row Calcutta and The Hindi Books Agency 126 Harrison Road Calcutta) Pp 18 Price 3 annas

This paper was read at the ninth session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Bombay (1918). It deals with the genders of Hindi words and contains many points which deserve the attention of Hindi writers. As the author has pointed out much of the confusion on which prevails at present in Hindi in the matter of treating certain words as masculine or feminine would disappear if proper attention were paid to the rules of grammar and the authority of old writers were duly respected. But when he asks us to use such words as *वदनीयता* and *वदना* as masculine he is counting too much upon the credulity of his readers.

'MULA DEVA

GUJARATI

SMARAN LI (स्मरणलि) by Jayasukhlal P Joshipara printed at the Sayaji Pujaya Press Farod Cutch bound pp 34 Price Rs 0-4-0 (1919)

office Baladurgunja Allahabad Pp 11+124
Price Rs 3 Annual subscription Rs 12 12as
(Foreign £1 4s)

In this part the author has given the translation of 27 Sutras of the 1st Pada the meaning of all the words of the Sutras and an independent commentary

It contains also the interpretations of Srihara Ramanuja Madhva Srikantha Ballavacharya and Nimbarka

It is a valuable production

TRUTH REVEALED OR PROBLEMS OF LIFE AND DEATH AND MOKSHA by *Syamananda Brahmachary* Benares Published by Govindachandra Mukhopadhyaya B A Munshigunja Loan office Dacca Pp vii 278+2 Price Re 1-4 Disappointing

NAHESCHANDRA GHOSH

Acknowledgments

(1) AGRICULTURAL JOURNAL OF INDIA VOL XIV PART III

(2) INDIAN EDUCATION IN 1917 18 Superintendent of Government Printing India 8 Hastings Street Calcutta Price 12 rs or 1s

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(8) THE INDO PORTUGUESE REVIEW 1919

(9) CEYLON SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE Annual Report 1918 19

(10) THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY Annual Report for 1918 19

(11) THE PRELIMINARY NOTE ON THE RESEARCH WORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS DRUGS OF THE GWALIOR STATE 1918 by Professor M J Gajjar M A FCS MSCI—Really an interesting booklet worth the study of all interested in the subject

(12) SOME REFLECTIONS TO SUPPORT THE HON MR PATEL'S HINDU MARRIAGES (VALIDITY) BILL by K R Daphtary

(13) A SCHEME OF INDUSTRIAL FELLOWSHIPS FOR INDIA by M J Gajjar, Bombay 1918—A highly interesting brochure which will repay a careful reading

(14) PERPETUAL A D CALENDAR by Ram Lal Jiwaram Accountant Engineering Department B B & C I Ry Bandikui Price As 4—This is as its name implies a useful publication and should be for reference kept on every office table

(15) IN DEFENCE OF HINDUISM by Annie Besant—a booklet written for Hindu boys

(16) THE ROWLATT ACT—ITS ORIGIN AND SCOPE published by Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press Elphinstone Circle Bombay Price As 2—It is a defence of the Rowlatt Act which however has given rise to a much controversy throughout the length and breadth of the country

(17) ANNUAL REPORT ON THE POLICE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TOWN OF CALCUTTA AND ITS SUBURBS FOR THE YEAR 1918

(18) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CIVIL HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES OF THE UNITED PROVINCES for the year ending 31st December 1918

THE HISTORIAN SPEAKETH*

“INDIA has done much for me, and now before my working days come to an end I should like to do something for India—these are the words with which Mr Vincent Smith ushers this little book into the world. One should have

supposed that the scholar who has dwelt so much among the past glories of this ancient land would like Max Muller and others have discharged his debt to India, which he acknowledges with such apparent sincerity, in the only honourable sense in which the expression is usually understood. But Max Muller did not eat the salt of India and was not a member of the Heaven-born service so in the name of hard facts and a candid statement of realities he did not treat us in the words

* In an *Constitutional Reform* viewed in the light of history by Vincent A Smith ICS (Retired) author of *The Early History of India* and *The Oxford History of India* &c Oxford University Press 1916 Price 3s 6d Pp 114

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR AUGUST 1919

The subject matter of this little poem and the occasion of its composition are so sorrowful that one does not feel oneself at liberty to say all he has to say about it. The death of the writer's wife, in memory of whose last days spent by the husband and their children together in a bungalow at Visnagar has prompted him to pour out his feelings in verse and description of the innocent babble of the young ones is one of the best portions of the book. To express the sense of the word topheavy in Gujarati we say that the turban is larger than the head. Something like this has happened in this case. The bare text, printed on about 14 to 15 pages is hedged round with a preface in વડવાડા and a ચોટનિકા where two other writers have in the spirit in which they have carried the high sounding headings of their performances expatiated on the different aspects of a composition which is cast in no unusual or extraordinary mould. They try to put a factitious importance and serve more to overload some of the feeling and simple verses, than lift them up to the gaze of the reader. The best portions should be read as they are.

PRASANG RANG (પ્રસાંગ) by Dr Natwarlal Fakirbhai Sheth M.B. B.S. Touring Medical Officer Dohad. Printed at the Jaina Printing Press Surat. Paper cover Pp 41 (1919) Unpriced

There are about 28 small sections in this book consisting of Gazals (verses) addressed by a pining lover to his Beloved. We find nothing in them which would take them out of the ordinary rut of such emotional outpourings. Perhaps growing age would mellow the feelings of the youthful composer.

(1) CORBETT NO UPADESH (કોર્બેટ નો અપદેશ) by Chhaganlal Harilal Pandia B.A., Educational Officer, Junagadh. Printed at the Arya Sudharak Press Baroda. Cloth bound Pp 180 Price Re 0-15 0 (1919)

(2) KAROLIA કરોલોયા by Bhanusukhran N Mehta B.A. printed at the Ar a Sudha ak Press Baroda. Cloth bound Pp 156+4 Price Re 0-15 0 (1919)

(3) GIRDHAR by Jagrandas D. Mody. Printed at the Jagrati Press Baroda. Cloth bound Pp 126 Price Re 0 15 0 (1919)

These three books are further additions to the Sayaji Sahitya Mala whose managers do not seem to be taking any rest at all since addition after addition is being promptly made to its existing numbers. Mr Bhanusukhran seems to be a facile princeps at the work because not a batch of books sent to us passes without his having a name in it. This time he has selected 'spiders' (કારોલા કરોલોયા). We find to our astonishment why this choice has alighted on that

little creature which is always inviting unsuspecting flies to walk into its parlor, in preference to frogs or beetles, or bats, for the matter of that as they are all equally useful (?) members of creation. Of course, this is not his own composition. It is a translation of Warburton's Spiders which he has embellished with his own notes and observations. We only hope the reading public would betray as much enthusiasm in reading it as the translator betrays in translating it. Frankly is the magnificent amount of two lines meant to be frittered away on such treatises and or is it meant for a better purpose? Corbett's advice to young men (1) is translated by Mr Pandia and it would be presumptuous on our part to find a fault with the execution thereof. But what role for the gifted translator of the immutable Kadambari to play? It is said that if Bana had written his unique work in Gujarati he would have done it as well as Mr Pandia's translation. For that gifted scholar now descends to translate Corbett or write short stories fit for juveniles is something like misapplication of energy and intelligence. Precedents are not wanting. Sir Conan Doyle has also taken to Magazine story writing for children. But surely looking to the dearth we have in our literature of sound writers and scholars Mr Pandia should have been selected for some more sound and intelligent work than the translating Corbett. The third book is the biography of an old Gujarati poet Girdhar. There was room for just such a book as though not an ideal work still it is sure to be useful. The writer Mr Mody seems to have a quaint idea. He thinks he has got poetic faculty and that he tries to a poet who flourished 200 to 300 years ago simply because he belonged to his caste and his native place. The book betrays signs of labor and assiduity and is written by one who takes great interest in its subject matter.

K. M. J.

MARATHI

1. NITISHASTRA PRAVESH OR INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF ETHICS by Mr I. V. Joshi, M.A. Professor Indian Women's University at Hignee Poona. Published by the author. Pages 154-527 Price Rupees Four.

The present is an original work expounding the several theories on the subject closely examining them by the scientific method of criticism and establishing certain principles which guide or ought to guide the conduct of an individual as an individual and also as a member of society. The book is divided into 16 chapters which comprise such valuable and much-discussed subjects as the relation subsisting between religion and morality, Free Will, Conscience, Intuity, Influence of Heredity, theory of happiness, Immortality of the soul etc. The author has dealt with these subjects in a fairly impartial and careful

manner and has, by means of familiar illustrations, succeeded in carrying home to his readers, several truths, which when thoroughly imbibed ought to make him pause and reflect before judging. The special merit of the book is that it is not a mere compendium of Western thought on the subject. The author has taken pains to compare with it, Indian thought embodied in Sanskrit works, and this feature of the work greatly enhances its value. His exposition of the subject of Morals is quite up-to-date and leaves nothing to be desired except that in some places the work of condensation is carried to excess, thus leaving his reader rather bewildered. But I can very well understand the difficulty of the author. To attempt to expound and discuss innumerable theories of thinkers in a volume like this is undoubtedly a difficult task and I have to congratulate the author on the measure of success he has achieved.

It is a pity that such an important and bulky volume on a subject, which associates with itself hundreds of names of writers and a fairly large number of divisions should go without an exhaustive index. When well Marathi writers realise its value and usefulness and make it a necessary adjunct of their works.

Poona

V. G. APTE

THE PRESENT ABNORMAL DEATH RATE IN POONA
by Shankar Ramachandra Bhagawat L.C.E. Published
by S. B. Sahasrabudhe, Bndhwar Peth Poona City
Pp. 20 price annas 12, 9/19

This is an address delivered by Mr. Bhagawat at Poona. It is now published in book form with maps, diagrams and charts. The author has taken for the basis of his observation a period of 18 years from 1901 to 1919. During the first half of this period, the death rate in Poona was lower and in the second half higher than that of other cities in the Bombay Presidency. During the first half of this period only in two years the number of annual deaths in Poona was higher than 4000 and during the second half only in two years was it lower than 4000. Then the author considers the sanitary conditions obtaining in Poona before and after 1910. He admits that poverty and consequent low vitality is one of the principal causes of this abnormal death rate but as it is common to the whole country he does not consider it at great length. So far as Poona is concerned there is no marked change in the conditions necessary for the maintenance of the city's health except in drainage. It is the defects in the construction of drainage that have brought about this abnormal increase in the death rate. It must be noted that the work of the construction of new subsoil drainage was begun in 1910 and completed at the end of 1915. Many extracts are given from the opinions of experts to the effect that ordinary gutters are better than ill constructed subsoil drainage. The reader's attention is drawn to the fact that from

1865 to 1910 (45 years) 8 or 10 different schemes were brought forward for approval and the Municipality spent fifty thousand rupees on them. The total amount spent on the construction of new drainage is rupees eighteen lacs and fifty thousand with the result that the death rate before the construction of the new drainage was 34 per 1000 and after the construction it came to 40. The author suggests the ways and means of remedying the defects in the new drainage. His estimates for this improvement vary from Rs. 70,000 to five lacs according to its nature, permanency and extent.

The book is brimful of useful information. The charts, maps etc., in the absence of fuller explanation will not be understood by ordinary readers. A more detailed treatment of the subject is highly desirable. Many misprints have remained undetected. The price is a little too high.

G. K. WALTERS

SANSKRIT ENGLISH

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS (A.D. 109 to 111 July to September 1918) Vol. xxii Part I: Studies in the First Six Upanishads and the Isa and Kena Upanishads with the commentary of Sankara, by the late Rai Bahadur Sri S. Chandra Vidyaratna and published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Pamri office Bahadurganja, Allahabad Pp. 152 Price Rs. 4 Annual subscription Rs. 12 as 12 (Foreign £1 4s)

Of all the classical Upanishads, the *Isa* is the most difficult to understand. The *Anandasrama* edition contains seven commentaries and the views of some of them are diametrically opposite. The interpretation of Sankara and his followers is most unsatisfactory. The book under review gives the translation of the text according to Sankara and Ananta with their commentaries in English. The author has also given the summary of the doctrines of the Upanishad as interpreted by the Advaita School of Sankara, the Visistadvaita School of Ramanuja and the Dvaita School of Madhva.

In the notes given by the author, the meaning of all the important words has been discussed.

The book is indispensable to those who cannot read the different commentaries on this Upanishad.

It contains also the translation of the *Kena* Upanishad and of Sankara's commentary. The views of the schools of Ramanuja and Madhva have also been given.

The studies in other Upanishads (*Katha*, *Prasna*, *Mundaka*, and *Mandukya*) are brief but useful.

office Bahadurganj Allahabad Pp iii+121
Price Rs 3 Annual subscription Rs 12 12as
(Foreign £1 1s)

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MAHESCHANDRA GHOSH

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THE HISTORIAN SPEAKETH*

"INDIA has done much for me, and now before my working days come to an end I should like to do something for India—these are the words with which Mr Vincent Smith ushers this little book into the world. One should have

supposed that the scholar who has dwelt so much among the past glories of this ancient land would like Max Muller and others have discharged his debt to India, which he acknowledges with such apparent sincerity, in the only honourable sense in which the expression is usually understood. But Max Muller did not eat the salt of India and was not a member of the Heaven-born service so in the name of hard facts and a candid statement of realities he did not treat us in the words

* *Ind an Constitutional Reform viewed in the light of history* by Vincent A Smith I C S (Retired) author of *The Early History of India* and *The Oxford History of India* &c Oxford University Press 1916 Price 3s 6d Pp 118

we cannot help raising a note of protest, in the interests of the same truth to which Mr Smith appeals. This truthful historian quotes Manu as if his injunctions have now the binding force of the Penal Code, and speaks of the majority of Indians as being 'under the heel of a tyrannous Brahmin oligarchy'. Europeans professing Christianity do not follow the social laws and ceremonial rules laid down in the Old Testament though it is a part of their scriptures. But these same Europeans seem unable to imagine or conceive that among vast multitudes of Hindus in extensive regions of India the caste rules laid down by Manu and other law givers are in great part not observed even now, and that even those rules which are now followed are gradually losing their hold. Anglo-Indians also pretend tacitly to believe that caste rules are as rigid in the Punjab, for instance as they are in Madras. The innocent hope of the authors of the Report—a hope which, in the case of the depressed classes shows every sign of realisation—'that those incidents of it [the caste system] which lead to the permanent degradation and ostracism of the lowest castes will tend to disappear' is according to Mr Vincent Smith, characterised by 'stupendous rashness and a perilous delusion which 'disfigures the Report for 'when caste distinctions give way Hinduism will perish. Reading the passages where the learned historian has been at pains to prove the necessity of the caste system for Hinduism to exist at all—a doctrine which at any rate in the present rigid form of that institution is denied by a large section of enlightened Hindus—it would almost seem that Mr Smith is rather nervous lest the hold of caste on the mass of the Hindus should relax in any way, and he seizes to clinch his argument by laying down two propositions: viz. that 'so long as Hindus continue to be Hindus, caste cannot be destroyed or even materially modified,' and that 'its tyranny,' in the words of Mr William Archer, 'will have to be broken before India can become a nation among modern nations' but he very generously leaves us to draw the conclusion he so ardently desires from his

major and minor premises, to wit, that India will never be a nation. It is wonderful to think of the amount of research work in reactionary literature which the historian has gone through, for he displays an admirable command over the speeches and writings of men like Dr Nair, Mr Archer, Sir Harry Stephen, Lord Sydenham, *et hoc genus omne*, and of newspapers like the *London Spectator*, and so acute is his observation that he does not even forget the little affair about the disenfranchisement of the Burdwan Municipality in far off Bengal, and draws conclusions, so entirely satisfactory to his bureaucratic imagination from it.

At the very outset Mr Vincent Smith falls foul of Mr Montagu for describing the pronouncement of August 20, 1917, in grandiose style, as 'the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history', and he is careful to point out that it has no pontifical character, and 'aroused no interest in the British public and remained practically unnoticed in England' that the 'Report binds nobody,' that 'Parliament and the public should not be juggled out of their rights to free unfettered discussion of both principles and details.' Mr Smith's discussion is no doubt unfettered, for he has made the most liberal use of the vocabulary of vituperation as well as free, in the sense of being totally untrammelled by justice, equity and good conscience, and like all fossilised Civilians in spite of his reputation as a historian he shows an absolute lack of reason and a grasp of the true lessons that history has to teach on reactionary Governments. To take one instance. According to Mr Vincent Smith, among passages filled with 'platitudinous exhortation or impracticable idealism' in the Report is one where its authors say that in deliberately disturbing the contentment of the masses they were working for their highest good, and that only by suffering will a people learn the faculty of self help. 'It is difficult,' says Mr Smith, 'to contentment with restraint on such a dangerous doctrine.' And why? Because 'The Prime Minister's ideal of a happy, a prosperous and a contented people' is the true one for

should be sedulously kept open and should not be quenched by the cold water of democratic theory. The King as the visible symbol of the unity of the Empire and a sobering influence in politics enjoys a unique position and while professing sincere allegiance to his Majesty we decidedly object to the humiliating use sought to be made by the bureaucracy of our personal sentiment in the matter with a view to keep us contented with our chains. Lord Hugh Cecil in his little book on *Conservatism* in the Home University Library advocating the participation of the King in party politics observes as follows —

if over a long series of years the sovereign takes no share in public quarrels his office may decline into something purely ceremonial the splendid centre of all national pageants but exciting only the temperate interest and half respectful pleasure which men feel for a stately show but though less obvious the dangers of the monarchy becoming discredited as an operative ornament and sinking slowly from being the centre of loyalty to be received first with good natured toleration and finally with impenitent contempt is perhaps now the more real menace

There is little chance of the King's intervention in party politics as advocated by Lord Hugh Cecil but knowing the little we do of his Majesty's views on India and its people from his public utterances we have no reason to fear that we should be losers if he did. But Mr Vincent Smith the historian forgets that in ancient India the sentiment of loyalty was not a hot house growth and was not artificially fostered by royal portraits and biographies for the circulation of which systematic arrangements are urged by Mr Smith but it was universally recognised that loyalty was the spontaneous expression of the gratitude of a prosperous and contented people for whose sake the greatest of Indian Kings did not hesitate to banish the dearest and noblest of queens that ever lived.

Mr Smith is glad to note that all reformers including Mr Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are agreed that the minute control now exercised by the India Office should be materially relaxed and that the Government of India however

constituted should be given greater freedom of action than it now enjoys. He does not even hesitate to call this self government or autonomy in a limited sense and has the effrontery to add

That kind of self government is absolutely independent of the internal form of the Government of India and could be granted if every member of the Government was an Englishman and if the powers of the Government were autocratic in the strictest sense. That would indeed be self government with a vengeance—self government for the bureaucracy to misgovern the people as they liked. Unfortunately there is a flaw in the ointment and Mr Smith narrowly complains. But such relaxation would not satisfy the demand for self government which is understood to imply the Government of India by Indians so far as may be. How unreasonable and exacting these Indians are to be sure! In the same vein is Mr Smith's truculent opposition to the suggestion for the appointment of periodic parliamentary commissions as an undertaking of that kind tends to unsettle men's minds and to stimulate pernicious agitation.

Everybody being agreed that changes in the direction of self government within certain limits must be brought into operation it is the bounden duty of all true friends of India (God save the mark!) to give what help may be in their power to the high authorities vested with the responsibility of decision. But anything like responsible Government in the English parliamentary sense is unthinkable within any period that can now be foreseen.

The necessity for extensive change in the old fashioned method of governing India is admitted but the limits of practicable change are narrowly fixed by the barrier of hard facts—the direction of policy and administration by born Indians is subject to many limitations and is difficult of attainment—chiefly because we suppose it would tread to some extent on the toes of the Civil Service. The role of the candid friend hardly concerns the note of special pleading throughout the book and the concessions within certain limits which this impartial critic is prepared to make

of quite a mint of Indian money in pay and pensions, this is all the result that India has got to show? And is it so inconceivable that without the foreign bureaucracy at the top of every department of the administration, the Indians might perhaps by this time have developed sufficient initiative and power of organisation and acquired the necessary experience to play the game entirely off their own bats? But perhaps this is precisely the result which Mr Smith wants to avoid at all costs, and it is not difficult to read through his observations what is really at the back of his mind, as we shall presently see.

Reforms in the Civil Service are looked upon by our author entirely from the view-point of the Service, and not in the least from that of the people, though a learned Oxford historian need not be told that in a matter like this it is the latter alone that count, if officials are to be regarded as the servants, and not the masters of the public. Hitherto, and so long as the door to the Civil Service was practically shut against Indians, Mr Smith's conscience did not feel any qualms whatsoever but now that the door is about to be partially opened to them, he is quick to invoke the aid of section 87 of the Charter Act 1833 against racial discrimination in any form in the public service to the disadvantage of Europeans or persons of European descent. The attractions of the Service are said to have lessened considerably and first-class men believe that they can do better in other professions. In fact the difficulties of recruitment have been enhanced immensely by the war, and there is grave reason to fear that the quality of the men engaged has deteriorated. If that be so, the only reasonable solution as contended by Justice Sir Abdur Rahim in his dissentient minute in the Public Services Commission Report, is to replace third rate Englishmen by first rate Indians, and not to impose fresh burdens on the poverty-stricken masses of India for whom the Civil Service professes to be so solicitous by increasing the fat salaries and allowances already enjoyed by it.

The specialisation involved in the separation of the Judicial from the Executive

functions is admitted to be the normal practice in Europe, but it 'certainly would be disliked intensely by the great mass of the people'. This appeal to mass opinion we know, is the flimsiest of clap traps, for the masses suffer most from this unholy combination of functions. The actual reasons for opposing the reform are however soon manifest. 'The existing arrangements provide congenial careers for men of diverse tastes'. If the educated Indians succeed in forcing the change, 'the post of District Officer, which many members of the Service consider the most interesting that a man can hold, will no longer possess any charm'. Similarly, if the recommendation urged by many reformers 'that all judicial appointments should be made from the legal profession as in England' be adopted, 'the attractions of the Service will be very materially diminished, and the judicial type of man will no longer compete for an appointment' (It may be worth while to note here that Sir Robert Fulton, a former Judge of the Calcutta High Court, once wrote that the Judicial Branch is reserved for 'the slack and the incompetent' members of the Civil Service). It is thus quite clear that it is the prospects of the Civil Service and not the welfare of the people, that Mr Vincent Smith has all along in mind, in discussing the proposed reforms.

Mr Smith heartily approves of Mr Archer's plan of a revived, enlarged, and modernised Haileybury for the training of the probationers for the Indian Civil Service, because 'At the Universities India is regarded as a subject devoid of general interest, and the young men destined for the Indian services who pursue their special studies at a University never learn to feel that India should have the first place in their thoughts. The whole atmosphere of their surroundings discourages such a sentiment, and in fact prevents its birth'. Thus the truth is out at last, and all the gush about the Civilian's care for the masses of India is proved to be pure nonsense.

The purely technical branches of the public service such as Telegraph, Forests, Public Works &c. present easier problems [than the Civil Service] which can be solved by strict

attention to the principles of fair play without racial discrimination in any form of selection of the best men and of offering such material advantages as will attract really good officers whatever may be their colour.

In other words, in departments requiring expert knowledge, the best men should be selected, without racial discrimination in any form, and though the emoluments are moderate in comparison with those of the Civil Service, the material advantages offered are sufficient to attract really good officers whatever may be their colour. But in the Indian Civil Service which does not require any special knowledge of any kind to start with the problem is not so easy of solution that is to say, the above principles of fair play without racial discrimination and of selection of the best men do not apply. No greater perversion of reasoning could be imagined nor could such an argument be advanced by an Oxford historian not trained in the devious ways of the Indian Civil Service and bound by loyalty to the traditions of the Service to defend it against all encroachments on the part of qualified Indians.

But there is balm in Gilead and Mr Vincent Smith rightly says of the concrete proposals of Mr Montagu and Lord Chelmsford (as distinguished from mere pious enunciation of liberal principles in which the Report abounds) that they are certain to be largely modified. The event has shown the correctness of this forecast. Evidently Mr Smith knows his kidney better than we do, for members of the Civil Service voted solid against the introduction of any substantial concrete reforms as the Government of India despatch shows. He is also perhaps right when he says that 'the responsibility to constituents invented by the authors of the Report obviously is unreal, a mere piece of lip-service to a formula.' Mr Smith is sanguine that

he almost universally condemned and wholly unworkable Diarchy must be dropped. In this, too, he may be right, at any rate having regard to the humiliating position assigned to the Indian Minister in the Reform Bill. The introduction of the diarchical principle would be absolutely harmless from Mr Smith's point of view—it will rather help his cause by proving a failure. And Indians know very well indeed that if statesmen come to the conclusion that such government, whatever be its merits elsewhere, cannot be fitted to India and they decline accordingly to force it upon the land, their decision will be readily accepted both by the rank and file of the members of Parliament and by the constituencies who will not hesitate to follow the guidance on a difficult and unattractive subject offered by trusted leaders. But would Mr Smith assure his readers of such ready compliance if his sweetly worded invitation stood little chance of acceptance and instead of being cut down as they have been, the Reform proposals were likely to be further enlarged by the trusted leaders of the nation? The dulcet strain we know, would at once be replaced by bitter wailing and gnashing of teeth, and the guidance of the trusted leaders would be unceremoniously brushed aside. But even if the worst comes to the worst, Mr Vincent Smith need not feel so sorely troubled for the Bill leaves the rule-making power entirely in the hands of the Government of India where bureaucracy sits safely enthroned and so good a historian as Mr Vincent Smith knows quite well how the bureaucracy has, not once or twice in India's inglorious history, but often and invariably, ever since the chequered days of Lord Ripon, succeeded in making the Indians keep to their place with the aid of this powerful weapon of legislation by rules.

July 7, 1919

THE PRESS ACT AFTER THE BESANT APPEALS

By ST Nihal Singh

I have been discussing with some legal friends the effect that the judgment of the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council delivered on May 13th in Mrs Besant's appeals will have upon the administration of the Press Act in India. They all agree that while that case did not give the opportunity of testing the constitutionality of the Act, it is bound to strengthen and to consolidate the position of the magistrates in India who may be called upon to administer the Act, and of the High Courts in India to which appeals may be preferred against orders made by the magistrates.

Mrs. Besant's solicitor, Major David Graham Pole, who is a member of the Ancient Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Court of Scotland (incorporated by Royal Charter in 1779), and who has large practice in the House of Lords and Privy Council, must have wished to raise the constitutional issue, for one of the "leaders" whom he briefed was Mr J Robertson Christie, K C, one of the best known constitutional lawyers. A considerable portion of the case handed in by him to the Privy Council dealt with that aspect of the question.

Mr William Ingram, the Junior Counsel for Mrs Besant, who, I believe, has the largest privately owned Indian law library in Scotland and who, in conjunction with Major Graham Pole, spent nearly two years in working up the case, told me shortly after the appeals had been filed that the Act had been so very loosely drawn up that its provisos practically destroyed the privileges granted. As it stood, it threw the onus entirely upon the person against whom officials chose to proceed, no matter how honest the intentions and how blameless the character of the writer. Indeed so very wide was the wording of Section 4 of the Act that the highest tribunal

in India could not afford a writer relief, even though what he wrote was free from taint of sedition, and though it might be too tame to appear in the most Tory of Tory newspapers in Britain.

The special Counsel retained in behalf of Mrs Besant to deal with the constitutional issue was not, however, given the opportunity of raising that issue. Their Lordships of the Privy Council sat under the Act, and, therefore, they could not consider whether or not it was *ultra vires*.

Had a different course been followed, it might have been possible to test the legality of the measure. A suit might have been filed in Madras by Mrs Besant against the Magistrate who ordered the seizure of her security, for the recovery of the sum seized. In that case, however, it might have been difficult to take the matter right up to the privy council, which, as a rule, does not entertain appeals involving amounts below Rs 10,000, while the security confiscated was only Rs 2,000.

Major Graham Pole had, however, engaged Mr W H Upjohn, K C, one of the ablest and most independent leaders at the British Bar, who had taken the trouble to become thoroughly conversant with every detail of the case, and who was able to make the utmost use of every possible opportunity that presented itself. In an argument that lasted several days, he submitted to their Lordships of the Privy Council that grave injustice had been done to Mr Besant, when, on May 28, 1916 the Magistrate in Madras had thought fit to withdraw the dispensation originally granted to her on Dec 2, 1914, absolving her from the necessity of depositing security under Section 3 of the Press Act, and required her to deposit Rs 2,000 as security which she did under protest, and later, on August 28, 1916, declared that the security deposited by her had been forfeited, and

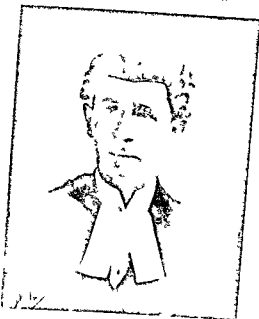
that all copies of her paper New India containing certain articles declared by the Governor in Council to contain objectionable passages were forfeit to the crown. He further submitted that her petitions and applications made to his Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Madras had been wrongfully dismissed. He contended that the act of the Magistrate in cancelling the dispensation without giving her a hearing was judicially bad.

The last point was really one of the most important raised by Counsel—important not merely for Mrs. Beasant but for the cause of liberty of the Press in India for which Mrs. Beasant was fighting first and last and not for herself. But unfortunately their Lordships of the Privy Council held that in the last analysis the act of the Magistrate was only the withdrawal of a privilege which need never have been granted. It was not like a condemnation in which case justice requires that the person to be condemned should be first heard. It would have been however more discreet and it would have removed an occasion for comment and complaint if the magistrate had given the appellant some opportunity for making her observations before the privilege was withdrawn. It might have been a wiser discharge of his duty as an officer. Their Lordships having said this declared their inability to go any further.

Time alone can tell whether or not the Magistrates will take the very broad hint thrown out by their Lordships as to the wisdom of giving some opportunity for making observations before the withdrawal of that privilege. But even a layman can see that the expression by the highest tribunal to which Indian cases can be taken of the opinion that it is not incumbent upon a magistrate to give a hearing to such a person confirms and consolidates the powers enjoyed by the Magistrates in India under the Press Act.

In yet another way the judgment confirms and consolidates the powers enjoyed under the Press Act. Their Lordships were confronted with the puzzle offered by the Press Act as to whether or not an article containing comments upon

measure passed by the Government or an administrative or other action of Government or upon the manner of the administration of justice was made without bringing or attempting to bring Government into contempt and brought the press owner within the wide net of the law.



Mr. William Ingram who has one of the largest junior practices at the Scottish Bar in conjunction with Major Graham Pole and others he devoted more than two years to working up Mrs. Beasant's case for the Privy Council.

On behalf of the Crown the India Office Counsel had urged that in considering whether or not an article or a passage from an article made the press owner liable under the Act it was necessary to consider (1) the want of education in India (2) the existence of numerous vernaculars (3) that the Government was foreign (4) that the rulers had no direct responsibility (or even relation) towards the governed and (5) the resulting difficulty that fault could not be found with a Government so established without making it both hated and contemptible to the immense population that it controlled. He argued that what may be innocent in Britain may be highly



(By the Solicitor General, E. O. & F. J. Ltd.)

Major David Graham Pole, Mrs. Besant's solicitor. Major Pole is a member of the Ancient Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Court of Scotland and practices in the House of Lords and Privy Council.

seditions in India because the Indian mind was not developed and because the requirements of the Government of India were peculiar.

Their Lordships of the Privy Council while refraining from directly expressing any opinion in regard to these contentions definitely affirmed that they could not interfere with the conclusion arrived at by the Court in India in regard to the construction to be placed upon the natural tendency of the printed passages complained of by the Government. Their reason for doing so was that the Judges in India with a far closer knowledge of the character of the people likely to read the articles have better means of judging than their Lordships in England.

Any one can realize that this is a highly important pronouncement.

When it is remembered that the Press Act is very loosely drawn up that the judicial has not yet been separated from the executive function in India that the orders made by the Magistrates under the Press Act are now declared to be made in their executive and not in their judicial capacity and that the judgment passed by a local Government in regard to the character or intention of a certain article or set of articles carries with it a great measure of prestige the importance of the judgment delivered by their Lordships of the Privy Council will be realized. We Indians have always believed that in carrying a case from India to Britain we were able to secure an independent judgment that in the existing circumstances could not be expected in India. The meaning of the Privy Council judgment in the Besant Case unless my brain is incapable of comprehending it is that we shall have to be contented with what we can get in India.

There are in my opinion two ways of looking at this matter. One of them is to feel unhappy at the restriction of an opportunity greatly prized by us. The other is to feel that the more India is allowed to be self-contained in regard to her purely domestic affairs the better it will be for her at any rate in the long run.

The reader may of course urge that the Government of India is not responsible to Indians and that for years to come there is very little likelihood of its being made responsible to the sons of the soil. That may be true.

But is not that an argument in favour of the organization of the movement to secure full Dominionhood for India with as little delay as possible? We must insist that as subjects of the British Crown we must be given an unambiguously worded charter of liberties that the anomaly of the combined judicial and executive functions be removed and that Indians shall have a voice in the appointment and control of the judiciary in precisely the same way that the British have such voice and control. That I think must be our goal and we must press forward to it with firm faith in our destiny and the British goodwill.

of the film is intermittent at the rate of twenty images per second while through the sound recorder it is continuous. It is not feasible therefore to reproduce images and sound records side by side. Mr. Lauste hastens to assure us that this is no disadvantage and that even splices in the film do not noticeably affect the result. The writer goes on:

The galvanometer is the heart of the sound recorder hence the inventor has given considerable attention to its design. In the earlier form he used a single wire [but] in a more recent

principle which the inventor can not make public at present receives a current of constantly varying strength from a second circuit. This current is converted into sound waves which in an amplified form, are propagated throughout a large theater.

Public exhibitions of the new talking pictures were given in England at various times during the past few years and even the most exacting of English critics have credited Mr. Lauste with a marvelous system of recording sounds. At the present moment the inventor is busily engaged

in repairing his equipment which have been rather badly handled in the journey to America so that exhibitions are not possible as yet.

While in its present state of development the talking picture system just described is claimed to be ready for the public, Mr. Lauste is the first to admit that many refinements remain to be made to bring the system still closer to the ideal. Indeed he has developed an ingenious system of flickerless cinematography which employs no shutter yet blends one picture into the next.

Together with the sound recorder these two contributions appear to be

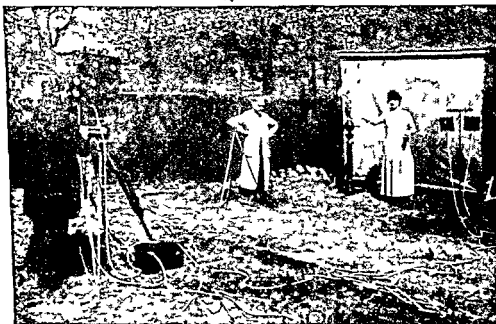


Illustration with electrical by courtesy of The Scientific American New York

MAKING A TALKING MOVIE

Note the microphones placed about and the receivers worn by the cameraman enabling him to listen in

form two wires are used. The resulting sound record is a double row of peaks.

A strong source of light is gathered into a sharp beam and projected through the sound bearing section of the film and upon a selenium cell. As the film is rapidly moved in front of the selenium cell the resistance of an electric current passing through it is altered in proportion to the amount of light falling on the sensitive material which, as is well known, has the property of changing its resistance according to the degree of illumination. By using two rows of two in peaks the inventor uses a larger area of the selenium cell resulting in much better results.

The rest of the reproducing process is simple. A sensitive relay is used in circuit with the selenium cell while a loud speaking telephone of special design is operating on a pneumatic

a big step toward the ultimate goal of motion pictures.

—The Literary Digest

A Crop that makes its Own Weedkiller

The use of waste material to assist production in the very industry that cast it aside is an interesting feature of sugar growing in Hawaii. The first stage of this development was the discovery that sugar-cane will push its way through paper of sufficient thickness to choke down weeds. The second was the utilization of the fibrous waste from the crushed cane to make paper for this purpose. In the tropical countries where sugar-cane flourishes weeds spring up overnight in numbers and strength that will choke off any crop with ease. The expense of keeping them down is by no

Beneath the paper moisture is conserved and the temperature is from 3° to 5° Fahrenheit warmer than above it so that under such humid conditions the cane growth is abnormally rapid while at the same time all weed seeds germinate. The weeds spring up blanched in the dark only to smother since their soft tops provide no means for breaking through the paper. By the time the paper must be slit the weeds are no more and as the paper disintegrates the cane is so far advanced as to command the situation.

This method effects a labor saving of from 50 per cent to 70 per cent and an increase of some ten tons of cane per acre equivalent to more than a ton of raw sugar.

There is a second chapter to this story affording an unusual example of waste utilization. The paper required in row mulching as the use of paper on cane rows is called had to be brought long distances while a fibrous material bagasse or the cane from which the

sugar has been pressed is produced on the spot in excess of fuel requirements. To make a suitable paper from this bagasse presented a new problem for while many good papers have been made from this raw material none has had the characteristics required for this special use.

The problem has been solved by an American chemical research company and a mill is being erected in the Hawaiian plantation which now supplies the paper exactly suited to the requirements from the bagasse. This is accomplished with a saving exceeding 50 per cent of the cost of the paper previously used.

Summed up the achievement is the utilization of a wasted material to found a new industry the product of which reduces the cost of growing sugar cane and at the same time produces an additional ton of raw sugar on each acre of the plantation in question.

—The Literary Digest

NOTES

To Be and To Have

In different climes and ages men have had before them two objects or ideals — to be good and wise and to have much. History does not show that any nation in any age had before it only one of these ideals to the utter exclusion of the other. But it is equally plain that in different climes or in different ages very much greater stress has been laid on the one than on the other. It is this difference of stress which characterises the differing civilizations of the East and the West. For it cannot be denied that no country or nation can be said to be without those who value the riches of the spirit above all earthly possessions or those who value worldly greatness and possessions more than the treasures of the spirit.

Plain Living and High Thinking

Wordsworth's phrase plain living and high thinking expresses the essence of the ideal of Indian civilisation. But plain living is not equivalent to extreme poverty. A state of indigence in which no thinking

is possible except as to what a man shall eat is not generally compatible with high thinking. This is very well illustrated by the following paragraph taken from the *Indian Witness* —

There is little thinking of any kind possible to those who are half starved. Save thoughts of the physical thoughts of something to satisfy the hunger and sustain their strength. Journalist, professional men and great intellects of many walks in life confessed that while starving in German war prisons their whole thought and conversation from morning to night was of something to eat. If you would get men to think of the eternal and spiritual things you must see to it that they are relieved of the dire necessity of thinking continually of temporal things. Recently a preacher in a famine area was greeted by his audience with the statement that they wanted nothing but food.

In India there are millions of men who have not got to go to German war prisons to realise what it is to think and talk from morning to night of only something to eat. With them the process is lifelong. In order therefore that we may be able to make the ideal of plain living and high thinking a reality the material condition of the country must be greatly improved. But while

engaged in this work of economic improvement we should never allow ourselves to forget that material progress is only a means to an end. The goal to be placed before the country is that every one should have such food, clothing and housing accommodation as would enable him to lead a healthy and moral life and such means and leisure as would enable him to educate himself and his children and to taste of the pleasures of the intellect and the joys of the spirit.

India's Poverty

Many Indians and many foreigners have spoken of the poverty of India. Specially convincing must be the testimony of those who while not taking up the other cries of the politically aspiring Indian intelligentsia agree with them in believing that India is poor. We shall quote two such recent testimonies.

General Sir O. Moore Creagh's recently published work, entitled *Indian Studies* is not a pro-Indian book. Such a book contains the following paragraph relating to the poverty of the Indian people —

It is idle to talk of education or other measures of social reform when whole families in those parts of India I know have to work day and night to eke out a bare existence. Even in normal years the grain disappears before the harvest is over and then the fight with hunger and the illness it causes commences. There are millions who even in good years fail to get a full meal and they would die in droves in a bad one were it not for public relief. The peasant digs sows and reaps the rain falls and the crops prosper and are reaped but no sooner is the harvest ours than the crops are divided. The land lord be he government or a great landlord takes the lion's share, the village shop-keeper and the village servants are paid from what remains when the producer has nothing left. He again gets credit for his food and seed for the next crop from the village shop-keeper which costs him dear and he goes home to plough sow and live in hopes of better times which never come. When after years of toil and favourable crops he may have got clear of the village shop-keeper the settlement officer pounces on him and skins off all profit by taxing him on a rigidly defined standard which throws him into the hands of the village shop-keeper once more.

The *Indian Witness* is an organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its politics

use the politics of Anglo-Indians. And missionaries can if they choose see the real life of the people of India much more than Anglo-Indian officials or Anglo-Indian men of business. For these reasons what this paper says about the poverty of India should carry conviction. It says

How poor is India? Those who are fond of statistics will be most impressed with the statement that India's average daily earning per person is between an anna and an anna and a half and that the average wealth of India per capita is about ninety rupees. We know that there are many people in India who earn much more than an anna and one half a day, so there is a great many others who do not earn so much. We also know that there are many in India who possess much more than rupees in cash, there must be many others who possess much less. Otherwise the average of net worth would not be possible. Mark Twain was certainly seeing straight when he characterised India as being the land of dreams and romance of fabulous wealth and fabulous poverty of splendour and rags of palaces and hovels of famine and pestilence. The only difficulty is that the fabulously wealthy are comparatively few.

How poor is India? It will do little good to compare the average earnings of her people and their per capita wealth with the earnings and wealth of the peoples of other nations. Comparisons are odious. The real meaning of the anna and one half average daily earning and of the ninety average wealth is best understood when they are considered in the light of their purchasing power. The anna and one half will purchase very little more in India to-day than it will anywhere else in the world and less than it will in many places. Wheat for food and cotton for clothing are just as expensive in India as in prosperous America. Milk in India is as expensive as it is in many other countries that are far more able to buy milk. How many babies will die in India this year because there is no proper food for them? We know of one wee baby in India whose milk diet costs five or six annas every day. How far will the anna and one half go?

How poor is India? Her great infant mortality and mortality that is not infant her millions of barefooted people millions of half-naked people millions of people who have but one meal or less of the coarsest food per day and her millions in famine relief camps or suffering without the camps all bear testimony to the insufficiency of the anna and one half for daily needs and of the ninety as a fortification against the day of famine to say nothing of providing capital for productive industry.

The question is then asked 'Why is India so poor?'

The one big reason for her poverty is that she produces so little. We have been talking of her average wealth and average earning; we may also speak of her average productivity. The average individual in India produces less than the average individual in almost any country on the face of the earth. Why is this so? First, because those who are producers use such primitive methods of production. Here a man uses his centuries old wooden plough and his slow-going oxen and cultivates a few bighas of land, at the most. In Australia and Canada a man will take his modern machinery and thoroughly till his 40, 80 or perhaps 160 acres of ground. Second, because there are so many people in India who are absolutely unproductive. There are millions of mendicants, religious and otherwise, millions of personal and house servants, hundreds of thousands of those who because of physical defects are unproductive, and there is a great host of the idle rich who live off the toil of the real producer.

Some complain that India is so poor because she has to pay such heavy taxes. We do not know whether her taxes are any heavier than those of other countries or not. We would like to have the word of some expert political economist on that subject. But whether taxed or not it is safe to say that India will be the poorest of the poor so long as her productivity is so little in comparison with that of other nations and wealth and poverty are always comparative terms, it must be remembered.

Should any religious movement concern itself with such a thing as poverty? It certainly should. The Master indicated that it was to be taken for granted that men should have adequate food, clothing and shelter. He had no quarrel with wealth only with the love of it. Plain living and high thinking are fine things, but there is a great distinction between plain living and plain starvation. There are multitudes in India who would be glad to indulge in the high thinking, if only they could be assured of the plain living.

Increasing our Productivity.

How to increase our productivity? It is a big question, and cannot be answered within the compass of a brief note.

It has to be considered what things we require to produce. First comes food. A strictly scientific enquiry should be made to ascertain whether India produces sufficient food to maintain her population in normal health and strength, leaving a sufficient margin for export. If she does, why are millions of her children lifelong starvelings? If she does not, it is plainly the duty of the people and the Government to increase her food production by the

adoption and use of the best seeds, manures, implements and methods. The questions of agricultural holdings and of the fragmentation of holdings as it affects the introduction of agricultural improvements should be considered in this connection. These questions are dealt with in two papers published in the current (July) number of the *Agricultural Journal of India*.

All questions of reform and improvement are interdependent. No wonder then that agricultural improvement should depend on the possession of political power. More than any other government department, the agricultural department has or ought to have to do with the illiterate peasantry. Most of those agriculturists who are literate are literate only in their vernaculars. Those of their countrymen who have received agricultural education should be in a better position to advise, guide and help the agriculturists than foreigners; and it is only the selfishness of exploiters which can deny that Indian agricultural experts are more interested in the agricultural improvement of India and in helping the tillers of the soil than foreigners. But it is foreigners who rule the roost in the agricultural as in other departments. This state of things can be remedied only by Indians acquiring political power.

It is not denied that even illiterate peasants may be made somewhat better agriculturists without being made literate. But it is equally plain that no great improvement is possible unless there is universal free elementary education, were it to be imparted only as a means of giving agricultural education. The official attitude in this matter has always been clear and was made quite clear by the fate of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. The Primary Education Acts recently passed in some provinces, for the most part as the result of non-official zeal, provide, in the majority of cases, for the extension of primary education in urban areas. A great national education Act, giving every child, born in urban or rural areas, opportunity to develop to the full what capacity it brings into the world, has still to be ushered into existence.

Sufficient money will never be spent for

agriculture and education until the Indian Government is nationalised

The Choice of Crops

Those who take interest in such questions know that, as far as that is practicable influence and pressure are brought to bear on peasants and farmers to grow more of crops which are required for the advantage of exploiters and foreign countries than those which India requires for her own advantage and use. This can be remedied only by the possession of political power by Indians. Our notes on 'Mobilization of Indian Agricultural Resources' pp 641-643 *M R* for December, 1918 and pp 94-95 *M R* for January, 1919, may be re-read to clearly understand what we mean.

Areas under Cultivation

The figures supplied by the Director of Statistics showing the total area area cultivated and uncultivated area under irrigation area under different crops &c in British India in the agricultural year 1917-18, give food for thought.

The total area sown in the year 1917-18 was 26½ million acres (including 37 million acres cropped more than once) the same as in 1916-17. This total area may be classified under the two main heads food crops (219 million acres) and non food crops (46 million acres). Of the food-crops the area under wheat increased by nearly one and a half million acres in 1917-18 that under gram by one million acres and that under barley by half a million acres. The decreases are mainly under byra (¾ million acres) jowar (¾ million acres) rice (one third million acres) and other food grains (one million acres). Among the non food crops the main increases are under cotton (1½ million acres) linseed (¾ million acres) and rape and mustard (one-third million acres) while the area under sesamum decreased by about two-third million acres and ground nut by one-third million acres. The total area irrigated decreased by 2 million acres as compared with that of 1916-17. As compared with the pre-war year the area under food-crops at the end of the 1st agricultural year June 1918 was 8 per cent more than in the pre-war year owing to the increase on account of war demands for wheat and gram. In regard to non food crops the increase in the same period was 3 per cent chiefly on account of the demand for oilseeds and go and fodder crops. The per capita acreage of foreign countries is also of interest. The figures for the United States of America Canada the United Kingdom France, and Germany before

the War were as follows: United States of America 2.97 Canada 5.98 United Kingdom 0.39 France 1.49 Germany 0.94. The figures for India before and at the end of the War were 1.02 and 1.10 respectively.

Every country should in the first place produce what it requires for its own consumption and then produce if possible, what other countries require for their consumption. And out of what a country produces only the surplus after reserving its estimated consumption should be allowed to be exported. But in India both the production of particular kinds of crops and their export are controlled with greater regard for the requirements of foreigners than is just and humane the consequences being scarcity famine malnutrition wide-spread disease and ignorance. Only self rule can remedy these evils.

One of the economic causes of our inability to keep in the country a sufficiency of the food we produce is our want of money. Foreign manufacturing peoples have more money and can pay higher prices for food grains than we can. Unless therefore we develop manufacturing industries we shall never have enough food though we may produce enough. But manufacturing industries can in the circumstances of India be developed on an adequate scale only if we have self rule.

The Question of Export

In normal times and in abnormal times too like the present of high prices and of famines food is allowed to be exported out of India without attention being paid to what Indians think of India's requirements. It is pretended or believed that we do not even understand whether we are hungry or how hungry we are,—and of course we do not understand how the export and import of food should be controlled. A recent letter contributed to the *Bengalee* by an official incidentally placed the public for the first time in possession of the information that Great Britain had undertaken to supply Sweden with large quantities of Indian wheat. 'Was not the War fought for making the world (minus India, Egypt etc.) safe for democracy, and was not this undertaking given without the

knowledge and consent of the producing country in right democratic style?

The remedy lies in self rule

Production of articles other than food

In addition to food India should produce also her clothing and all other things which are necessary for leading healthy beautiful and enlightened lives. No doubt no country can produce every thing which its inhabitants may require but India is so large a country and possesses such a large variety of climates flora and physical features that it is possible for us to produce almost everything we require. And our productive activity should have this wide range not only to remove our poverty not only to add to our wealth but in order also that we may be better and more perfect men by developing all our capacities and in order that we may require and keep up that feeling of self respect which economic independence and interdependence on equal terms with other countries can produce.

Without manufacturing industries we cannot even conserve our stock of food. So long as wealthy manufacturing countries can pay higher prices for the food we produce than we can pay and so long as we are obliged to sell part of our food stock for the money wherewith to purchase foreign cloth and other necessities the food we produce must in great part find its way to foreign countries leaving us hungry. These considerations prove that we can not do without the Swadeshi movement.

Flourishing manufacturing industries presuppose technical and industrial education control over customs duties tariffs railway freight &c state encouragement banking facilities and organisation of capital. Most or all of these conditions depend for their fulfilment on the possession of self government.

Mysore Iron Scheme

We are glad to learn that the work in connection with the Mysore iron scheme is being pushed through at Benapur. The sites for the location of the workmen's quarters offices factories etc have been

selected under the guidance of Mr Perin the American expert. An informal conference of the Mining Engineer, the special officer of the Iron scheme, the Conservator of Forests in Mysore and the District Forest Officers of Kadur and Shimoga and one or two others is now thrashing out at Bangalore the problem of the fuel supply required for the works. This problem of the fuel supply will be understood from what appeared in our last December number p 641. There we gave an extract which said that an interesting experiment was being tried in Mysore, and that the government of that progressive state had decided to erect a charcoal blast furnace and appointed Mr Perin as their consulting engineer. It was further stated

He has placed orders for the equipment in America and the undertaking is to be constructed and managed by the Tata Iron and Steel Company. It is proposed to fell and transport timber from the vast forests of Kadur and Shimoga and convert it into charcoal at Benapur. Iron ore will be mined at a distance of twenty five miles and a high grade charcoal iron produced. It is also intended that acetate of lime alcohol and other by products be extracted. Calcium carbide may also be manufactured with the breeze or such portions of the charcoal as cannot be used in the furnaces.

There will thus be considerable wood distillation industries.

The Mysore Durbar has provided more than Rs 21 00 000 for this scheme during the current year.

Industries in Gwalior

The Leader publishes an article on 'Industrial Gwalior' which is a memoir on the economic position of the Gwalior State and a description of the principal industries carried on there prepared by the inspector general of commerce and industry under commands of His Highness.

During the short period that the industry and commerce department has been in existence efforts have been made to prove the commercial possibilities of the dry distillation of wood thymol manufacture extraction of turpentine and resin and commercial utilization of indigenous drugs. To the credit of the department we have as many as 115 factories although in the beginning strenuous efforts were needed—years of hard labour to quote the official language—to popularize spinning factories presses and cotton

mills. The success of the Gwalior workshops and leather factory is a record of persevering work carried on unmindful of expense with the sole object of establishing an 'example industry.' The Gwalior Workmen were imported from Agra and Cawnpore and paid big advances and systematic training of the local people was undertaken with the result that they have now nearly one thousand workmen all of the state working in all branches of saddlery harness and boot making. The average annual profit of the concern is represented by half a lakh of rupees. As yet no systematic efforts seem to have been made in starting on any large scale the iron and steel industry which is the coming industry of India. Gwalior had at one time iron foundries capable of turning out wonderful works like the 24 feet long gun which can now be seen in the Jai Vilas Palace. This gun is described as a magnificent piece of welded metal made in 1602 and was used in the reduction of the Gwalior fort by the Marathas under their Scindia leaders and is called Falesh Lashkar. The rocks of the Vindhya series contain iron in the form of hematite and magnetite. A State with the resources of Gwalior ought to be able to lead the way even for the Tatras at Jamshedpur.

Other activities have also been summarised.

It is a credit to the industrial activities of Gwalior such as they are that when during the war the call came from the munitions department for bolts, nuts and rivets the Gwalior workshop undertook their manufacture draught poles telescopic stands and other articles were also executed. Large supplies of pack mules saddlery, harness boots and shoes and other leather goods were supplied by the leather factory. The chemical laboratory in Gwalior started to analyse and classify the raw and manufactured products of the State is doing splendid work laying the groundwork for new chemical manufactures. The results so far attained fully justify the keen foresight and affectionate regard for the well-being of the subjects by his Highness who realized the potential greatness and value of chemical and technical research for the growth of industries. Two research scholarships have been sanctioned by the Durbar for the investigation of indigenous drugs. The statistical department which is a useful handmaid to the industrial department is rapidly rising in efficiency. Forest industries which all over India have obtained a great impetus during the war and as a result of the activities of the munitions department have come in for particular attention. Turpentine on a commercial scale could be made as also lac, tannin extracts, rubber, aloes, silkworm rearing, rose oil and these and other industries await the serious handling of the Government. Sylviculture, in itself is a vast subject and the Gwalior State is about to associate a forest economist

with the conservator of forests. Reclamation of land ravines brought into existence by the destructive inroads of rivers is seriously taken in hand and the areas covered by ravines constitute excellent agricultural lands. Raw materials for the manufacture of cement occur in various parts of the State and now that the war is over, the State might take up the work.

And is given to small industries also.

Korea's Declaration of Independence

Korea came under the yoke of Japan ten years ago. Ever since that time, she has been ruled by the Japanese military governors with severity. The dawn of peace however gave her a new gleam of justice and roused her with the principle of self-determination. So that, imbued with the new idealism of liberty, she drafted her declaration of independence, of which the following is a translation.

We the people of Korea hereby declare the Independence of Korea before all nations, assuming that this would be generally recognised by them.

We declare this with a united voice of twenty million people in the name of justice and humanity. We are no mean people having the long history of a distinct and self-governing nation through the centuries. It is a most solemn duty of us to secure the right of free and perpetual development of our own national character and ability adapting ourselves to the principles of the reconstruction of the world.

It is nearly ten years since we were for the first time in our history put under the yoke of another nation and made a victim of the cursed militaristic imperialism of the world. Since then, how much our spiritual development has been hampered our national dignity injured and how many opportunities have been lost to make a contribution to the civilisation of the world.

Oh fellow-citizens! The most urgent and the greatest duty for us is to secure our national independence in order to wipe off the injuries to get rid of the present sufferings to remove the future threatnings to stir up the national spirit and vitality so long suppressed under the unjust regime of Japan and to leave our children an eternal freedom and perfect happiness instead of a bitter and shameful existence. We shall fight to the last drop of our blood in the great cause of Liberty.

What the Koreans next proceed to say, shows that they were not in a revengeful mood when they made their declaration of independence.

We do not blame Japan for breaking treaties in which she so often solemnly promised

guarantee the independence of Korea. Nor do we complain of her for calling our land a colony and treating us as slaves. Because it is unnecessary for us to find faults in others but in ourselves. We do not mean to take such measures as to avenge ourselves upon Japan. All we desire to do is to right wrongs done to us not by the Japanese nation, but by the few of her statesmen who were led by the old aggressive policy.

The results of the Japanese annexation of Korea are thus described —

'See the actual outcome of the annexation which was made in 1910 without free consent of the peoples concerned.' A bitter and unrequitable animosity is growing deeper and deeper between these two peoples though it has been glossed over with a tranquil appearance caused only by heavy pressure and with series of statistics most of which have nothing to do with our concerns. It is clear to see that the two nations must and ought to enter into a new relation of good friendship so that they would enjoy a permanent happiness and to avoid further perils on both sides. Moreover in view of maintaining the peace of the Far East the independence of Korea is not without a deep significance. It is not only because the unjustly subdued twenty million people of Korea may prove a source of incessant alarm but any longer occupation of Korea by Japan is likely to provoke more suspicion and fear against Japan in the mind of the four hundred million people of China whereas the true friendly relation between the peoples as the basis upon which any eternal peace of the East will possibly be established. Could any international peace be expected without the perfect harmony of the eastern nations?

Babu Bhagwan Das on The Hindu University

Babu Bhagwan Das M.A., of Seva Ashram, Benares has published two articles on the Hindu University in New India July 7th and 8th from which we quote below. He is a gentleman of high culture with a profound knowledge of Sanskrit philosophy as of modern thought and learning—an accomplished writer, a deep thinker and a sane judge of men and manners. A gentleman of independent means and a student by taste and temperament he long served the Hindu University in its chrysalis stage of the old Central Hindu College and has been elected to several of the academic and administrative bodies of the new Hindu University since its foundation in 1916. He has also been twice chosen as Honorary University Professor. He has a name of his own to grand. The opinion

of such a man on the present condition of the Hindu University must have great weight. It strikes one that, though the items dwelt upon by Babu Bhagwan Das and 'Inside View' are not the same in every detail, the impression produced by the articles of the two writers is substantially the same.

Babu Bhagwan Das first of all proves that 'all is not right with the Benares Hindu University.' Indeed he goes so far as to say that "it is not an ideal fraternity of philanthropists requiring only quiet and steady work but sodden with intrigues and party politics."

Those who are, in his opinion, responsible for this state of things have not, he appears to think forgotten to employ the usual methods for preventing even the attempt at reform. As he plainly puts it,

Indeed it would be almost truer to say that there has been a conspiracy of silence in the Press as regards the affairs of the B H U. I could not get some letters signed by me in full published in the U P in January, 1918 and had to send them to other provinces where they were published by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Am India* and the *Bombay Chronicle*. Apparently there was in the U P a strong notion that any criticism of the B H U is sedition and disloyalty and that nobody can wish well to the B H U unless he wholeheartedly praises its existing management. Things must have become very bad indeed when even the Press of the U P thinks fit to give space to even anonymous criticisms of that management.

Among the root causes of the mischief he gives the first place to Mr. Malaviya's manner of doing things—or, more correctly, of leaving them undone and practically though he does not say or suggest intentionally, standing in the way of others doing them.

It stands to reason and even to common sense that a residential University should have a residential head and much more so a residential University in the making in its earliest feeble infancy, liable to many infantile troubles. But the B H U has dispensed with any and every such thing so far. The first Vice-Chancellor lived a hundred miles away. The second fifteen hundred. He gave clear and fair warning before election that he could not give more than a part of the year to Benares, and he did better than his promise. But he failed to link any expression upon the root mischief, partly because even the time that he did give

was not enough and largely because Pandit M. M. Malaviya could not time his visits to Benares concurrently with the Vice-Chancellor and could not develop another and even more necessary kind of concurrence i.e., of views and of mutual trust, between himself and the latter. As 'Inside View' has pointed out with facts and figures the present Pro-Vice-Chancellor Pandit M. M. Malaviya himself is able to give very little time to Benares. He seldom exceeds seldom even works up to the traditional pilgrim's limit of 'three nights at a place' in his visits, and these take place at intervals of weeks. And now that he is the Acting Vice-Chancellor also since the resignation of Sir Sivadasam Aiyar the consequences to the work are so much the more perplexing, for he is not stationary even at Allahabad, his home (so that work could go to him if he could not come to the work) but is ubiquitous—all over India. No blame to him at all—on the contrary he is bearing an Atlas burden on his shoulders—but all the blame to our luckless and most miserable Motherland which cannot produce another being fit to be trusted by him to really share and lighten his mighty labours!

Out of the luck of a residential head then all the other mischiefs arise.

As regards the imagination and the plans of Mr. Malaviya, Babu Bhagwan Das writes —

Our guiding spirit our presiding deity or at least genius, the soul of the whole concern and its master as its solitary bread-winner and holder of the purse-strings has an exceedingly rich and vivid imagination which pounces and fastens upon a new idea almost every day and rapidly develops it into a glorious structure of sunset clouds but then his ardour cools and the idea shrinks back into its inherent diminutiveness and is put aside. It is no doubt this very vivacity of imagination which has infected the country with the idea of the Hindu University and made its foundation possible. But the excess of it now is a hindrance. What is wanted now is steady continuous sober plodding on a level much below that of the bright imagination let us grant readily and sincerely but equally indispensable in the total scheme of the universe. If the prime founder of the business would only realise his limitation as well as his capriciousness, distinguish between what or rather how much he can do (as in deed no other can at the moment) and what he cannot do though he insists on doing it (as others realise painfully though less venture to express their minds frankly to him) then the B. H. U. would progress better and more quickly.

Babu Bhagwan Das gives direct evidence that Dr. Gangadhar Jha's resignation of the membership of the various University bodies was not due to diffi-

ferences with Sir Sivadasam Aiyar, as has been asserted by some apologists of the present regime. "The statement is wholly wrong, as I know firsthand, it was due to the general condition of affairs which made it impossible for him to be of any use and for which Malaviya's absence from the scene of work combined with his disinclination to let anything at all important be done in his absence is the main cause." The following passage from his articles gives one the impression that the various university bodies have made the University a sort of talking machine hall.

At present many are the meetings of many of the B. H. U. bodies which after three or four hours of industrious talking simply end in post-ponements of most sometimes all of the agenda-items. Things are half-discussed and dropped and taken up again and dropped again indefinitely. The shirking of one full and conclusive discussion in the beginning entails a perpetually recurrent waste of time afterwards. See the minute books and the files of notices of meetings and agenda papers.

An illustration is given from the meeting of the Executive Council on the 22nd June which was adjourned after an 'added egg' meeting on the 14th.

After three hours—from 1 p.m. to 8 p.m. and more—of preliminary talking part of it relating to a matter not on the agenda at all it was decided that as copies of the budget had been placed in the members' hands at that meeting itself and no time allowed for previous coming over (—it appeared that a week was required by the rules—) the whole thing was postponed to the 12th July. So it goes on. An important question of principle whose continued mismanagement is likely to aggravate the corruption of spirit from which the B. H. U. is suffering is being shirked in this fashion. And travelling expenses are paid to outside members attending these meetings. One court meeting is estimated to cost about three thousand rupees and a Council or a faculty meeting may cost hundreds. Legal quibbles hair-splittings of words catch phrases invented by men engaged in executive office or forensic law or party politics to suit their own special purposes are often heard at meetings of the administrative bodies of this educational institution where the whole atmosphere should be that of the patriarchal joint family the guru-kul: the Teacher a family home. At a recent court meeting a member pointed out with reference to an objection raised by another that the latter's remedy lay in a suit in the law-courts.

Want of space forbids us to give more

extracts from Prof Bhagwan Das's exposition of the situation. We shall only quote some of his paragraph headings to indicate his diagnosis of the case —

- Hip and our principle and Drift our policy
- Our lack of proper head and heart
- Our ignorance of what we want to do
- Our safe policy of non-committal
- Our keeping the public out
- Our wish to repress criticism
- Much talk and little work
- Our waste of public money
- Our slighting of the missionary spirit
- Our Red tapism
- Our insistence on blind faith and caste
- Our penny wise and pound foolish finance
- Our worst symptom—the unrighteous spirit
- Manipulation of procedure at will

Our own Impressions.

We have no first hand knowledge of the affairs of the Benares Hindu University. And it is not possible for us to constitute ourselves into a committee or commission of enquiry. At the same time it is also not possible for us to dismiss as unreliable the statements of men who have been long known as honourable and truth loving. We judge of the state of things at the Benares University only from what has appeared in the Press from what has been brought to our notice and from the results of our inquiry on the few definite and specific points mentioned below.

(a) Have the morning periods of work at the C. H. C. been invariably of 40 minutes each and the day periods of 48 minutes each or were they on some days changed to 45 minutes or any other duration?

(b) Was the starting point of the College work changed during the last year only from season to season and not from time to time as detailed by 'Inside View'? Was the starting point changed oftener than seasonal changes would necessitate?

(c) Was sufficiently early notice given to every member of the teaching staff of the changes in the starting point?

(d) Did any member of the staff complain of the conditions of his work under the shift system?

These were questions the answers to which would not be affected by personal opinion because these would have to state

ments of fact. We have no desire to enter into details, nor to quote in full the replies we have received. Suffice it to say that on these points the replies confirm the statements of 'Inside View'. On other matters we leave the reader to decide for himself.

The Modern Review was, we believe, the first among Indian journals to describe and advocate the Gary plan of teaching two sets of students by shifts. But our support of the plan was conditional. We laid down the condition that neither the staff nor the students were to be overworked or inconvenienced in any way. We have evidence to show that some professors really were inconvenienced by the shift system as adopted by the Hindu University. We have evidence also to show that science students have been placed at a disadvantage by it. The reasons can be guessed from what Prof N. C. Nag has written in his letter to the *Searchlight* —

Oftentimes Chemistry students have to carry on an experiment from one day to another and they have to leave their apparatus etc. on their table. The coming in of a new batch of students in their place is not possible in the practical class. There must be separate accommodation for the science students in the practical class.

We have independent evidence to show that on account of the lack of this separate accommodation for each science student, unfinished experiments have had to be started anew. This is a real disadvantage. A piece of writing becomes interesting if the writer throws some personal feeling into it. We have tried to write on the affairs of the Hindu University in as cold and therefore uninteresting a manner as we can. For we regret to observe that party feelings and prejudices generally divide those who have or have had anything to do with this University, though we presume there must be some who have been able to keep up a neutral judicial attitude. For this reason we wish to avoid even the appearance of belonging to any party.

In a new institution which is also a new experiment some degree of slowness of progress is inevitable—it may even be desirable. We cannot say whether the slowness of the Hindu University has exceeded this limit.

Some appointments we understand, could not be made because for one thing the gentlemen whose services were desired demanded very much higher salaries than the salaries attached to the posts which they now hold. It may seem unavoidable but it seems to us that the excessive salaries paid to foreign officers have made the demands of our own men higher than they ought to be in a poor country like India.

Ideals and their concrete realisation cannot there is no harm in bearing in mind always be made to keep pace with each other. The Peace Treaty falls far short of the idealism of so great a man as President Wilson.

A great reconciler and high minded broad hearted peace-maker is required. The Hindu University is an all India institution. It has brought together many and many in future years bring together many more workers with different upbringing and differing University and provincial traditions and predilections. Some one there must be at the head of the University who while utilising to the full the broadening effect of the good that there must be in those different traditions &c. would be able to rise superior to their narrowing and dwarfing influence.

A Noble Gift to the Indian Women's University

Mr V R Lande Sub-Assistant Surgeon originally of Nagpur died two years ago at Jinja Uganda East Africa after serving the Government there for about fifteen years. His poverty compelled him to take to medical studies without completing his secondary education. His property in Africa and India amounts to nearly Rs 55,000. He executed a will 5 days before his death setting aside a large portion of his estate for educational and charitable institutions. According to the law of Uganda however no immovable property can be assigned to charitable purposes unless the will is made one year before death and deposited in some place provided by law for safe custody within six months of the execution. If the two widows and the mother of Dr Lande had not given their consent the will would have been inopera-

tive. They have however nobly come forward to accept the terms of the will and have executed a release deed relinquishing all their rights over and above what has been left to them in the will. The Trustees of the Indian Women's University are Dr Lande's Trustees in India. The African Trustees were required to send all the proceeds of the Estate there to the Indian Trustees and Rs 19,000 have been received from them. Indian dues have yet to be recovered. About Rs 8,000 are to be given to four different institutions and after giving to the widows and the mother what is left to them the Women's University is likely to get Rs 15,000 now and about Rs 10,000 later on. This last sum is to be invested and the allowance of Rs 30 a month to each of his widows is to be given out of the interest thereon.

The Indian Women's University is deeply thankful to the late Dr Lande and the noble ladies for the very liberal help they have given to this movement.

Hingne Budruk D. B. Karve
Pooni City Organiser Indian Women's University

The Press Association of India

The Press Association of India has sent the following cable to the Prime Minister the Secretary of State for India and Lord Sinha Under-Secretary of State for India —

The Press Association of India begs to invite attention to the repression of the Indian Press under the Press Act, 1910 resulting in the suppression of legitimate expression of Indian opinion and creating a great alarm in the public mind. The Act since its enactment has penalised over 3,000 presses and 300 newspapers demanded securities amounting to over £40,000 and proscribed over 500 publications. Owing to the demand of security over 203 presses and 130 newspapers have not been started. Since 1917 the Act has been even more rigorously administered. Leading influential Indian English journals like the Amrita Bazar Patrika the Bombay Chronicle the Hindu the Independent the Tribune the Punjabee and leading Vernacular papers like the Basumati the Swadeshimtran the

Vijaya the Hindustani the Bharat nutra have been subjected to its rigours. Several Indian newspapers are arbitrarily barred from the different provinces. On the other hand violent provocative writings in the Anglo Indian Press are entirely immune. Government refused last September an open inquiry into the operation of the Press Act urged by Indian members in the Imperial Council. Legitimate criticism on the Rowlett Act the Punjab Martial Law and other grievances is crippled by executive action. Influential journals are disappearing because of the existing Act and its administration. The unventilated expression of public opinion is bound to drive discontent and unrest underground. The extreme and unjustifiable severity to which journalists are subjected is painfully evidenced by the arbitrary deportation of Mr Horniman Editor The Bombay Chronicle and President of this Association. The Association presses for the repeal of the Press Act urgently.

The Press Act Supremely Reasonable

The following telegram has appeared in the daily papers —

Bombay July 18.

At the Esplanade Police Court Bombay before the Chief Presidency Magistrate Mr Maldeo N. Desai appeared to make a declaration as publisher of Young India. When asked by His Worship to deposit a security of Rs 1000 Mr Desai submitted the following statement — I have been asked not to give any security apart from what has already been taken from the keeper of Young India as in the opinion of those including myself who are responsible for conducting the journal extraordinary endeavour has been made to keep its columns pure and unblemished by any seditious or even hostile taint. Every endeavour has been made to serve both the Government and the public fearlessly but with due regard to every interest. I can only express my very deep regret that Government has been unable to appreciate the service that Young India has rendered to it during critical periods and has been so ill advised as to ask for any security being given by the publisher. After reading the statement His Worship said no security was taken from the printers. Mr Desai said he meant the keeper of the press.

The Magistrate — You say the keeper of the press has deposited Rs 1000.

Mr Desai — Yes.

The Magistrate then ordered that Rs 1000 should be deposited subject to the proviso of Section 8 (1) of Act I of 1910. His Worship further ordered that if a change in the place of printing were made he would have to deposit a further sum of Rs 1000.

Mr Desai's truthful and courageous statement extorts respect.

The last sentence in the above extract which we have italicised shows conclusively how supremely reasonable the Press Act is. The Magistrate says in advance that if a change in the place of printing were made the publisher would have to deposit a further sum of Rs 1000. It is taken for granted that a mere change in the place of printing would make Young India more seditiously inclined than it already is in the opinion of the Magistrate. How absurd and ludicrous! And this is Law!

Indian Women's University

A FEW FACTS AND FIGURES

1 This University was formally inaugurated on 3rd June 1916 at the first meeting of its Senate in the Fergusson College at Poona.

2 Dr Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Principal R. P. Paranjpye are its Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor respectively.

3 The Mahila Pathashala (Women's College) and the Mahilashram (Girls High School) both of Poona are the only institutions working under the guidance of the University.

4 There are sixteen students in the college and one hundred in the school. The staff of those institutions contains four M.A.s and 4 B.A.s of the Bombay University.

5 The first convocation of this University was held on 15th June last at which Mrs. Barabai Shevade the first graduate of the University received her degree of G.A. (Graduate in Arts) at the hands of the Chancellor Dr Bhandarkar. This lady has joined the staff of the above-mentioned institutions.

6 The Senate of the University consists of 60 Fellows who are representatives of six electorates. Affiliated schools and colleges elect 15 patrons elect 10 members of Graduates Electorate elect 15, members



Mrs. Barabai Shewade
First Graduate Indian Women's University

of the Educated Ladies Electorate elect 10 members of the General Electorate elect 5 and the Senate co-opts 5 making in all 60. Twelve Fellows retire every year automatically and their places are filled up by new elections retiring members being eligible for re-election.

7. The present Senate contains 6 ladies and 54 gentlemen. According to places 28 belong to Poona 11 to Bombay 2 to Gujarat 2 to Baroda State 2 to Sind 1 to Punjab 2 to Central India 1 to Bhopal State 1 to Bengal 3 to Madras Presidency, 2 to Mysore State 1 to Carnatic and 4 to Deccan. According to professions 13 were or are professors of colleges 13 Head Masters and Inspectors 8 leaders 8 doctors and 7 others.

8. It is a national university. All

authority is centred in the Senate which is made up of the representatives of the people. Any graduate can become a member of the Graduates Electorate by contributing Rs 10 annually and any person can become a member of the General Electorate by contributing Rs 5 annually. The list of eligible voters prepared for the election in last April contained 2000 names nearly. People from different parts of India have got themselves enrolled as members.

9. Indian vernaculars are given the first place in the scheme of studies and English is made a compulsory second language.

10. The movement is supported mostly by the educated middle class. The permanent fund of the University consists of 3½ per cent Government Promissory notes of the face value of Rs 1,15,000. Annual subscriptions come to Rs 10,000.

11. Although there is only one high school and one college working under the guidance of the University at present it is hoped that more institutions will spring up later on. Similarly though Marathi is the only vernacular which has been made the medium of instruction it is hoped that provinces with other vernaculars will take up the idea. One lady from Gwalior passed the Entrance Examination of this University in April 1918 with Hindi as her medium of examination. Prof. Karve the Organiser of the Indian Women's University has expressed his readiness to exert himself to organise a school and college that would give instruction through the medium of Hindi if no workers in Hindi speaking provinces came forward either to start an independent Women's University or to found an institution to work under the guidance of this University in the next few years.

Poona 14th July 1919. A Maratha. The more truly independent educational institutions of the type of the Indian Women's University we have in our midst the more hopeful would our future be.

The Meeting of Lalla and Majnun

Lulla and Kais were children of two chieftains of wandering tribes in Arabia. They were brought up together like two

buds growing side by side with affection and love secretly treasured in their hearts. They hoped and dreamed that one day they would be united in wedlock and live only for each other. But this was not to be. They were separated from each other. Laila was married to a wealthy person. The disappointment of Kais was so great that he became mad—*Majnun*. He thought only of Laila; he spoke only of Laila. He wandered into the wilderness till he became a living skeleton and even wild beasts took pity on him and became friendly to him. In the meantime, however, the husband of Laila died and she sought the love-distracted *Majnun*. But the return of Laila was too late. *Majnun* did not recognise her. Laila spoke of her insatiable love for him, but *Majnun* described to her the Laila he adored—his beloved Laila of the past. Then their eyes met and *Majnun* recognised her. But this was only for a brief moment; instantly his madness came back and he rushed away into the desert and once more they were separated, to be united only on the other side of death.

The picture represents Laila speaking to *Majnun*. Two of her attendants are standing behind her. The camel driver in the foreground is making fire.

Early 18th century, Collection of Mr S. N. Gupta.

Naturalisation of the Exotic

It is a somewhat trite though common argument, employed by Anglo-Indians and Tory Britishers to cry down our political aspirations or to assert that we do not possess certain moral qualities, that there are no current old vernacular words to describe certain liberal and popular political institutions or to express those moral qualities. One might retort that, as the words 'government', 'democracy', 'representative government', 'franchise', 'parliament', &c., are all derived from languages foreign to the British soil, a time there must have been when the things denoted by these words did not exist in Britain, yet these things have grown up and taken root there. Similarly one might argue that if a 'gratitude' is not an indigenous British

word, the thing originally did not exist in Britain, and it was subsequently that its want was felt, and so the thing and its name was attempted to be transplanted to British soil. Seriously speaking, many exotic animals, plants, ideas and institutions have been naturalised and have flourished in new habitats. This process of conscious and unconscious naturalisation has gone on throughout historical and pre-historic ages. Very often the exotic has partially or completely supplanted what was indigenous. That what has not been or is not, can not merely for that reason be, is a most foolish argument.

Punjab Affairs

Whatever may have been the case in former ages, at present the English language is so highly developed and its vocabulary is so rich that whatever Englishmen do and think and feel and intend, may be adequately described and characterised in English words. Therefore it would not be right to say that it is not possible properly to describe and characterise recent events in the Punjab and the policy pursued in that unhappy province by its rulers and the rulers of India. There is quite an abundant stock of words in the English lexicon to correctly describe and characterise those events and that policy. And though English is not our vernacular, our knowledge of it, though defective, might suffice for such true description and characterisation. But on account of the Press Act, such true description and characterisation may not seem advisable,—particularly in the case of those newspapers and periodicals which do not possess presses of their own.

The 'Pratap' Case.

This is a case in which Lala Radha Krishna, editor of the "Pratap", was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment, which has been reduced by the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab as an act of mercy. Even if he had been released as an act of mercy, the wrong done to him would not have been wholly undone, for he ought never to have been prosecuted at all. In cases of injustice like this if the accused

person were set free, if it were declared that he was wrongly prosecuted and if he were compensated for whatever pecuniary or other loss he had sustained then alone it could be said that as much justice had been done to him as was possible under the circumstances.

Mr M K Gandhi has subjected the charge sheet and the judgment in this case to detailed criticism. He says

'In my humble opinion the judgment is a travesty of justice. The case is in some respects worse even than Babu Kalnath Roy's case. There are no startling headlines in the Tribune case. The accused has been sentenced not on a section of the Indian Penal Code but on a rule temporarily framed as a war measure.

He examines the indictment as follows—

Let us turn to the indictment. Now a charge-sheet should contain no avoidable inaccuracies and no innuendoes. But we find that this indictment contains material inaccuracies. One of the three statements claimed by the Prosecution to be false is that the accused stood in his paper that they (the crowd) were fired at in Delhi without any cause. Now this is a dangerous inaccuracy. The passage in question reads they were *at least from their point of view* fired at without any cause. The words italicised have been omitted from the charge thus giving a different meaning to the writing from the one intended by the writer. From the third item too the relevant portion which alters the accused's meaning in his favour has been omitted. The third count concludes the people threw stones and brickbats at the time when the authorities had already taken the initiative. The relevant and qualifying sentences in the article from which the above is extracted are—*But it is possible that somebody among this huge crowd might have thrown stones on the Police officer (before they resorted to firing).* Even admitting this to be true we say that the wisdom and prudence of the authorities demanded that some other method than firing guns should have been adopted with a view to suppress this disturbance. This sentence with the portion italicised again alters the whole meaning. If such an omission was made by a defendant it would amount to *suppressio veri* and he would rightly put himself out of court. Done by the prosecution the omission has passed muster but in reality it is far more dangerous than *suppressio veri* on the part of a defendant. The Crown by a material omission intended or otherwise may succeed in bringing about an unjust conviction as it appears to have done in this case.

In the *Hindus* case in Sindh the Prosecution charged Mr Jethmal with *sup-*

pressio veri for bringing the Government into hatred and contempt, and the trying magistrate observed—

What are we to think of the good faith of a writer catering for a considerable body of Sindh readers who having at his hand the materials from which he could have compiled a true and faithful account of the events at Delhi deliberately set out to garble those materials so as to put the action of the authorities in the worst possible light? It has been proved that he deliberately omitted from more or less responsible accounts of the occurrences certain statements. What was his intention in so doing? There can be no doubt that it was to hold up to hatred and contempt the authorities responsible for maintaining law and order.

The application of these observations to the charge-sheet in the *Pratap* case is obvious.

Now is this all?

The last paragraph of the charge contains an unpardonable innuendo. The accused has published a number of seditions and inflammatory articles but the Crown prefers to proceed under Rule 23. The suggestion that the accused has written seditions and inflammatory articles could only be calculated to prejudice the defence. I have never seen an indictment so loosely drawn up and so argumentative as this. In a properly constituted court of law I venture to think that it would have been ruled out of order and the accused set free without having to enter upon any defence.

Mr Gandhi then criticises the judgment.

The judgment too I am sorry to say leaves the same impression on one's mind that the charge does—in a press of prejudice and haste. It says The prosecution have also established that each of these statements is false. Now I have I hope already demonstrated that two of the statements in the indictment could not be proved to be false for they are statements torn from their context and incomplete. No amount of evidence to prove the falsity of such incomplete statements could possibly be permitted to injure the accused. There remain only two statements to be examined. The first statement is By the evening of the 31st March forty Hindus and Mussalmans had been killed. Now it would be quite clear to anybody perusing the judgment that even now it is not known how many persons were killed. I suggest that the deciding factor in examining the falseness or otherwise of the above statement is not the number killed but whether any people were killed at all. If anything could then alarm the people it was the fact of firing not necessarily the number killed. And the fact of firing is not denied. As to the number the newspapers including the Anglo-Indian press had different versions. The learned Judge dismisses the plea that other

gether to carry on organised agitation against the Rowlatt Act was in the opinion of the judges a criminal conspiracy. If that be so then any kind of conference or meeting private or public for purposes of deliberation or consultation for settling any programme of constitutional agitation is conspiracy. We have read the Lahore judgment from the first line to the last but nowhere could we discover any proof of any criminal conspiracy of which the Lahore leaders were guilty. A conspiracy of a different kind though not one which the Indian Penal Code can take cognizance of seems indeed to have been hatched in the Punjab a conspiracy of which the object it is presumed was that whatever extension of political rights the people of the other provinces of India might have under the Reform Scheme the Punjab must politically remain what it is. Nay it is probable that it was intended that the Punjab should make progress backwards by the curtailment of peoples rights. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was guilty of this conspiracy — who else was is not known.

Were it not for the tragic consequences of these trials some passages in some of the judgments would be considered highly comic. For instance in an Amritsar judgment the fact that one of the accused started a platform ticket agitation and wrote intemperate letters to the railway authorities in connection therewith is gravely brought forward as establishing and enhancing his guilt! He was instrumental in stopping a cricket match. Could rebelliousness go further? The opening of *langarkhanas* or free kitchens for the poor during the shopkeepers' strike in Lahore was pressed into similar service by the Lahore tribunal. It too was an act of war! But pray in what respect legally did it differ from the Strikers Unemployment Funds in the West out of which the unemployed are helped during strikes and lock-outs?

The Lahore judges have given it as their opinion that the object of the Lahore leaders was to overawe the Government by *hartals* &c and thereby bring about the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. Now the object

of all constitutional agitation is to bring pressure on the Government in furtherance of legitimate public object and this pressure is justified so long as there is no physical force no violence no armed resistance or any intention or suggestion thereof. It has not been shown that the Lahore leaders either intended to use any physical force or had any connection with any rioting or other act of violence which might have taken place. Should Government dislike the inconvenience resulting from constitutional agitation and therefore feel inclined to avoid providing occasions for such agitation in future surely it must be an abuse of language to describe the object of constitutional agitation to be to overawe the Government.

It is too late in the day for any tribunal military or civil to try to make out that any form of passive resistance (call it *Satyagraha* or by any other name) is criminal. It is and would remain legitimate and constitutional in spite of what Anglo Indian or British judges may choose to say. For British justice though often the best, is not always the best or the only variety of justice. The ideal and standard of justice and the ideal and standard of what is legitimate and constitutional are independent of what some British judicial and executive officers may think or say.

Hartals (shopkeepers' strikes) and every other similar form of self-chosen and self-inflicted loss suffering and mode of public mourning are immemorial rights of the people which no British or other man made pronouncements or laws can abolish or deprive of their legitimacy. Surely it would be intolerable slavery if we could not have even the liberty to suffer for a cause!

Much is made in the Lahore judgment of the fact that the crowds were dispersed by firing on more than one day. But that a crowd was fired upon does not in itself show that the men forming the crowd were violent and dangerous were in the wrong or constituted an unlawful assembly. On the contrary what has to be proved first of all is that (a) the crowd was violent and constituted an unlawful assembly (b) + other means had been

in his minute of dissent. He concludes his observations on this subject by saying—

I am therefore opposed to an Advisory Committee with no responsibility and no statutory functions. If it should be decided that for some time at least a Council or an Advisory Committee is necessary, I should prefer a Secretary of State in Council and to make it easy for the Council to disappear when the time comes, without having to wait for a Parliamentary Statute, I should accept the recommendation of Professor Keith, that the King in Council, whenever he is so advised, may make an order transferring the functions of the Secretary of State in Council to the Secretary of State and abolishing the Council. Nor do I see much objection to accept as an alternative the suggestion of Sir James Brunyate, that the Council should at the end of the 1st period of 10 years cease to exist unless the Parliamentary Commission reports in favour of its continuance.

We think there is great force in Mr Basu's contention that the power of veto at present possessed by the Council should be retained.

If the final Parliamentary decision now be in favour of an Advisory Committee distinct from the Secretary of State the Committee should have statutory powers so that the difficulties I have suggested as likely to arise may be avoided, and so long as the revenues of India are by Statute vested in the Secretary of State and can be dealt with by him irrespective either of the Government of India or of any popular control in India, I would not abolish the veto of the Council. The veto has, it is true, never been exercised, but its existence must have a restraining influence and must strengthen the position of the Secretary of State as against the Cabinet. The abolition of the veto may create unnecessary suspicion in India as an attempt to remove the last obstacle to the unrodd of the British Treasury on Indian revenues especially in view of the fact that the non official Indian element in the body which would advise the Secretary of State is about to be strengthened.

As regards the composition of the Council or the Advisory Committee, we endorse the views of Mr Basu. Regarding the Indians to be appointed Mr Basu says—

The Report recommends that not less than one third of the body should be Indian public men selected from a panel and leaves it open to the Secretary of State to appoint other Indians representing special interests or possessing administrative experience. In my opinion, having regard to the altered circumstances the necessity of restraining the officials when they may be tempted to overstep the limits of their

spheres, of stimulating, advising, and guiding the popular governments, of harmonising the relationship between the official and non official Provincial Governments and between the Government of India and its Legislative Assembly, the authority which will have the final decision cannot be safely constituted with less than half its members as Indians. I would, therefore, recommend that half of the number should be Indians, and I am prepared to concede, though this is neither desirable nor essential, for I am sure Indian electorates will elect men possessed of the requisite qualifications, that not less than two thirds of this number should be selected as recommended in the Majority Report the rest being nominated by the Secretary of State.

Half the number of members being thus suggested to be Indians, regarding the other half Mr Basu observes—

As regards the other half it must be evident from the nature of the duties that the Council or Advisory Committee will have to discharge, that it should not consist wholly of officials. The official experience will be primarily and efficiently represented in the despatches that will come from the Government of India and also in the permanent departments of the India Office, this experience, while essential in matters of ordinary administration in which the Secretary of State will interfere less and less is not of the same value when he has got to deal with important matters of policy or constitutional usage involving decisions of critical questions between the official governments and the popular elements. Under these conditions it is not only not desirable but may even be embarrassing to have a preponderantly official element in the Council of the Secretary of State. What is wanted is not a reduplication of the Indian official point of view, but a broadened outlook from the Indian and British points of view. The Indian point of view will be secured by the increased representation of the non-official Indian element. The British point of view can only be secured by the introduction into the Council of a new element, namely Englishmen taken from the public life of England. I would therefore recommend that room should be provided for such association by laying down that not more than one-third of the members should be officials who had held office in India, the rest being men of British experience nominated by the Secretary of State. To my mind a Council so constituted will be an ideal flywheel for the new machinery we are setting up. If we revert to the old constitution of an overwhelming official preponderance in the body which will advise the Secretary of State we shall be courting grave risk. I see no sufficient reason why the members of the Council of the Secretary of State should be as now, excluded from sitting in Parliament. There would be obvious advantages if they were allowed to do so, especially if they become a merely advisory body.

The majority of the members of the Committee have opposed the proposal to establish a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs. We are in favour of the establishment of such a

committee, and of its retention until India gets full Dominion government. The fears of the Crewe Committee of excessive parliamentary interference in the affairs of India are entirely groundless. Hitherto, what has been every M.P.'s business has been every M.P.'s business. The actions of the Indian Executive in India and Great Britain must be subject to scrutiny, control, and reversal, if need be, somewhere and by some persons. Seemingly that it is proposed to keep the supreme Government in India practically autocratic for an indefinite period and that even in the Provinces popular control must, if the Reform Bill passes as it is, be for an indefinite period more nominal than real, parliamentary control must be made more real than it is at present. And the only way to do so is to appoint a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs. The observations of Mr. B. N. Basu on this subject are so statesmanlike that we quote them in full in spite of their length.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

16 This is a feature of the Montagu Chelmsford Report which has met with universal and unqualified approval in India. The Majority Report has raised an objection to it which it considers fundamental, namely, that an increasing interest taken by Parliament in Indian affairs might encourage a tendency to interfere, and might militate against the object of the reforms which is gradually to transfer control to the Legislatures in India. We have to bear in mind however that this objection specially in the Central Government is remotely in prospect and we shall have a long way to travel before reaching it. In the meantime all the more vital concerns of Government will remain vested in an official executive. This executive will have a very difficult part to play. It is casting no slur upon it to say that it is not properly trained or constituted for its new role. Hitherto it has held all the threads of administration in its hands; it has been alike the source of power and the instrument of its effective use in all directions. Henceforth, while it will still exercise the paramount functions of government and consequently retain its position of unchallenged supremacy in what are justly regarded as the attributes of power, namely the enforcement of law and order, it will have in other branches of administration to take a subordinate place as executant of the will of the people whom it is controlling and governing in a different sphere. The Civil Service has shown great adaptability in the past and I hope its fabric will respond to the new conditions in a spirit of loyal co-operation. But the whole situation requires careful supervision and guidance not alone by the Secretary of State but by Parliament itself. Parliament is now deliberately transferring some of its power to the Indian legisla-

tures and has reserved to itself the determination of the future stages of further transference until India has secured self-government within the Empire. Therefore until that goal is reached, India would not only not fear any tendency in Parliament towards taking an increasing interest in her affairs but would urgently want it, and would welcome any means to secure it. We cannot at the present moment give Parliamentary representation to India though India, which is still governed by Parliament, stands on a different footing in this respect from the Dominions, and therefore the only way to secure in Parliament some knowledge of and interest in Indian affairs is by means of a Parliamentary Committee which will be annually constituted with importation of fresh blood and will thus in the course of a few years give the House of Commons a fairly large number of members with some acquaintance with Indian affairs. Even if this Committee like the Committee of Public Accounts deals with the preceding year, it will be able by its annual reports to place before Parliament a resume of some of the most important aspects of administration in India in a form essentially different from the present official reports on the moral and material progress in India. The British public will have the inestimable advantage of having a picture of India in outline presented by an independent body of men who are dissociated from both the official and non-official elements in India and are the chosen representatives of the British people and the Indian public will have access to an authority which it will regard more or less as impartial.

In his remarks on the India Office staff also Mr. Basu makes clear the Indian point of view.

17 As regards interchange of the superior staff between England and India I do not appreciate any very great difficulties. The higher officials in the India Office may and should from time to time be sent out to India to serve or assist in the Secretariat and their place taken here by Indian officials who should be of Indian descent if available. I would not claim any special privilege for the Indian but it is only fair that when the Indian is equally qualified he should have preference, not because he is an Indian but because the British element will, in the very nature of things, be preponderantly represented in the India Office staff. This will be a matter of arrangement which will grow into a system and so arranged as not to affect the prospects of the home officials. As regards Indians being allowed to take a responsible part in the higher control of the Office I think it should be definitely laid down that there should always be an additional Indian permanent Under Secretary of State. Ordinarily he should not be an Indian official. With an Indian non-official member in all the Provincial Executive Councils, and probably more than one minister in all the provinces with also not less than two members in the Executive Council of the Government of India it will be easy to combine non-official training with administrative knowledge in a non-official Indian selected for the post.

In the above, we demur to the words "not because he is an Indian" Where general qualifications are equal an Indian should be preferred to a Britisher, *because he is an Indian and because the India Office is meant for the management of Indian affairs* Until the whole world is internationalised or, at least until throughout the British Empire only merit is taken into consideration but not race or nationality, a fully qualified national must everywhere have preference in the affairs of his country.

Sir James Meston on Democracy in an Eastern Country.

In Reuter's cabled summary of Sir James Meston's evidence before the Joint Committee we find him stating 'that the Government of India fully appreciated the gravity and magnitude of their responsibilities of creating for the first time in history a democracy in an eastern country.' What is the exact meaning of this claim of creation? Does it mean that it is the Government of India who are creating a democracy for the first time in any eastern land? That would be clearly a wrong claim. For Japan, China and the Philippines have all had for years more or less developed democracies previously created. If it is meant that it is the British Government which is establishing a democracy for the first time in the eastern land called India that also is not historically true, for even Mr Vincent A. Smith can be quoted to prove that democracies, not less developed than those of any ancient land, existed for centuries in ancient India.

And what a democracy it is which the Indian Reform Bill proposes to establish in India!

Work of India's Delegates in England.

Readers of Indian newspapers know what the different bodies of delegates are doing in England to press on the attention of Englishmen what powers over their country's affairs Indians want. It would have been of great advantage if they could have presented a united front. But it would seem as if that was not to be.

Could not the delegates agree to make their demand identical in respect of one

thing at least, namely, as regards at least the introduction of the principle of popular control over some subjects under the Government of India? In other words, in addition to provincial affairs, the principle of diarchy should be applied to all India affairs also, Indian ministers being in charge of transferred subjects, and executive councillors in charge of reserved ones, and all the subjects being transferred in a decade or two to Indian ministers responsible to the representatives of the people. If in affairs of the gravest moment to the people, touching their lives, liberties, health, and economic condition, they are to be subject to an autocracy, we do not see why they should go into raptures because, in the provinces Indian ministers may be appointed and dismissed at the pleasure of the Governor, because, their salaries are to be a matter of bargaining, because, their advice may or may not be accepted by the Governor, because, the revenues are first of all to be commandeered by the Government of India and by the Provincial Governments for their reserved subjects, and only the crumbs left are to be given to the ministers for their transferred subjects, to be supplemented by fresh taxation if the provincial Governments agree to it, because, the Indian and Provincial Governments are to have full power and machinery to pass whatever laws they like and to prevent the passage of whatever laws they dislike, because, the Government of India would continue to have arbitrary power to make use of the old Regulations relating to deportation, declaration of martial law, &c., and so and so forth.

The Indian Daily News is quite right in observing,

There is no one apparently, there to get information as to precisely what is meant by the Reforms except that there is to be a so-called democracy to be driven in blinkers by the Government like *tiloca garutats*. No one asks Sir James Meston whether he proposed to give the country the control of the Press Act or of the tariff or of the police or of the introduction of Martial Law at any moment, and though we know inferentially that all these subjects are to be reserved these are precisely the matters over which the mind of India has been so perturbed and the main cause of the unrest apart from the economic causes.

What we want

Both Moderates and Extremists agree in holding that in the long run India must have full self government in all provincial and all India affairs. The parties differ only as to what should be demanded now and as to the steps which should lead to complete self rule and the period which the gradual attainment of self rule should occupy. There is also another point of difference. If the kind and degree of self government proposed to be given to us for the present do not appear satisfactory to us and if the givers practically say, 'Take this or you get nothing' should we run the risk of losing the little that is offered by standing up for a substantial measure of self rule as the first instalment or should we make a very respectful *salaam* and say, 'Garib parwar you are very merciful'. We confess we are not adepts in the arts of political bargaining or of political begging. But our natural inclination is to demand something substantial something which will lead inevitably to full self government within a definite period. We believe that the 'Take this or you get nothing' attitude is camouflage that it is not really optional for the British people to give us political liberty or withhold it from us and that if we really deserve a thing and mean seriously to have it we must get it. It is also our belief that whatever little may be given to us now may be used by our opponents for about a generation to prevent our getting more by these opponents continually demanding. Prove by your performance that you deserve even what you have got before you agitate for more. Therefore from this point of view it is better to have nothing than to have something inadequate something which will not irresistibly and within a definite period lead to autonomy both in the provinces and in the whole of India.

Both Moderates and Extremists have too readily agreed to exclude the Army and the Navy (which does not yet exist) from the sphere of the self government which we want. We know this readiness has sprung from a desire to prevent

and allay all suspicions of our harbouring separatist or rebellious intentions. But can Home Rule ever be a reality without the opportunity and the power of Home Defence? So long as the Indian Army is not both manned and officered mainly by Indians the taunt will be flung in our face that a people who cannot protect and defend their hearth and homes certainly do not deserve Home Rule and cannot keep it if given to them. But if we be content to exclude the Army and the Navy from the purview of our political demands how and when are we going really to nationalise the Indian Army and Navy? And what about the financial aspect of this exclusion? Out of 86 millions sterling budgetted for the current year by the Government of India 41 millions are for the Army (and 24.2 millions for railways). These items absorb 75.38 per cent of the total revenues. From the remaining 24.62 per cent we can safely challenge even a legislative assembly and ministers to whom all subjects have been transferred to adequate ly improve sanitation irrigation agriculture industries education and science

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar

On this the 29th day of July Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar breathed his last. To day we remember him with love gratitude and reverence for all that he did and suffered for Hindu widows and women the victims of a polygamous system of marriage for all that he did to rouse the social conscience of the Hindu public for all that he did for fam ne stricken men women and children for all that he did for the education of girls for all that he did for the cause of Sanskrit and general education for all that he did for Bengali literature for the manhood that was in him and the tender heart of a woman which lay concealed within his tough exterior. It is a great pity and a shame that the most courageous and humane thing which he did in life—the re introduction and legalisation of the re marriage of child widows—continues to be looked upon with disfavour most of all in the province of his birth.

Peace Treaty Has Not Brought Peace to Europe

Though "military war" has ceased between the Allies on the one hand and the Central European powers on the other, the Peace Treaty does not contain any provisions for the prevention of economic war between them, on the contrary, some of the terms are in effect a declaration of economic war, which, when the parties are ready for it, may lead to 'military war'. This is not all. Actual fighting is still going on between different parties in Russia, in and on the borders of Poland and Rumania and Hungary, &c.

Besides this, there is disastrous class war in England and other countries, as in the coal mine areas in Yorkshire in England, resulting in the flooding of mines worth millions of pounds. Other industries have also been affected.

Where the essentials of peace are not in the heart of man, external machinery and arrangements can not bring it about.

Death of Dr T M Nair

By the death of Dr T M Nair, the "Non Brahman Movement" of Madras loses its bulwark, and India loses a strong personality—a man who, during the greater part of his public career served her well and right manfully and who only latterly gave up to party what was meant for all his countrymen. He rendered effective service to his fellow-citizens in connection with the Madras Municipal Corporation. It is generally believed that his taking up the cudgels against Mrs. Annie Besant led her to deflect her almost unsurpassed energies to the field of Indian politics. If this belief be correct, Dr Nair's active campaign against her produced a good result which he did not intend it produce. No sane man, no lover of humanity and of India, can approve of the violence and hatred of Dr Nair's anti Brahmin campaign. At the same time, no fair minded man can fail to observe that it is the unjust, unrighteous and inhuman character of the Hindu social system in the South which is primarily responsible for this virulent hatred. The non Brahmin movement will not have been brought into existence in vain if it leads the Brahmans

and other high-caste people in the South to recognise in practice the common and equal humanity of themselves and the so-called low-caste and non caste people.

"Hindus" in America

By now several natives of India have become naturalised citizens of the United States of America. Naturalisation in a free democratic country can give our countrymen there that fullness of opportunity to show what stuff they are made of, which is denied them in their motherland. In a free country like America it is practicable, too, to speak and write the whole truth about India, which is not possible in India. For these reasons naturalisation in America ought to receive an impetus.

We are glad that the political ardour of our countrymen in America has found an outlet and an embodiment and organ in 'The Indian Home Rule League of America', and *Young India* Revolutionary propaganda is unwise and futile, and unrighteous, too, when it advocates murder. The mature and wise judgment of Lala Lajpat Rai could not have taken shape in any other kind of united political activity than a Home Rule League. In connection with the League Dr Hardiker has been delivering lectures in many states and cities and forming branches and enlisting new members. His activity, as described in *Young India* the monthly organ of the League, is very praiseworthy.

Colonel Yate recently asked a question in the British House of Commons relating to Lala Lajpat Rai's so-called misrepresentation of British rule in America. True representation is as Britishers and Anglo Indians see themselves, misrepresentation is as patriotic Indians and impartial foreigners see them.

Many of our readers are writing to us to know the address of the Hindusthan Association of America. It is 116 West 39th Street, New York City, U S A.

Dr Sudhindra Bose's circular letter to the Press, printed elsewhere, suggests a duty which we owe to our country. As in many other things, so in this, the progressive Indian states, like Mysore, Baroda, Travancore &c., may take the lead.

Gwalior has been forging ahead in industrial activity. There is much to learn in America about industrial education and enterprise. Why not send a deputation there to observe enquire and report?

Mr Shafi's Appointment

As the immediate cause of Sir C Sankaran Nair's resignation was the Government's Panjab policy it is in the fitness of things that his successor has been found in Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi whose ardent and whole-hearted admiration of and homage to O Dwyerism found public expression in the banquet &c given to the outgoing Panjab sardar. It does not much matter that his appointment has not been hailed with delight even by his own community and that he has never given any proof of zeal for the improvement and spread of education the subject of which he is to be in charge. He opposed Mr Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. The surprise is not that a Shafi has been appointed but that a Sankaran Nair was appointed. Some people have observed that if according to the principle of turn and turn about a Musalman was to follow a Hindu why was not Sir Abdur Rahim appointed? But it is forgotten that that gentleman wrote a very patriotic and very just minute of dissent to the Public Service Commission Report. And Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla and Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan too were not quite safe men. Government could not take any risks.

China and Japan

Since the signature of the Peace Treaty Japan has reiterated her promise to the Allies to restore Shantung to China and only retain the economic control of the railways and the Kiaochao concession. It is believed that the Chinese delegates in Paris will eventually sign the Versailles Treaty. It is stated that the late Austrian concession at Tientsin will revert to China.

The Chinese Government is expected soon to sign the Peace Treaty after the explanation from the Peace Conference that Japan's pledge to restore Shantung to China was not given to China alone but to

all the Allies. The Japanese will withdraw troops from Shantung but will retain the economic control of railways and the peninsula. She will also receive the possession of the German concession of Kiaochao.

We are sure the Chinese are able to see through this economic camouflage. Economic dependence is not less injurious and humiliating than political dependence. And the protection of economic interests has in the history of empire-building nations not rarely furnished the occasion and excuse for military enterprises. His story may repeat itself in China in this respect. And why is Kiaochao to go to Japan? China was and is an Ally. Why is she to be treated like a conquered enemy country in any matter?

Influenza and the Paucity of Doctors

The recrudescence of the influenza epidemic has led the provincial and Indian Governments to issue communiques and suggest the taking of precautions &c. But there is no mention of the need of increasing the number of doctors. Of course it takes years to train up young men and women into doctors. But influenza is not going to disappear this very year nor is it the last and only epidemic afflicting India. Plague has been here for well nigh a quarter of a century. Influenza may follow suit. It is imperatively necessary to immediately establish a good many medical colleges and schools. But unfortunately they are not pet bureaucratic or imperialistic schemes or hobbies. So the treasury is empty.

Indians in South Africa

It is with pain and resentment that Indians have learnt that their countrymen in South Africa have again to face the necessity of another strenuous passive resistance campaign. They are about to be deprived of the trading and land-owning rights which they enjoyed even under the Boer regime. Representations made to and by the Government of India have up till now proved ineffectual—because India is not self-ruling. As the community is thus threatened with pauperisation and ultimate destruction a session of

the South African Indian Congress has been convened for the 3rd instant to confer on the taking of some concerted action. Meanwhile the Indians are signing the agreement to disregard the civil laws in South Africa as long as any law imposing any class distinction or disability upon the British Indians remains on the statute book. Our sisters and brethren there have our deepest sympathy.

We are pained to learn that in East Africa, too, attempts continue to be made to injure the trading and other interests of Indians though it is their efforts from before pre British days which have made East Africa what it is.

Famine Prices Everywhere

Famine may not have been declared everywhere but famine prices rule through out the country. Prices were very high last year too but this year there has been a further rise as the following figures compiled by *Commerce*, will show —

The wholesale prices of food grains and pulses in India at the middle of March 1919 increased by 63 per cent (unweighted average) according to a return issued by the Department of Statistics as compared with this time last year. The weighted average price of rice in India advanced by 60 per cent. The increase in the great rice-producing provinces was 68 per cent in Bengal 36 per cent in Bihar and Orissa 51 per cent in the Madras Presidency and 39 per cent in Burma. Among the minor provinces the rise of 78 per cent in the North West Frontier Province 73 per cent in Assam 67 per cent in the Central Provinces and Berar 64 per cent in the United Provinces and 59 per cent in the Punjab is noticeable. According to the figures that have been issued by the department for May, 1919, the wholesale prices of cereals and pulses in India at the end of that month were more by 3 per cent as compared with the previous fortnight. The price of wheat rose by 4 per cent but there was no fluctuation in the unweighted average price of rice the weighted average showing a rise of 3 per cent. Of the inferior grains maize advanced by 10 per cent, barley by 4 per cent and jawar and bajra by 1 per cent each. Gram showed a rise of 6 per cent and larhar dal 1 per cent. There was a rise of 5 per cent in raw sugar (gur) and 1 per cent in ghu, while the price of salt showed a fall of 1 per cent. The marked provincial fluctuations are an increase of 11 per cent in wheat in Bengal 13 per cent in barley in Bihar and Orissa 34 per cent in maize in Burma and 18 per cent in Bihar and Orissa 21 per cent in gram in Bengal and

15 per cent in the North West Frontier Province. On the other hand there was a noticeable fall in the price of rice in Bombay (12 per cent) and Madras (11 per cent) and in the price of salt in Bihar and Orissa (16 per cent). At the end of May 1919 wholesale prices of food grains and pulses in India advanced by 85 per cent (unweighted average) as compared with the average of the prices which ruled at the corresponding date in the last three years. The weighted average showed a rise of 97 per cent. The price of rice rose by 61 per cent. The increases in the chief rice producing areas were 70 per cent in Bengal 121 per cent in Bihar and Orissa 49 per cent in Burma and 35 per cent in the Madras Presidency. Wheat prices increased by 63 per cent. In the principal wheat growing provinces the Punjab showed a rise of 58 per cent the United Provinces 69 per cent the Central Provinces and Berar 90 per cent and Bihar and Orissa 99 per cent. The price of barley rose by 64 per cent (unweighted average) the weighted average showing a rise of 85 per cent. The noteworthy increase was in Bihar and Orissa (133 per cent) and the United Provinces (85 per cent). There was an advance of 119 per cent in the price of jawar and 116 per cent in that of bajra in India. Gram prices showed a rise of 95 per cent the noticeable percentage increases being 126 in Bihar and Orissa 121 in the United Provinces 116 in Bengal and 105 in the Bombay Presidency. The price of larhar dal advanced by 89 per cent in India it rose by 187 per cent in Delhi 162 per cent in the Central Provinces and Berar 138 per cent in the United Provinces and 103 per cent in Bihar and Orissa. There was an increase of 38 per cent in the price of ghu and of 65 per cent in that of raw sugar (gur). The rise of 168 per cent in raw sugar (gur) in Sind Baluchistan is striking. The price of salt rose by 5 per cent in India although it declined in the Bombay Presidency (18 per cent) Bengal and the Madras Presidency (6 per cent) Delhi (7 per cent) and in Assam (2 per cent). The marked rise was in the North West Frontier Province 50 per cent and in the Punjab 35 per cent. Prices in the United Provinces remained unchanged.

The situation is very serious, and calls for not only temporary palliative measures, but for lasting remedies as well. First of all the causes have to be studied dispassionately, and then remedies thought of. As to the causes, non official Indian opinion is not likely to coincide with official views. Those amongst our public spirited persons famous or obscure, who are interested in economic inquiries and competent to undertake them are earnestly invited to study this vital problem. It is a question of life and death for our people.

But it is to be hoped no one will follow the example of Maharaja P K Tagore, who said at a recent conference in the British Indian Association rooms

"We have all seen, how about two months ago Col Frank Johnson at Lahore had succeeded, by virtue of the exceptional powers conferred upon him under Martial Law, in bringing down by a stroke of his pen the prices of meat wheat milk and even vegetables. Gentlemen if the choice lay between Martial Law and semi-starvation, I am sure the great majority of the population of this Presidency would gladly and gratefully welcome the former without a moment's hesitation"

Was it a joke or was it merely the animal in man that spoke?

A B. Patrika Security Case

Though we are not surprised, we are sorry that the bench of three High Court Judges who sat to hear the *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* appeal against the forfeiture of its security of Rs 5000, have upheld the order of forfeiture. We are not competent to call in question the correctness of their judgment from the legal point view but we have no doubt that if the law has been correctly expounded it is a bad law going against the spirit of political progressiveness. Laws should be such as would allow all speaking and writing which do not suggest or directly incite to the use of physical force against Government. There can be no effective criticism of any system of government or its officers and measures, which does not directly or indirectly produce some dislike or repulsion. What degree of dislike or repulsion may be styled contempt or hatred, it is not always easy to say.

Commendable Industrial Plans

It has given us pleasure to learn from the papers that the honorary secretaries of the Indian Industrial Conference are making efforts to extend the usefulness of that body in three important practical directions

It is intended shortly to publish a revised edition of the Directory of Indian Goods and Industries which was compiled by Messrs Mudholkar and Chintamani some years ago. A list of Indian and foreign experts who are capable of rendering assistance to the capitalists and others in starting new industries or reviving old ones is also being compiled. Thirdly, it is intended to organise a commercial museum in

Bombay to display samples of indigenous and foreign industrial products models of machinery raw material and art ware. About Rs 12000 only are stated to be needed to achieve the objects in view and an appeal is made to the public for help—*The Bombay Chronicle*

A Labour Meeting in Madras

Madras has been making headway in one democratic direction, leaving behind backward provinces like Bengal. When the Calcutta postmen struck in order that their grievances might be remedied, they received no help from their 'politically minded' countrymen, but on the contrary Boy Scouts and members of the Calcutta University Infantry Corps were encouraged to work as strike breakers. In Madras they do things in a different way.

Under the auspices of the Central Advisory Labour Board a public meeting was held at the Gokhale Hall to enlist public sympathy with the cause of labourers in general and with that of the labourers thrown out of employment by Messrs Addison & Co and Hoe & Co in particular.

Mr C Rajagopalachari proposed the Zaminder of Kumaramangalam to the chair and in doing so observed that it might seem curious that a Zaminder should be asked to preside over a labour meeting but it should be remembered that in this country Zaminders were near relations to workmen on the soil. The Zaminders were the feeders of the country. It was a peculiar feature of social arrangements in this country unlike in any other country, that in the midst of barriers of castes and position the greatest and best democracy prevailed.

We only call attention to the significance and the vital need of such meetings. For details one should read *New India* and the *Hindu*.

Mr Gandhi Postpones Civil Disobedience

It has often been urged in these pages that armed fights for freedom are out of the question in India. Two of the chief means recommended to be adopted for winning freedom are intellectual and moral suasion and civil disobedience. The best means is, of course to make ourselves physically, intellectually and morally equal to any class of men in the world.

There is in India no greater master of the art of civil disobedience than Mr M K Gandhi. As he thinks it necessary in the present circumstances of the country to keep civil disobedience in abeyance, to be said. Some a

Indian papers have insinuated that the warning of grave consequences conveyed to him by Government may have made him nervous. They do not know of what metal he is made. Some Indian papers have exhorted him to give up thoughts of civil disobedience for good. We think that is a futile, unnecessary, and rather panicky and officious exhortation.

Report of the Sadler Commission

The Report of the Calcutta University Commission has "leaked out." Some of its recommendations have appeared in a Madras Anglo Indian paper, from which other papers have copied. It is greatly to be hoped that this "leakage" does not prove the unfitness of any class of men to govern themselves or any other persons.

As for the recommendations which have been published, as all the recommendations are most probably interrelated, comments on any of them had better not be made till the Report itself is before us.

Scholarships for Oriental Women at the University of Michigan

The scholarships for oriental women at the University of Michigan, U.S.A., are known as the Barbour Scholarships. They were established in June, 1917, through the generosity of the Honorable Levi L. Barbour of Detroit. The income of \$100,000 is devoted to these scholarships and the income is such that the University maintains ten scholarships of the annual value of \$500 each. (A dollar is equivalent to a little more than 4s.) Their purpose is to provide for the care, support, maintenance and schooling in the University of young women from oriental countries, including Japan, China, India, Russia, the Philippines and Turkey. No exact number is allotted to any country. Applications for these scholarships should be made in writing to the President of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, U.S.A. Accompanying the applications, certificates of character and certificates showing scholastic attainment and fitness for university work should be filed. The scholarships are awarded by a committee consisting of the President of the University, the Dean of the College of Literature, Science,

and the Arts, the Dean of Women, and the Dean of the Medical School. There is sharp competition for the scholarships. Many more applications are filed than can be granted. The amount of scholarship (\$500) does not include travelling expenses, "and," adds President H. B. Hutchins in his letter, from which the above particulars have been taken, "I think it advisable that one should have some money in addition to the \$500."

In a letter to the editor of this Review President H. B. Hutchins says that "these scholarships have already been awarded for the coming University year, 1919-1920." If any Indian ladies "desire to become candidates for them for the year following, 1920-21, I would suggest that they forward to the President of the University credentials showing their training and fitness for work in the University."

Danger of Leaving "Revolution" Undefined

The Mahratta has brought to notice the danger to the public of leaving the word "revolution" undefined in the Rowlatt Act. When the Rowlatt Bill "was under discussion in the Legislative Council, many a member pressed the Government to define what is called 'a revolutionary movement', but the Government refused to do it on the ground that the meaning of revolution was perfectly plain." It is rightly contended that though the dictionary meaning of "war" and "rebellion", too, are perfectly plain, yet in utter defiance of these meanings and of common sense as well, it has been held that there were rebellion and war in the Punjab and on that assumption martial law was proclaimed there and terrible sentences pronounced on many men which gave a shock to the moral sense and the sense of justice and humanity and take one's breath away. What guarantee is there that in spite of the meaning of "revolution" being plain, regions will not be officially declared to be in a state of revolution without there being any revolution there in the usual sense of the word?

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A "BOAT BRIDE."

By the courtesy of the artist, Mr. Saradacharan Ukil.



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THE TEMPLE CITIES

ALTHOUGH the impressiveness of Indian monuments comes down from their own times, and their fame is as old as travel, our actual modern knowledge of Indian Architecture, and its appreciative study, date essentially from the works of James Fergusson, who is thus among the true discoverers of India to the world, in deed in great measure to herself and he thus is only second to Sir William Jones, with his discernment of the significance of Sanskrit language, literature and learning. We may be but speculating in viewing Jones' essential insight as the renewal of the bardic feeling and historic spirit of his ancestral Wales; but we may more certainly interpret the mental attitude which guided Fergusson, as a later fellow citizen of Robert Burns by birth, and then of Walter Scott by education. In an exposition of civics and town planning which has in so many ways set out from Edinburgh, we cannot but see how its character of striking architectural effects, upon an impressive natural scene, must have communicated to his mind much of those traditions and outlooks, historical and geographic, humanistic and scientific, which have so long made Edinburgh an educative environment, and this in far more than any merely scholastic or academic sense. As Linnaeus's ordered enthusiasm sent out a younger generation to botanise over the world, so Scott was a yet wider impulse to the brightest of his young readers, through his vivid visualisation of history, and thus largely in terms of architecture in fact, as he tells us in his biography, of the panoramic contrast of the romantic old city with the modern "New Town", the first familiar from boyish home and school surroundings, the other in contrast emphasised by daily professional walk to the courts in old Edinburgh from his neo classic mansion in the

New town. How largely this recreative historic vision stirred up young Oxford to many-sided movements of the renewal of the past and young France, young Germany as well, has been fully recognised in the biographies of the historians of that generation, in all countries alike. And while most of these historic students, these lovers of old architecture, naturally specialised in their own countries, Ruskin discovered for himself and his readers the old beauty and deep meanings of the "Stones of Venice", while Fergusson, further travelled, thrilled in his earlier years to the "Rock Cut Temples of India" (1845), and devoted his long and fruitful life primarily towards completing his "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" (1876), and to the due presentation of this within the "History of Architecture" (1855 onward) — a work which as the last edition of the "Britannica" puts it, "for grasp of the whole subject, comprehensiveness of plan, and thoughtful critical analysis, stands quite alone in architectural literature."

Yet after all, the best function of such encyclopedic summaries, is to furnish fresh starting points and for all countries, and India among them, writers have been busy. Some are geographically more thorough, or historically more accurate, others again more clearly trace evolution from simple origins, and others again are esthetically more appreciative.

II.

With books like all these available for reference, it is unnecessary, even were it possible, to attempt to review the great past of Indian Architecture, and though one may in a lecture, with advantage, flash upon the screen a succession of pictures chosen from all this varied magni-

fience, to reproduce even a selection in these pages would exceed their limits, yet be far too incomplete when done. Yet the main out line of Indian architectural evolution may be put more simply. From the simple mud hut of the peasant, upon its necessary plinth with its verandah, and with its gradually added cook room and yard, its sleeping chamber, its adjacent guest room and so on—there grows up the Indian house, and even mansion, by and by even the great palace. Its verandah is now raised, enlarged colonnaded, and in marble, as the Audience hall and Throne room for the Durbar of a sovereign, and the women's yard, with its tulsi plant, its single tree, now extends, through long cloistered perspectives of shady fragrant pathways and liled waters to the gloriously flowering garden courts of his queen.

Here however we need not enter into detail of the stages of this evolution, nor give examples of the esthetic charm which Indian palaces so often possess. For present purposes, our problem, as students of cities and their planning, is to get beyond architectural studies, as commonly understood. What we need are interpretations sociological and civic, i.e. on the one hand in terms of the social life and psychology from which buildings of each type arise, and of the movements these express, and on the other of the main types of City Development which are their fullest concrete expression, and which react in their turn on the mental world of their inhabitants. Thus around the palace aforesaid, arise the fort, the mansions of the noble and administrative classes, the bazaars, and notably those of the luxury industries and so on into manifold detail.

III

How may we understand the development of the temple, and the Temple City?

From yet more simple beginnings than those of the Palace arise the splendours of the Indian Temple, and grow to more elaborate and more enduring magnificence. We may start, for instance, here in Madras, from the storm water pool, or even the hole from which mud, for plinth and house, has been taken, or later, from these two united into one, the Tank. The water settles over night to clearness and invites the morning bath. Refreshed by its coolness, moved by its dawn reflections

woman and man, young and old, householder or ascetic, all alike, respond, in two fold thrill of admiration and contemplation. This glory of the Universe without, this ecstasy of the soul within, day after day renew and intermingle. These daily inflowings and upwellings of emotions cosmic and human, not separate but interacting seek expression, and they find it in simple natural symbol—cosmic eternity in the enduring mystery of the stone—human life and love, and their passing, in the transient perfections of the flower. For childhood, for meditative age, and for woman, in whose instinctive feeling and subtle intuition both extremes of development so strangely mingle, such simple symbol rituals may suffice; and so they endure. But the unending, ever changing pulsation of the tides of the spirit go on, saturating all the varied phases and moods of individuality and sex, and rippling from them anew. All the changing environments of nature—through its regions, from Himalayan peaks and snows, glaciers and torrents, rivers and plains to sea, through its seasons of heat and cold, of rain and drought, and through their labours, from sowing to reaping—lay each their hold upon the heart strings, their influence upon the emotions, and the changing situations of human life became stronger influences still. To all these impulses the lyre of life cannot but respond, and in ways by turn passive and active, eolian and creative. So the spirit sings of and to Nature, in all its forces and aspects, all their majesty and wonder, all their beauty and terror. and thus the Vedic Gods appear, now as Nature visions again as mighty personalities, yet these interchanging, and in ways untraceable—beneficent and avenging by turns.

For the philosophic spirit images fade, yet ideas clarify the abstract emerges from the concrete, the general from the particular and unity from all. Again this unity differentiates, into triadic unities, into intellectualised attributes and perfections, passivities and activities. In time, these all become vitally and vividly imaged anew, as in the breaths of Brahma, in the dance of Shiva, in Kali, cataclysmic and destructive, yet mother of life anew. Life individual, associated, collective. Love through all passions simplest to highest; Death too, in all its mysteries, its fears, its hopes,—all these seek and

find expression, and this more and more protean. Religious emotions and aspirations, ideas and doctrines, thus ever develop: they find expression in new imagery, in fresh symbolism, and thus at length in Temples, to house and synthesise them, each and all.

Here then, in this rhythm of ideation and imagination in their dealings with emotional experience, which has been for so many ages pulsing in the soul of India is the origin and explanation of her varied temples and their styles, each the stage and scene work for some new crato of the unending epic of her religious evolution. In all lands religions have grown, and lived, but commonly also died here, beyond all other lands, religion is ever rising anew, in fresh metempsychoses, *seccurrent avatars*

IV

Coming now to that remarkable temple evolution, which is the glory of Southern India, and of its Tamil culture especially, our series of lantern slides must be omitted, or rather taken as seen, as they may practically be in any collection of photographs. For the fuller knowledge of these marvellous monuments, with which nothing since ancient Egypt can compare in magnitude, nor anything since Gothic Cathedrals in elaboration, we need a monograph, one comprehensive in range developmental and comparative in treatment, and well illustrated above all. Combination is needed of local and of special knowledge with general research, of historical and mythological knowledge with architectural and sculptural taste, and from psychologic interpretation to skilled photography. Local knowledge like that of Mr. Subramania Aiyar for Madura Temple, critical taste like of Mr. Ganguli for sculpture, show that such qualities are available, and why not in collaboration under an able editor? In other Presidencies the Archeological Departments have been productive, but here in Madras is one of the greatest of opportunities, not simply for a volume, but rather for a series of monographs which would be widely appreciated throughout India and the world, and by architects and artists everywhere, not merely by Indian scholars. By help of the plates of such volumes, we should follow out the actual evolution of Tamil Temple building in general, and of its architecture,

sculpture and decoration, of its symbolism too, and all in due fulness of detail.

To this vision of Temples I can add no new facts: others have of course seen far more than I. I can but add my testimony to all that is most appreciative of their varied magnificence, and this seen from far or near. Even the commonest street is given, order and beauty by the simply pillared mantapam with which its vista so often terminates, or is raised to dignity, even to sublimity, when it leads up to a mighty many storied Goparam, with its manifold exuberance of sculpture, or towering dark behind its lofty central lamp-series, a light house of the night. The lofty walls running so straight and far on either side of these colossal pylon gateways, and with their plainness in perfect contrast with that enrichment, are in turn relieved by pillared palms, and their swaying crowns give life and brightness to the whole.

It is natural for the European to admire Tanjore Temple, since likest of all buildings perhaps in India to a Cathedral, with its lofty central tower and spire, and with its beautiful small temple beside giving it scale, much as St. Margaret's Church does for Westminster Abbey, indeed to my eye more harmoniously. One rejoices in the stately and spacious cloister which encloses the whole, and cannot refuse admiration to the colossal monolithic bull, who is the pride of Temple and City. But when all this is said, it is from one's visit to such a temple as that of Madura that there returns the deeper emotional impression, of architecture majestically voicing religion, and of religion inspiring architecture with its symbolic mysteries. Both are of course unfamiliar to the European, as indeed to the Indian of other provinces but neither can say that such architecture is monotonous, though at times wellnigh overpowering by its magnitude, or again by its elaboration. That in this architecture there are strange elements, as of fear and fearfulness, of terror and gloom, is true enough, and others of sensuous exuberance also, both expressing presumably the absorption of autochthonic cults and traditions earlier than the coming of Hinduism. Yet here is the Hindu Pantheon, from kindly Hanuman, and wise Ganesha by the gate, to great Shiva, veiled in darkness of the inmost sanctuary. And here too is carved, painted, and

modelled, the human story, from the personages and doings of the epics, and of legends without end.

Magnitude is a mighty resource of architecture and here in Madura—where the mere Entrance Mantapam of King Tiramulu has sixty feet monoliths for gate ways, is 333 ft long, and might cost a million sterling to build and carve today, and the Temple to which it leads covers an area which would hold four European cathedrals,—the impression of immensity is extraordinarily given. Not in the Western way (save that of the long entrance hall, itself of cathedral magnitude—by a single main perspective, with lofty roof and range of view from western door to choir and altar, and to chapels behind—) but in its own. In the open air one sees towers beyond towers enters by court beyond court to flowering garden close, and comes to spacious stair walled bathing tank with pleasant ways and painted walls around. Within the long corridors, the stupendous cloisters, the hall of a thousand columns, are each of amazing magnitude and magnificence, yet all are felt subordinate to the sacred place within, as the ancestral temple of earlier days, and so of fullest sanctity, which it has been for this later architectural profusion to enclose and to enshrine.

By some again the incredible wealth of sculpture is lightly dismissed, as 'barbaric,' or conversely, faintly praised, for "patient industry." But this again is too much to submit it to the Procrustean measures we bring from other civilisations, other conceptions of art. We better understand, and so naturally prefer, architecture and sculpture in our Northern ways, but here is a different combination of these, in which sculpture and pillar are more fully one, glyptic tecture shall we call it?—and not mere patient industry, say rather passionate. These wild threatening shapes, half heraldic, half demonic—with horse and rider, lion and dragon strangely combined, rearing in fury, repeated in nightmare, are not of course our carven tradition—yet have much of our Apocalyptic and Dantean horror, which Durer, and Orcagna, for instance, have sought to render in graphic fashion, with more variety in deed, but not more terrific effect. All religions in fact have struck these notes of feeling, even the joyous Greeks—from the winged Pegasus to the Battle with Serpent

Giants around the altar of Pergamus. What wonder then to find this here in the tropic world, with all its intensification of the growth and flowering of life in its exuberance, yet ever threatened by the sudden onset and destroying spread of death?

V.

Still, to gain appreciation from brother Europeans for South India sculptures, I would not begin with these. Books like those of Mr Ganguli, and of Dr Coomaraswamy, give us some of the best and notably show us two forms not only supreme in Indian art, but permanent contributions to the world's iconography of ideals. One of these is of course the Buddha, throned upon the lotus, calm in meditation, and the other its perfect contrast, the dance of Shiva within his arch of flame,—surely the most vivid of all symbols yet devised, of cosmic forces controlled by creative energy. We have learned to read of late of the "El in Vital," the "Urge of Life"—but here is its expression in memorial art.

From sculptures like these, each essentially among the world's few permanent masterpieces of divinely human imagination, (albeit oftendebased in execution), we may next turn to forms stranger and less attractive to Western eyes. With only our limited zoological sympathy for the elephant, Ganesha may be to us difficultly intelligible, but as we enter into that varied understanding of the great beast with which the Indian regards him, and know the tales he tells of his wisdom, faithfulness, courage, we understand better his place as symbolic guardian of the doors, as master of enterprise, helper of the future. This god's mingled animal and human form becomes less unpleasing when we recall the Indian mother's pet name of "little elephant" for her chubby and rotund babe, as he makes his early clumsy strivings to creep forth on the journey of life.

But of Hanuman, what can be said—reduced so often to the rudest of all shapes adored by mortals, and then daubed with vermilion over that? Nor is there any great edification in the tale as we are told it by our countrymen, or in their mythological dictionaries, of how this is the king of monkeys, who helped Rama to cross Adam's Bridge to Ceylon over a bridge of

tails. But if this anecdote were all, would it suffice to explain his old and widespread cult? I know not how a scholarly and reverent Hindu interprets this village god in his humble shrine but I submit to him, in all good will, this anthropological speculation. How if we have here perhaps the very oldest legend of humanity, coming down from the time when in the evolution of our species there was already the high human type of Rama, yet also surviving in that corner of India the humbler still in completely developed, and so more monkey like, type of Hanuman and his people? And that the contrasted, yet mutually understanding, leaders made peaceful co-operation instead of war? If indeed 'an honest god's the noblest work of man' even the rude adoring of this simple old tutelary spirit of nature and the primeval village might better for our souls than that self worship as superman which in Europe has so much replaced its older and gentler theology.

True popular Indian art has grown at once conventional and rude but in Calcutta (and why not also in Madras) there are living promises, and earnestness, of its renewal.

Do I alarm any by these gentle, yet frankly defensive, interpretations of the Hindu Pantheon? I cannot see why those who respect and understand Western personifications, like the Muses like Pallas for wisdom Apollo for beauty and manhood, Hercules for heroic labour, and so on,—even if they do not know that the more we enquire into the significance of any such ideal beings, the more we are compelled to respect them and the civilisation and religion which they express—should be such intolerant literalists to the gods of coeval, and certainly not less spiritually gifted peoples. And I cannot but think that the deficiencies of our Western appreciation of Indian mythology find part of their explanation in a spiritual pride which hinders our learning its meaning, and partly in that withering of poetic imagination and creative idealism which have given every mythology its birth, and which alone can keep it living.

VI

Leaving now the Temple for the open air, and not without some feeling of relief from the varied emotional stress of a first course through its labyrinth upon a

stranger, we see standing near the gate the Temple Car, itself a veritable tower, upon colossal wheels, the carved palace of the god upon his seasonal procession. Its carving is vivid, its lions of heraldic vivacity and vigour, and with a sort of strange humour expressed from head to tail which compel one to defend it as a true and individual work of art, singularly free from mere conventionalism, into which it is ever the danger and curse of ecclesiastical art in all lands to fall.

But of all things Indian of which the West has heard unfavourably—Protestant Britain and perhaps America above all—this 'dreadful car of Jaggernath' is probably the extreme one and of course where such peculiarly unfavourable an impression has been created, and such gruesome stories told, there may well have been some foundation for them. Still, there is less danger of human self sacrifice now a days, and accidents may be guarded against. So in my town planning discourses I cannot but defend this ceremonial of the car, as a civic institution, and a festival essentially beneficent. That to this we largely owe the fine lay out of the main quadrangle of streets of a Temple City will not be denied, nor that this lay out, by setting this high standard for the best streets must have helped to maintain that of other also. How much better a way of encouraging the maintenance of good roads, before the demands of motors. What better lesson of discouragement of the perpetual encroachment upon streets which is a minor (yet in aggregate a main) cause of congestion of thoroughfares? And how superior this way of at once carrying public opinion against encroachments, and summarily removing them when made to that by perpetually serving magistrates notices, with all that these involve!

I can imagine nothing more helpful to city improvement than the re-establishment of car routes by a conjunction of Temple authorities and municipal planning office, and this wherever extension or widening is really required and I have more faith in the good sense of both types of man and mind than to believe that their present mutual estrangement, by too exclusive devotion to their respective specialisms, can much longer continue. I ask nothing better than to plan streets worthy of the car being used to

inaugurate them, and to clear them too from time to time: while the collective pull, in which all citizens are encouraged to take a hand, is already an admirable form of civic education, which might readily be developed in India, and even initiated in other countries, say by American Civic Societies!

In some cities there is a Floating Car, and it may be a Water Festival to keep it company, with lantern illuminations in the evening. Instead of filling up Tanks in malaria panic as so many misguided sanitarians and municipal bodies have done, I look forward to the revival of this floating Car and Water Fete upon every considerable Tank; and this not simply as one of the most delightful and joyous forms of festival, but also as the best of ways of assuring the respect and the purifying of these beautiful and cooling waters. These great Temple Tanks and city tanks, when not neglected of course, but properly kept and laid out, are the very finest, and most beautiful, of public places and public gardens in the world. Calcutta seems one of the few Indian cities where such Tank Squares are appreciated: yet even there, there seems to be far more of filling up than of making new ones. A true combination of planning and gardening with sanitation, will however set about accomplishing this everywhere: and the present, or rather recent, panic of tank-filling will be remembered only as an unlucky dream.

We thus return once more to the City-planning which constantly underlies all the present discussion, even where not at first sight in evidence. So let us next consider the town-plan of Madura, with its processional square of streets, and its ancient fortress walls and moat, now converted into a second series of streets. But outside these survivals of old religion and old governmental control respectively the town has lost its sense of unity and order, and begins to break down towards that congested slumdom, which is now so largely destroying it.

VII.

We need therefore to seek out some better example than Madura, some other old Temple City not yet cursed by premature industrialism, and pushed towards chaos. This good example I peculiarly find in Srirangam, a city of which I had

never heard in Europe; nor, indeed in India until lately; but close beside Trichinopoly, a name well known to Europeans, by old associations, if mostly with cheroots.

As guidance offered to this city, for its own sake, and also as a needed criticism of Fergusson's less satisfactory influence and authority upon current opinion, I here cite the South Indian Railway Illustration Guide. It says of Srirangam Temple:—"This island contains one of the largest and richest temples in Southern India. This Temple can hardly be considered architecturally beautiful; and, as is too frequently the case with Dravidian Temples, is imposing simply on account of its enormous extent. It is rather a fortuitous assemblage of walls, gopurams, and mantapams, than a structure built to a well-arranged and preconceived design. In all probability the temple is the work of many Kings; and originated in the central shrine, which successive monarchs left untouched, while rivalling each other in surrounding it with halls and lofty gopurams. Be the explanation what it may, the fact remains that the architectural merit of the entire structure becomes less the closer the proximity to the central shrine. This is to be more regretted, as it must be admitted with Fergusson, that could the principle of design be reversed, Srirangam would be one of the finest temples in Southern India."

This writer appears to think that successive kings should have cleared away their predecessors' buildings. Here we see, advocated for old temples, as so commonly for old towns, clearance first. Always demolition—whereas these old fashioned Kings left the central shrine—their holy of holies—untouched.

The main point is that Fergusson has condemned this style of architecture as a failure; since to him it seems that a reversal of the temple-plan would have been the right thing. But despite all the respect previously expressed for this really eminent and initiative writer, I am here compelled to propose the reversal of Fergusson; through a re-interpretation of this Temple, at once more appreciative, and more rational also, because developmental in its own way not merely esthetic in ours. So let me state my thesis strongly in defence; as to maintain, against all comers, that here is a case of Fergusson missing the point, and failing to understand: for

Srirangam in its own high characteristic way, of *plan* and *growth*, when we understand these as it was built to be under stood, is so far as I can discover the greatest Temple of all time, and all faiths! (I do not say all styles)

Of Course such reconsideration must be on its own merits. We must not bring to it our external foreign taste, and because it is not like Tanjore Temple, or a European Cathedral complain that it is 'a fortuitous assemblage without design'

We have to ask 'What is this?' How did it arise? As in any science, so in any criticism, we seek to see the thing as it really is only, thereafter have we any right to consider wherein it might have been amended and improved, and this again not according to our personal and arbitrary desires but towards its own efficient purpose

Our problem then is first of all to read its history, that is to decipher its growth and this not from books but from its actual plan, here before us, and starting from the centre outwards

Here in ancient days there was a local shrine, central to the island and its villages. Some thoughtful teacher at one time, some saintly soul at another became an influence extending beyond the island and pilgrims began to come. A little Temple was raised to include the shrine, and its court would be inhabited by its holy man doubtless with his disciples. Outside this gather more dwellings, first the huts of Banyassins, but later more permanent, and increasingly of Brahmin character. Granaries are needed and arise first as round huts of the old type still common even as dwellings in Madras, and surviving as corn stores in Bengal villages, though there superseded as dwellings by rectangular plans. The whole area becomes included within a larger wall with a southward gateway—(on the third wall *from centre in plan*) Within the enclosure, and outside it also further developments proceed both material and spiritual, as of increasing granaries and additional shrines. Outside arise new dwellings of larger magnitude and space, in time these likewise become spiritualised in property and use, and at length transformed as well. New shrines thus appear; and here also, though probably far later, the N E space becomes the Hall of a Thousand Columns. The new rectangular

wall is more carefully oriented than its predecessors three gateway Gopurams are built, the largest to the eastward. There is a now a clearer differentiation of temple and town, of sacred and secular, for a new street is kept clear all round the wall presumably as a Car Street, and with house lots opposite. These are to day of very varying breadth suggesting that those now narrow may have arisen by division. Another wall again rises to surround this clear rectangle of dwellings facing the Car Street next the Temple wall, and this is given four gateways towards the cardinal points but these comparatively small in subordination to those within and on three sides of the previous temple enclosures. But outside this a new town extension is provided. This is again a rectangular street system, parallel to the last with a fresh Car Street and now houses on either hand, and lots less deep. Evidently, with city growth caste distinctions and wealth requirements are being more emphasised. The lower and poorer castes are kept outside the larger gateways of this wall, and their houses cluster especially to the South and East but not to the less auspicious west. Note on plan how these poorer dwellings spread and sub divided from these gates on either hand, in lots of small and irregular size and with a narrow lane running obliquely N by E, from near the East Gopuram.

Finally comes the great completion by Tiramala king of builders. In the South Bazar it will be seen that existing properties were respected, as they stand mostly facing northward towards the road along the south wall. But this road is narrow, so instead of wasting compensation and upsetting business (as modern municipalities and their engineers in the industrial age, of lapsed planning, have done and still largely incline to do) the *reasonable course is taken*, and also the more practical for business and communications more seemly also—that of making a new Bazar Street east and west, and of allocating new plots of larger size on each side, upon the land hitherto unoccupied. Some houses next the wall outside also a small temple (perhaps private, perhaps for the humbler caste hitherto outside) seem to have already sprung up on the west side. The new street northward is continued with houses on each side but on the

east, the open space next the wall suffices; and also on the north, so that new and deeper plots are kept opposite, so far as existing irregular holdings allow. This new town enclosure, as yet the final one, is thus kept in good proportion. Its rectangular wall is built, and the four great gopurams, N., S., E., and W., are now begun, of course in true alignment to their predecessors. These gateway towers are on a scale unparalleled, as their megalithic beginnings show; but they remain unfinished, like other works of Tirumulu, owing to his untimely and tragic death, and as too monumental for the means and inclinations of his successors.

The same process of the Temple guiding and including its city development, is even now going on, clearly and simply, at the adjacent smaller (Shiva) Temple town, a mile or so eastwards, of which the plan is reproduced (on a larger scale) below that of Srirangam. Outside the triple temple walls (marked by dark lines,) runs the Car Street, with houses of its caste community. A great wall, with four gopurams, encloses the whole; and a secondary street surrounds this fourth wall, and is thus obviously included within the temple-system, and so far sharing its sanctity. Here then is plainly a second Srirangam, and still in progress. It is not a little interesting to find within the Temple itself, a great building activity, with carvers busy at work, at once traditional and skilled: so here, more than in any other old temple or cathedral I have seen, the old constructive spirit is still living.

Returning to Srirangam, we notice on the way that, despite minor irregularities the lay-out of fields and rural holdings shares the rectangular lay-out and orientation of these temple cities, greater and less. That is the ancient folk-way: simple ploughing and sacred building are at one; life at its simplest runs parallel to life at its highest.

It is this mode and process of growth—so essentially regular, so natural, yet so reasoned, so peculiarly defined, so monumentally organised, through zone after zone of growth in succeeding centuries—that the writer of our Railway Guide described for us at the outset (page 218) as "rather a fortuitous assemblage of walls, gopurams and mantapams, than a structure built to a well-arranged and pre-conceived design." Let it not be supposed that

this is merely the carelessness of a minor writer or a passing error of Fergusson's: broadly speaking, the guide-books of the world are still too much at this level, as regards the cities they describe: even the best of them; for the most part Baedeker and Murray themselves. Their statements of facts, catalogues and dates of buildings etc. are not complained of: it is their understanding of cities which is deficient. The idea and method above outlined is not adequately before their authors—that of reading the essential history of a city from its plan; which, in so far as showing its growth, is the essential record of its outward history, and even of its inner evolution. Hence the guide-books of the future must each be much of an anti-Baedeker, and super-Murray.

That our writer above is not without some feeling that "fortuitous" is nonsense, he shows by his next sentence (q. v.) that (undeniably of course) "the architectural merit becomes less the closer the proximity to the central shrine. This is the more to be regretted, as it must be admitted with Fergusson, that could the principle of design be reversed, Srirangam would be one of the finest temples in Southern India."

In the would-be utilitarian age, nothing has been more fatalitarian than its esthetics. Our writer is solely thinking of this or any other temple as a show-place; and thus essentially constructed for his people, the tourists, as indeed too much does Fergusson also. Any real comprehension of the nature, purpose and function of a temple is here absent. For that is the spiritual power-house of its folk and faith, accumulating its influence throughout the growth of ages, and expressing this as new generations set themselves to enshrine these venerable glories in more and more spacious extensions of its walls, in higher uplift and richer adornment of its advancing gates and towers, but also in more and more reverent conservation of the ancient sanctities within, small in their housing though these were: The real growth process, as Fergusson assuredly knew, and felt, when not in the mere tourist and dilettante mood cited above, is that of Egyptian temples; where the mighty pylons which all these successive gopurams so strikingly recall, and in some ways rival and even surpass, are but the impressive gateways which proclaim the sacredness of the little cell to which the whole magni-

science leads inward, and which it exists but to enshrine. So with the inmost significance of that Temple of Jerusalem which, most of all temples, has aroused the imagination and reverence of the West. This sanctity, this sublimity, was not in its golden gate ways or its marble courts, wonders of the world though they have been, but in its inmost enclosure, small, jealously veiled, its Holy of Holies, because recalling the simple tabernacle tent of wanderers in the wilderness, and with its sacred chest of inscribed stones, and other relics. To imagine the inversion of such a plan is thus to lose its meaning altogether and this not only of the monument in question, but of the religious spirit it expresses, indeed of all religions, and thus necessarily of their essential architecture also.

VIII

So far, I trust, I have made good my criticisms, but I may make clearer my initial claim for Srirangam, as the very noblest of all cities in its way. Am I asked, how can a little place like this be foremost among cities in its evolution? I might answer that Athens and Jerusalem, Benares or Gaya are not remembered for their size yet this answer may seem weak, when so few, even in big Madras, have ever heard of Srirangam at all, and in the larger world hardly any.

Return even on plan, once more, through these mighty entrance gateways which announce to all comers from whatever airt the ancient sanctities within, and then, as we return under their towering and heightening succession, each higher and statelier than the last—each expressing an increasing claim of their idealism upon their world—we recall the psalm of David—"Lift up your heads, ye gates!"—with fuller sense of its glory. But beyond this nobleness of architectural development, is the social genius, the civic spirit and symbolism, which in this temple beyond all others, have periodically and increasingly included the growing city itself within the extensions of its sacred walls. So here—and strictly as planning lecturer, not missionary preacher—let me remind my audience or reader that the Eastern scriptures adopted by the West, begin with the tale of the birth of humanity, and its fall, from happy rural labour in that orderly four square garden of which we still see the plan on Indian carpets, and they end with the culmination of redeemed

humanity in the ideal city. Again four-square like Srirangam, and like it, with the streets and temple at one

IX

There is manifest in the city before us the contrast between that ideal—which though no longer that of a literalist belief, all the more serves as an expression of civic evolution—and the actual present, since I am under no illusion that actual Srirangam has reached such apocalyptic perfection. For, like other places and people, when not moving in onward direction it has been receding downwards yet why not again resume its ancient (and even comparatively recent) progress? Here then, in these days of revising town planning, of reviving education also, are such suggestions as a planner may offer.

Returning then, to the everyday matters of Srirangam, we find that as sanitary improvements are needed, lanes are to be cut behind the houses along the long walls. A suburb extension is needed, and I am asked to criticise the plan—as usual, of standard quality, already sufficiently explained elsewhere. I ask, "Why abandon the tradition of your city to copy this?" I am told, "Walls are too expensive, besides, they keep out the breeze." I answer—Your main tradition is not in the walls, but in the cardinal points, to which your very fields are set. So for your suburbs and extensions, give up all idea of more walls, enough to repeat them by lines of trees—the great thing will then be to go on laying out proper avenues. Thus your new town will develop in due continuity and harmony with its city's past, and yet with the character of modern times, of the surrounding country, and of modern cities at their best as well. If this be done, city, suburb, and surrounding country will harmonise, like the three notes of a chord. But will this improvement of the plan be made? I know not. The standard plans in Indian cities are still as hard to dispose of as they were in England ten years ago. So strong is the habit of a generation, that even their municipal victims often defend them. In the rituals and temples of administration, no less than of older faiths, indeed more rapidly, custom acquires authority, and precedents are printed into power.

Thus this old city should again consciously enter upon a new zone of growth, and this in continuity and in keeping with

the plan of its admirable historic development. By all means let the prosperous classes have the pleasant suburban houses and gardens they desire; but with their new suburbs, as aforesaid, in continuity harmonious with the town; also let the poor, the humble castes, even the casteless, be provided for as well. So may little old Srirangam give a new and great example in India, of how the worst of all its modern plagues—that of slumdom, breeder of the rest—may be effectively stayed.

Again, let this city link itself up with its smaller sister to the eastward and why not also with big Trichinopoly itself, of which it may increasingly become a partner—of preponderatingly spiritual type as that of more temporal type; yet in neither city restricted.

Albeit of less advantageous business situation, Srirangam has educational advantages; above all a primary one,

the traditional atmosphere of idealism and learning. So it may here renew its lead. But "how are we to find sites and money for college building?" What so costless, what finer, what more magnificent beginnings than these for the uncompleted gopurams of the city gates? Complete then, that on the South—the main gateway—simply, yet effectively, for the traditional and sacred learning, as Sanskrit, Pali and Tamil College; with its lecture-rooms, its library in lower storeys, and its students' chambers in those above. Make that towards the North the high outlook of Astronomy, of Geographic Survey, of those of Social and Natural Science. Devote that on the West to History, local and regional, Indian and other. Then for the fourth gopuram, that towards the dawn, the right use will soon appear—the most vital of all.

PATRICK GEDDES.

REPORT OF THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

By SIR P. C. RAY.

It is not my purpose to go in detail over the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. I shall confine myself to a few salient points.

It is fortunate that the main object of appointing the Commission has been explained in no equivocal terms by Sir William Clark. According to the late member for Commerce and Industry, the building up of industries where the capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians was the special object which we all have in view. He was particularly careful in pointing out that the development of Indian industries would not mean that "the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries." His Excellency the Viceroy in his address at the Calcutta University Convocation the other day also laid particular stress upon this aspect. According to Lord Chelmsford, "We do not want mere Indian capital, we want Indian men and not Indian men only as labour but as leaders

who will turn their attention to industrial enterprise and equip themselves for a great Industrial regeneration in India."

It is thus evident that the declared policy of the Government of India is decidedly against the *exploitation* of Indian minerals and her almost inexhaustible resources of raw materials by foreigners, be they British, American, or German.

It is necessary to pause here for a moment to discuss some of the potent causes which have conspired to bring about the ruin and even extinction of the staple Indian industries. The East has been immobile, inert and conservative to the core for centuries. In a manner she was "living in peace and repose dreaming dreams or absorbed in meditations on the essence of the Supreme Being." Every village with the graduated hierarchy of the caste regulations was an ideal republic. There was the village artisan and the smith—the barber, the washerman, the priest—the landlord, the tenant-cultivator—the weaver and the small trader and so forth—each doing his allot-

ted duty. But contact with the mobile, progressive and energetic west changed all that. At barely a moment's notice India found herself confronted with a formidable rival. She must run at railway speed or be lost forever, and thus came a tremendous crash and the collapse of her industries. Here again, Nemesis overtook unhappy India. What was once an apparent source of strength now became the weak point in her armour—I mean the pernicious caste system. As I have said elsewhere—

The caste system was established *de novo* in a more rigid form. The drift of Manu and of later Puranas is in the direction of glorifying the priestly class, which set up most arrogant and outrageous pretensions. According to Sanskrit the dissection of dead bodies is a *sine qua non* to the student of surgery and this high authority lays particular stress on knowledge gained from experiment and observation. But Manu would have none of it. The very touch of a corpse according to Manu, is enough to bring contamination to the sacred person of a Brahmin. Thus we find that shortly after the time of Vagbhata, the handling of a lancet was discredited and Anatomy and Surgery fell into disuse and became to all intents and purposes lost sciences to the Hindus. It was considered equally and grieved to sweat away at the forge like a Cyclops. Hence the cultivation of the *Astas* by the more refined classes of Society, of which we get such vivid pictures in ancient Sanskrit literature, survives only in traditions since a very long time past.

The arts being thus relegated to the low castes and the professions made hereditary, a certain degree of fineness, delicacy, and deftness in manipulation was no doubt secured but this was done at a terrible cost. The intellectual portion of the community being thus withdrawn from active participation in the arts, the how and why of phenomena—the co-ordination of cause and effect—were lost sight of—the spirit of enquiry gradually died out among a nation naturally prone to speculation and metaphysical subtleties and India for once bade adieu to experimental and inductive sciences. Her soil was rendered morally unfit for the birth of a Boyle, a Des Cartes, or a Newton and her very name was all but expunged from the map of the scientific world.*

That the exclusive monopoly of privileges by the higher castes ends in the long run in their moral and intellectual deterioration is almost the burden of President Wilson's campaign speeches. We can make room for only one or two short extracts:

"The nations are renewed from the bottom, not from the top; that the genius which springs up from the ranks of unknown men is the genius which renews the youth and energy of the people. A nation is as great, and only as great, as her rank and file."

Again,

"It is one of the glories of our land that nobody is able to predict from what family from what

region, from what race, even, the leaders of the country are going to come"—*The New Freedom*.

The invention of the steam engine by Watt in 1766 brought about an economic revolution from the effect of which India has suffered most, since it was followed up by or rather was contemporaneous with three successive inventions in twelve years, that of the spinning jenny in 1764 by the weaver Hargreaves, of the spinning machine in 1768 by the barber Arkwright, of the "mule" by the weaver Crompton in 1776. The mischievous and suicidal effects of the caste system now began to operate. Almost from the Vedic ages the blacksmith, the weaver and the various classes of artisans have remained much the same in this land of stagnation and torpor, they have failed to advance *pari passu* with progressive Europe and with their primitive methods had to succumb to the competition of the cutlers of Sheffield and the weavers and spinners of Lancashire, who, not having had the handicap and disadvantage of following a hereditary calling, could always recruit new blood and bring in or invite new ideas and originality. The Brahmanical and other high castes have always disdained to do manual work with the result that they have been fit only for literary and clerical pursuits. No wonder that our *intelligentia* should fail to develop a right tradition of industrialism.

The ruin and downfall of Indian industries was further hastened by the selfish policy of British statesmen, who by the imposition of prohibitive duties protected the British manufacturer and who began to look upon the vast continent as a field for the supply of raw material required by them.* It is a happy sign of the times

* Cf. "It was in such a state of her industrial life that India passed under British sway and was drawn into the vortex of the whole world's international commerce and intercourse, and came to be exposed to the full force of the competition, of the highly perfected industrial organisation of Europe and America. Unprepared for such a formidable competition, and obviously unable to cope with it unaided, she was fairly entitled to the aid of the State at least for a time during which to put herself in a proper posture of defence. But the British Government in the country did not think that their duty lay in any such direction. They did not think it right or expedient to foster by artificial aids the system of native industries and save it from its destined doom. And accordingly they not only declined to stand between us and our rivals and extend to us a helping hand in the fight, or even observe a strict impartial attitude of

* "History of Hindu Chemistry"

that both the Government and the people are now realising the critical situation we are in and have been devising means to avert the disaster in which we have been landed; but the efforts which have been hitherto made in this direction are fitful and spasmodic and no continuity in the policy is discernible. But the most fatal mistake—a mistake which now almost borders upon a political crime—has been the hostile attitude of the Government towards elementary mass education. There is a saying in Bengali that it is folly to cut at the root of a tree and at the same time to water its top branches. Thus we read: "There is no doubt a great deal of scope for improvement. The average yield for India is 98 lbs. of ginned cotton per acre; while the figures for America and Egypt are 200 lbs. and 450 lbs., respectively. The fluctuations in the field of *gur* are equally striking. Thus in the irrigated area of the N. W. Frontier Province it is two tons per acre while in Assam it is only 0.9. The Agricultural Department of Bombay, however, by the proper application of water and manure, has secured an yield of six tons per acre. Mr. Fletcher, Imperial Entomologist, adds his valuable testimony to the effect that the annual damage by crop pests cannot be placed at less than five thousand lakhs of rupees." On this ground he advises the Government of India to follow in the wake of Canada, which has got an Entomological Service, having for its aim: first, the prevention of the introduction and spread of injurious insects; second, the investigation of insect pests affecting agriculture, horticulture, forestry, and the health of domestic animals and man; and third, the imparting of the information so obtained to those interested and concerned by means of bulletins, circulars, press notices, addresses, letters, and personal visits. For these purposes there exists at Ottawa and at the various field laboratories throughout the country a staff of men of such scientific training and ability as will

enable them to make the service of the greatest benefit to the people of Canada. Mr. Fletcher, therefore, puts in a vigorous plea for the establishment of a Central Entomological Research Institute which would cost roughly fourteen lakhs non-recurring and four and a half lakhs recurring when the scheme was in full working order.

Similarly we have already got an Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa, with all its paraphernalia of expensive machinery and the "Imperial" and "Provincial" Services.

But we always begin at the wrong end. I should be the last person to disparage the necessity for scientific research. The simple fact is, however, overlooked that our agricultural population, steeped in ignorance and illiteracy and owning only small plots and scattered holdings, are not in a position to take advantage of or utilise the elaborate scientific researches which lie entombed in the bulletins and transactions of these Institutes. Mr. Mackenna very rightly observes: "The Famine Commissioners, so long ago as 1880, expressed the view that *no general advance in the agricultural system can be expected until the rural population had been so educated as to enable them to take a practical interest in agricultural progress and reform*. These views were confirmed by the Agricultural Conference of 1888 ... The most important, and probably the soundest proposition laid down by the conference was that it was *most desirable to extend primary education amongst agricultural classes*. Such small countries as Denmark, Holland and Belgium are in a position to send immense supplies of cheese, butter, eggs, etc., to England, because the farmers there are highly advanced in general enlightenment and technical education and are thus in a position to profit by the researches of experts. The peasant proprietors of France are equally fortunate in this respect; over and above the abundant harvest of cereals they grow vine and oranges and have been highly successful in sericulture; while the silk industry in its very cradle, so to speak, namely, Murshidabad and Malda, is languishing and is in a moribund condition.

Various forms of cattle-plague, e.g., rinder-pest, foot- and mouth-disease, make havoc of our cattle every year and the ignorant masses, steeped in superstitions,

centrality and allow us to settle our account as best we could, but going further they did all they could to help the foreign competitor as against us in various ways—by adopting Free Trade measures, by pushing Railway extensions, by making grants of special privileges to foreign enterprises, etc.—"G. V. J. A. Widdings and Speeches — p 765

look helplessly on and ascribe the visitations to the wrath of the goddess Sitala? It is useless to din Pasteur's researches in to their ear. As I have said above, our Government has the happy knack of beginning at the wrong end. An ignorant people and a costly machinery of scientific experts ill go together.

The panacea recommended for the cure and treatment of all these ills is the foundation or re-organisation of costly bureaux and Scientific and Technical Services, the latter with the differentiation of "Imperial" and "Provincial" Services which are in reality hot beds for breeding racial antipathies and "sedition." For the recruitment of the Scientific Services the Commissioners* coolly propose that not only "senior and experienced men" should be obtained from England but that "recruits for these services—especially chemical services—should be obtained at as early an age as possible, preferably not exceeding 25 years." What lamentable ignorance the Commissioners betray and what poor conception they have of this vital question is further evident from what they say.

"We should thus secure the University graduate who had done one or perhaps two years post graduate work whether scientific or practical but would not yet be confirmed in specialisation. We assume that the requisite degree of specialisation will be secured by adopting a system whereby study leave will be granted at some suitable time after three years service when a scientific officer should have developed a distinct bent."

In other words, secure a dark horse and wait till he develops a distinct bent! The writer of this article naturally feels a little at home on this subject and it is only necessary to cite a few instances to illustrate how under the proposed scheme Indians will fare. At the present moment there are four young Indian Doctors of Science of British universities, three belonging to that of London. Two of them only have been able to secure Government appointments but these only temporary, drawing two-thirds of the grade pay. One has already given up his post in disgust, because he could get no assurance that the post would be made permanent. In fact, both of them have

been given distinctly to understand that as soon as the war conditions are over, permanent incumbents for these posts will be recruited at "home." In filling up the posts of the so-called experts one very important factor is overlooked. As a rule only third rate men care to come out to India. The choice lies between the best brains of India and the mediocres of England, and yet the former get but scant consideration and justice. It may be urged that these gentlemen had not their cases represented at the India Office. The answer may be given in the eloquent words of the late Mr A. M. Bose:

"Not that they did not try to get appointed in England. No gentleman after taking their degrees in the great English and Scotch Universities after having won all the high distinctions and distinctions not less high than those of their English brethren in the service in some cases perhaps even higher—they tried their very best they made what I may almost describe as frantic efforts at the India Office to get an appointment from England. But all their efforts were in vain. After waiting and waiting and after heart-rending suspense they were told that they must ship themselves off as soon as they could to India for the Government to appoint them there."

The creation of so many Scientific "Imperial Services means practically so many close preserves for Europeans."

There is another strong reason in favour of employing Indian agency, as has been pointed out elsewhere:

A European naturally looks to India as a land of exile and his thoughts are always turned homeward. As soon as he joins his appointment he begins to look forward to his furlough and even during summer holidays he often runs home. Socially speaking the European lives quite apart and it is only in rare cases that he is found to mix on equal terms with his pupils. The result is that he fails to create any thing like an intellectual atmosphere.

Moreover the European when he retires from the service leaves India for good and all the experience which he gathered during his service of office are clean lost to the country. But the mature experiences of an Indian after retirement are always at the disposal of his countrymen—he is in fact a valuable national asset.*

The case from the Indian point of view has been so ably put by Mr. Malaviya that it need not be further discussed. One painful reflection, however, oppresses the writer. That three Indian members of the Commission in their sober senses could make up their minds to affix their signatures to this portion of the Report is what surpasses his understanding. It never even

* With the notable exception of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose Note is really the most important portion of the Report. All honour to this patriotic son of India.

* Vide Memorandum submitted before the Public Service Commission by Dr. P. C. Ray—*Essays and Discourses* p. 168.

dently occurred to them that they were committing themselves to the scientific suicide of India.

The Indianisation of the Scientific Services has become a paramount necessity, not only because it would afford scope for the play of the Indian brain, but also in the interests of economy itself. The claims of the dumb millions, who after all are the real tax-payers, have hitherto been systematically ignored. The primary education bill of Gokhale was shelved because of the prohibitive expenditure it would have involved. On similar grounds sanitation and drainage schemes are postponed to the Greek calends. The revenues of India are of an inelastic nature. If we are to find money for these crying needs it must be done by the utilisation of indigenous agency. When the Reform Scheme is given effect to, a large number of Indian members will naturally occupy places both in the Provincial and Imperial Executive Councils. If, however, the present princely and exorbitant scale of pay were to be retained all along the line, the result would be simply ruinous. The poor ryot would then be justified in saying that what his educated and favoured compatriot was clamouring for was not so much the welfare of the land as the division of the spoils—the share of the loaves and fishes.

The most essential and vital aspect of the Industrial Commission must not be overlooked. The policy to which the Government of India is committed is foreshadowed in the following extract from Lord Hardinge's Despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 26th November, 1915 :

"It is becoming increasingly clear that a definite and self-conscious policy of improving the industrial capabilities of India will have to be pursued after the war, unless she is to become more and more a dumping ground for the manufactures of foreign nations who will be competing the more keenly for markets, the more it becomes apparent that the political future of the large nations depends on their economic position. The attitude of the Indian public towards this important question is unanimous and cannot be left out of account. Manufacturers, politicians and the literate public have for long been pressing their demands for a definite and accepted policy of State aid to Indian industries, and the demand is one which evokes the sympathy of all classes of Indians whose position or intelligence leads them to take any degree of interest in such matters. After the war India will consider herself entitled to demand the utmost help which her Government can afford to render her to take her place, so far as circumstances permit, as a manufacturing country."

The after-war problems have now to be

tackled, but a most serious situation now arises owing to the unpreparedness of India. The war has proved to be a veritable God-send to Japan and she has taken the fullest advantage of the psychological moment. Japanese goods have flooded the Indian market. In our utter helplessness we have only to be passive on-lookers and realise our absolute dependence upon foreign countries for the supply of manufactured articles and finished products most of which could be easily prepared at home; but here a most difficult and delicate problem has to be grappled with. Indications are not wanting which go to show which way the wind is blowing. Already some powerful British companies have been started or promoted, with huge capital and gigantic resources at their back, and every patriotic Indian who has learned to think for himself is naturally filled with dismay and consternation. Within the last few years, in and about Calcutta, a few *Swadeshi* industries have sprung up, which after gasping for breath in the infant stage have arrived at the period of adolescence. But their very existence is now at stake and in fact they are threatened with extinction. Remember, again, these indigenous enterprises never sought the help of any special legislation nor asked for or obtained any pecuniary help from the State. To mention only one instance. "Messrs. Cooper, and Allen started the Government Boot and Army Equipment Factory and, at the outset, they received a considerable amount of financial assistance from Government." (Indian Industrial Commission's Report, Appendices, p. 56.) The italics are ours. In marked contrast with it the *National Tannery* of Sir Nilratan Sircar may be mentioned. This noble and patriotic son of Bengal has not only devoted his valuable time and energy but has also risked his fortune for the cause. It is urged that it is one of the redeeming characteristics of the British Government that it grants equal opportunities and facilities to all and in such matters it holds the scale of justice even. This is true, but only in a qualified sense. It is notorious that the poor ryot when he finds himself pitted against his wealthy zamindar is simply ruined. The former is harassed from one law-court to another and whereas he can barely secure the services of a petty *mukhtear*, his formidable opponent

can engage counsel at a fee of Rs 1,000 per diem, if necessary. This is justice and fairplay with a vengeance! We are threatened with this kind of warfare in the industrial world. The British and American capitalists with their centuries of experience, marvellous powers of organisation and co-operation and elaborate machinery, and almost unlimited command of capital, have already appeared on the scene and their Indian competitors will naturally go to the wall. President Wilson has sounded the note of alarm in his own country in no uncertain voice. 'To-day if a man enters certain fields,' says he, 'there are organisations which will use means against him that will prevent his building up a business which they do not want to have built up organisations that will see to it that the ground is cut from under him and the markets shut against him. American enterprise is not free, the man with only a little capital is finding it harder to get into the field and more and more impossible to compete with the big fellow. Why? Because the laws of this country do not prevent the strong from crushing the weak.' If this is the state of things when the competition is American vs. American we can easily gather how the Indian will fare in his competition with the American and British syndicates and combines and trusts. Let me adduce a concrete specific instance to illustrate my point. Twelve years ago a small venture was undertaken which was purely of the nature of a pioneering demonstration experiment. A company was floated to enable our struggling and starving young men to have an opportunity of taking part in inland navigation. A steam launch was purchased and it began to ply in a narrow river the upper regions of which are getting silted up. As soon as it was discovered that the business was a paying one a powerful British company sent a couple of big steamers and reduced the original fare of one rupee from terminus to terminus to one anna so that the Swadeshi company might be crushed out of existence. As the latter had still the hardihood to persist in this desperate game the former sent an additional steamer and the fiat went forth *delenda est Carthago*. Thanks to the self-sacrificing zeal and patriotism of a medical practi-

tioner and a local zemindar, the Swadeshi company somehow or other manages still to strive. It is not, however necessary to state here to what extent it has been affected financially all this time or to pause to inquire by how much the present writer, a 'patron' of the undertaking poor school master as he is suffered in pocket. Yet the Industrial Commission Report expresses the pious hope that 'there is no reason why India should not be ready to man her own ships when they are built.'

Even when a Swadeshi concern is once started after overcoming immense difficulties in the initial stages serious obstacles have to be encountered in the matter of marketing the products or the output of its factory. The damaging evidence of Mr. Adamee Peerbhoy of Bombay which for obvious reasons the President of the Commission wanted to be heard *in camera* but which has leaked out goes to prove what is however, notorious that the Heads of the big purchasing departments show but scant consideration to the claims of Indians when there are British competitors in the field—it is but natural that they should fraternise with their own countrymen. The excellent intentions of the Government as embodied in Resolutions with sonorous periods get whittled down to precious little in filtering through the official strata.

One of the most important factors in the development of the resources of India is that relating to the working of her vast and in many cases untapped mineral wealth. The Report lays down elaborate suggestions as regards concessions and the acquisition of mineral rights and so forth but is ominously silent on the most important point. Indians are hopelessly backward in industrial matters—they are far behind Europe and America in the modern metallurgical and technical education—they are lacking in co-operation and power of organisation, but that is no reason why the fullest advantage should be taken of their helplessness by foreign exploiters. The fact is overlooked that England holds India as a trustee and guardian and in a future age she will be called upon to render an account of her stewardship.

Our benign Government has already accepted in principle the imperative necessity of protecting the weak ignorant and backward.

pettifogging sharpers and dishonest sow cars, e.g., by enacting the Encumbered Estates Act. The object evidently was to prevent their being sold out of their patrimony. Some such Act is urgently required for safeguarding our national patrimony.

After all, India is progressing and waking up and if her sons to-day are unable to work her own mines, their children or children's children will be able to do so. If in the meantime all the mining rights and concessions in Burma, and Assam and other provinces of India proper are leased out to foreign exploiters nothing will be left for five generations. The late Mr Gokhale often used to tell the present writer that the greatest injury which the British Government is inflicting upon this unhappy land—an injury which is beyond her powers of recuperation—is the slow but continuous exhaustion of her mineral wealth. As the *Statesman* put this point with great clearness.

"In the case of the mining industry for instance it is the development of the country's resources by English Capitalism and not merely that the children of the soil must be content for the time being with the hired labourer's share of the wealth extracted but that the exportation of the remainder involves a loss which can never be repaired. Though the blame largely rests with them we can well understand the jealousy with which the people of the country regard the exhaustion mainly for the benefit of the foreign capitalist of wealth which can never as in the case of agriculture be reproduced. It is in short no mere foolish delusion but an unquestionable economic truth that every ounce of gold that leaves the country so far as it is represented by no economic return, and a large percentage of the gold extracted by foreign capital is represented by no such return, simply as permanent loss."

As we said in a previous article the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country by the foreign capitalist stands on a different footing for in this case the wealth extracted is not reproduced and on the not unreasonable assumption that it would sooner or later have been exploited with Indian capital may unquestionably be said to deprive the people of the country for all time, of a corresponding opportunity of profit.

vide G. V. Joshi's Writings and Speeches "pp 534-55

The future historian of India will have to write a dismal chapter indicating that when her people at last woke up they found all the wealth in the bowels of the earth carried away by foreign exploiters and only empty dark caverns and subterranean vaults and passages left behind. It is not necessary to proceed further. The future of industrial India is gloomy

indeed. Happily there is a silver lining in the dark cloud.

Sir W. Clark, as we have already seen, fully alive to the danger of the situation, was careful to point out that industrial progress did not "merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries," and successive Governors General have given distinct pledges that every effort will be made to enable Indians to have a fresh start. The task will be a tremendously difficult one in view of the clamorous opposition of powerful interested parties. A Viceroy of India, close upon half a century ago, in his attempt to do justice to the people entrusted to his care, was confronted with the determined hostility of his countrymen out here and in his bitter anguish exclaimed "Millions [out of the revenues of India] have been spent on the conquering race, which might have been spent in enriching and elevating the children of the soil. It is impossible, unless we spend less on "interests"—and more on the people. The welfare of the people of India is our primary object. If we are not here for their good, we should not be here at all." Noble words, nobly uttered.

President Wilson in commending the League of Nations' covenant for acceptance observes "We are done with annexations of helpless people. In all cases of this sort it shall be the duty of the League to see that nations assigned as tutors, advisers and directors of those peoples shall look to their interest and development before the interests and material desires of the mandatory nation itself. Under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and a new hope." If, however, the exploitation of India goes on at this rate, England will be giving the lie direct to the noble ideal and aspirations breathed above. Recent events have, however, shown that British statesmanship can take courage in one hand and justice in the other, it is to be hoped it will prove equal to the occasion.

Postscript—Since the above was in type, I have learned with sorrow that one of the three principal Swadeshi industrial concerns of Calcutta, which

was hitherto regarded as a pride of Bengal is threatened with extinction so far as its swadeshi character is concerned I mean the Calcutta Pottery Works It is not necessary here to recount with what zeal sacrifice and singleness of purpose combined with expert knowledge Mr Satyasundar Dev helped the undertaking and made it a successful concern In fact it might be said that the very cement of its kilns and furnaces represents the life blood of Mr Dev A powerful British company partly with threats of overwhelming competition and partly with the offer of a rich bait has succeeded in practically buying it out I understand the negotiations have been already completed This regrettable affair

is a sad commentary and reflection on the intelligence and patriotism of Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy Bahadur and Rai Baikunthanath Sen Bahadur the proprietors of the factory who are both wealthy men Alas Even such men could be prevailed upon to part with their heri tage for a handful of silver

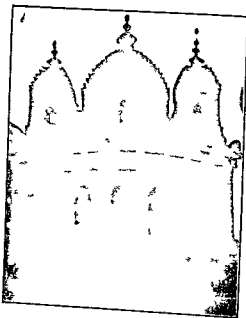
The fate of the other two concerns referred to above is also trembling in the balance If this is an earnest of what bids fair to become of a self contained India she will soon be reduced to the position of a human cattle farm and a plantation with her people as coolie and Babu labourers and the Industrial Commission had better be called For eign Exploitation Commission

A NOTE ON THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF BISHNUPUR

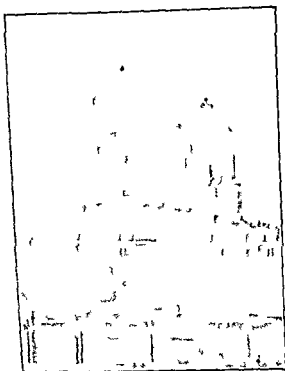
THE chronology of the Bishnupur dynasty bears the name of 57 kings who have swayed the destinies of the principality for more than ten centuries

The ancient Rajas of Bishnupur trace back their history to a time when Hindus were still reigning in Delhi and the name of Mussalmans was not yet heard of in India Indeed they could already count five centuries of rule over the western frontier tracts of Bengal before Bakhtiyar Khilji wrested that province from the Hindus The Mussalman conquest of Bengal however made no difference to the Bishnupur princes (R C Dutt) Towards the close of the sixteenth century the suzerainty of the Muhammadan Viceroys of Bengal was for the first time acknowledged by the Bishnupur Raj and an annual tribute of Rs 107000 was promised but the tribute does not appear to have been regularly paid the Rajas being treated more as Wardens of the Marches and allies than as subjects Muhammadan historians record that when Murshid Kuli Khan introduced a more centralised form of government in 17078 A D the Raja of Bishnupur was exempted from his rigid regulations The freedom of Bishnupur from Moslem influence may still be traced

in the fact that only about 56 per cent of the people of the district at present follow



Madangopal Temple

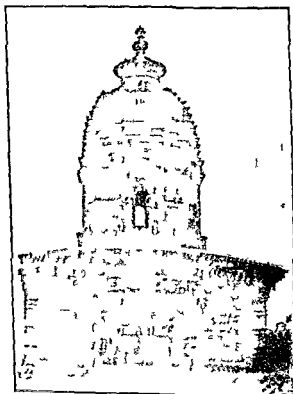


Shyam Roy Temple

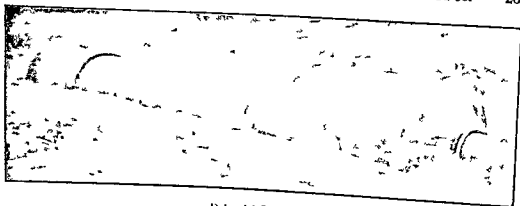
the religion of the Prophet and Brahmins form a very large percentage of the population numbering about a lakh coming in point of population next after the aboriginal Bauris and Santhals. Hindu music and Hindu architecture as well as Hindu religion (of the Vaishnavite form) found munificent patrons in the Rajas and though the architectural glories of Bishnupur only excite the admiration of archaeologists now the place still retains its supremacy in the vocal art. *Jadu Bhatta* is the most famous name among Bishnupur musicians. *Babu Gopewar Bannerjee* author of several books on music is the best known of the living musicians of Bishnupur. Only once in the beginning of the eighteenth century was Hinduism seriously threatened in the reign of *Raghunath Singh II* when infatuated by the wiles of a Muhammadan mistress named *Lali Bai* who was brought in the train of *Sobha Singh's* daughter whom *Raghunath Singh* married after defeating *Sobha Singh* who was the notorious but brilliant chieftain of *Chetua Barda* in *Muinapur* and overran *Burdwan* and unsuccessfully attacked *Bishnupur*. *Raghunath Singh* was about to

embrace Islam with his whole Court but the senior Queen with the advice and approval of his ministers, sanctioned the murder of the Raja by his younger brother *Gopal Singh* who then ascended the throne and saved the kingdom for the religion of his forefathers.

The Rajas of Bishnupur were at first *Sivas* or worshippers of the god *Siva*, and this is attested by two temples one called *Shandeswar* about five miles away from the civil station erected by *Raja Prithwi Malla* in 1335 A.D. being the oldest temple extant in these parts, and the other named *Mailleswar* in the heart of the town erected nearly three centuries later in 1622 A.D. In the palmy days of their power and prosperity the Rajas were however followers of the *Vaishnav* cult, and the city of Bishnupur itself came to be known as "Veiled *Brindaban*" and names derived from *Vaishnav* mythology were given to the embanked lakes known as *Bandhs* in and about the town, and also to several of the surrounding villages. Modern research has discovered a larger number of *Vaishnav* manuscripts in this



Kalachand Temple.



Dalnadal Cannon

sub-division than in any similar area in Bengal. From a slip attached to the manuscript of the recently discovered 'Srikrishna Kirtan' of the famous poet Chandidas which has caused such a stir in literary circles it appears that it was preserved with unusual care in the Library of the Rajas of Bishnupur more than two centuries and a half ago. All the temples save the two named above are dedicated to one or other of the forms of Vishnu, the great Bengali apostle of Vaishnavism, Sri Chaitanya being among the number.

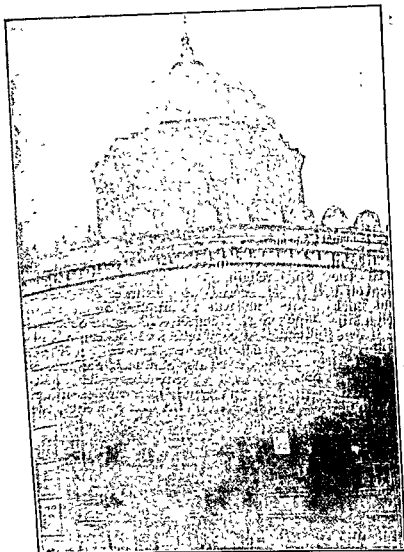
In the days of its greatest expansion the kingdom of Bishnupur included almost all the neighbouring districts and was known by the name of Mallabhum, i.e. the country of the Mallis or wrestlers. Malnapore is said to have been named after Medini Malli, first cousin of Adi Malli the founder of the Raj. Kharagpur owes its origin to Khargi Malla who reigned between 541 and 551 A.D., and the name of Bankura has been traced to Binku Kari the youngest son of King Hambu, a contemporary of Akbar. Murari Misra, author of the Sanskrit drama *Itar, by Kachari*, which is freely quoted from in that standard work on Rhetoric the *Sahitya Darpan* Ramai Pandit the author of the *Sagra Purana* which is devoted to the propagation of the worship of Buddha in the guise of Dharma and is one of the earliest specimens of genuine Bengali literature extant and Subhankara the anthrologian whose system of orally reckoning is still memorised by Bengali schoolboys flourished in this kingdom and later Vaishnav literature makes frequent mention of the only independent Hindu kingdom in Bengal

where Vaishnavism was accepted as the State religion.

The Army was organised on a feudal basis and was maintained by grants of land known collectively as the *Senapati Mehals*. A comprehensive system of military police prevailed known under the names of *Ghatwals*, *Sadiwals*, *Simandars*, &c. who held service tenures under a quit rent known as *Panchak* and whose duties included the prevention of robberies the



Stone Gate.



Madanmohan Temple.

maintenance of boundaries, and the preservation of peace and order. Justice was administered in the villages by the *Patradharis*, i.e., those who were appointed under a *patra* or royal charter, and also by *Mukhyas* or headmen, the king in council, assisted by learned Court Pandits, forming the highest court of appeal. The unqualified eulogium bestowed by competent foreign observers on the simple yet efficient system of administration prevailing in Bishnupur proves that the government was suited to the needs of the unsophisticated people among whom the Rajas held sway.

The founder of the dynasty, Gopal, better known as Adi Malla, settled at Laugram, off Police Station Kotalpur.

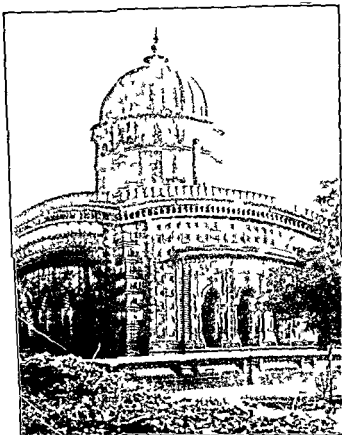
Many curious legends testify to his Kshattriya origin, and although his descendants called themselves Mallas for many centuries, they later on assumed the Kshattriya title of Singh. Mallas are called Vratyas in the Code of Manu, and classed with Dravidians. "The fact that the Rajas of Bishnupur called themselves Mallas (an aboriginal title) for many centuries before they assumed the Kshattriya title of Singh, the fact that down to the present day they are known as Bagdi Rajas all over Bengal, as well as numerous local facts and circumstances—all go to prove that the Rajas of Bishnupur are Kshattriyas, because of their long independence and their past history, but not by descent. The story of descent is legendary, but the Kshattriyas of Bishnupur can show the same letters-patent for their Kshattriyahood as the Rajputs of Northern India or the original Kshattriyas of India could show, viz., military profession and the exercise of royal powers for centuries." (R. C. Dutt.)

Adi Malla was crowned in 695 A. D. corresponding to the first year of the Malla Era, which falls short of the current Bengali Era by 101 years. He defeated the chief of Pradyumnapur (off Police Station Jaypur) and following an ancient Hindu custom, celebrated the coronation ceremony by worshipping the flag of Indra, the Jupiter of the Hindu Pantheon—a custom which prevails to this day at Bishnupur, the occasion being marked by large festive gatherings of Santhals, with whose aid Adi Malla is said to have vanquished his adversary. He was followed, down to the middle of the sixteenth century, by forty-eight rulers in succession who were engaged in waging constant warfare with the neighbouring chiefs and in extending and consolidating their dominions. The capital is said to

have been removed to Bishnupur by Jagat Malla the nineteenth king of the dynasty, about the middle of the eleventh century

With Hambir we take leave of the more or less legendary accounts and enter into what may be termed the historical period for he was the first king to be mentioned by the Muhamadan historians. He gained the title of Bir or Hero by defeating the Pathans in alliance with the Moguls. A moat outside the outermost line of fortifications about a mile from the present civil station known as the Ford of Skulls preserves the memory of the bloody encounter. When the Mogul Viceroy Man Singh invaded Orissa his son Jagat Singh was detached to check the Afghan Commander Kutlu Khan but was put to flight and rescued by Bir Hambir and brought to Bishnupur. The fort received its last embellishment in the reign of this king and guns were mounted on its walls and the fine largestone gateway of the citadel was built by him. But an unexpected incident put a sudden stop to his military career and turned

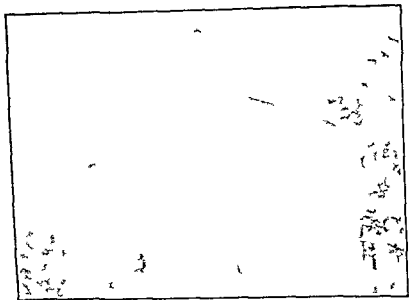
him into a gentle and devout Vaishnav. The Vaishnav works relate that the celebrated Srinivas Acharya on his way from Brindaban to Gour with valuable Manuscripts was robbed near Bishnupur by Bir Hambir's men but he so moved the Raja by his exposition of the Bhagavata Purana that the latter forthwith became a convert and even composed two well known songs which have been preserved in Vaishnavite collections. His successor Raghunath Singh I (1627-57) first gained the title of Singh. As he was going to the house of his religious



Radha Shyam Temple



Ras Mancha



Jore Bangla

at Jajgram he was arrested by the Kazi of Burdwan for arrears of revenue and sent to Rajmehal where the Viceroy Prince Suja being pleased with his exquisite horsemanship granted him the title of Singh (Lion) which is the title the dynasty has borne ever since Raghunath built some of the best known temples and by this time Bishnupur seems to have risen considerably in importance being described by local chroniclers as rivaling the city of Indra in beauty and containing theatres barracks stables storehouses armouries and a treasury But with the introduction of the arts of peace the military glory of the principality began to decline

Bir Singh succeeded his father Raghunath He was a cruel king but kept the subordinate chiefs in order and excavated the lakes or Bandhs of which the Jamuna Bandh near the Railway Station and the Lal Bandh outside the fort are in the best state of preservation He further added to the beauty of the town by building temples, which had now become the fashion with every succeeding ruler or his queen It must be said to their credit that though they lavished all the resources of the State in adorning these places of worship they took little care to build a suitable palace for themselves and the contrast cannot fail to strike the most casual visitor to the ruins

The end of the seventeenth century left

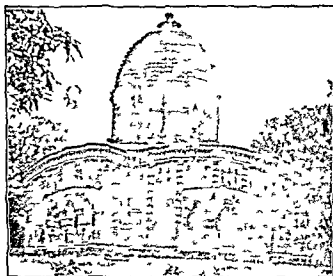
the Bishnupur Rajas at the summit of their fortunes Gopal Singh (1730-45) was a pious prince and he issued an edict that all his people should count their beads and repeat the name of the god every evening at sunset This evening prayer owing to its compulsory character was not very popular and is still known by the name of *Gopal Singh Begar* In his reign, when Ali Vardi Khan was the Viceroy of Bengal the Marathas under Bhaskar Pundit appeared before the gates of Bishnupur and encamped in the portion of the town occupied by the subdivisional offices which still goes by the name of *Maratha Chhauni*

Gopal Singh retreated inside the fort and ordered both citizens and soldiers to offer prayers to the presiding deity Madan Mohan to save the city The prayer was heard and the legend relates that the guns were fired without human assistance by the god himself The Marathas being unable to pierce the strong fortifications retired but mercilessly ravaged the surrounding country as graphically described in the *Riaz us-Salatun*

The last of the Rajas of Bishnupur was Chaitanya Singh who true to his name, was a devout Vaishnav of retiring disposition and therefore unfit to hold the reins of government during the troublous times which followed in his reign which commenced in 1752 the Marathas again appeared and made Bishnupur their headquarters during the invasion of Shah Alam whom they assisted They retired when Nawab Mir Jaffer supported by a British force under Major Calliaud advanced to meet them but left a small force at Bishnupur which was turned out by the British at the end of the year (1760 A D) The country was impoverished by these successive raids and in 1770 it was desolated by famine Bankura was ceded to the British as part of the Burdwan Chakla in 1760 and Chaitanya Singh was reduced from the position of a tributary prince to that of a mere Zemindar To add to his miseries a rival claimant appeared in the

person of his cousin Govinda Singh and litigation in the British Courts now took the place of the pitched battles of yore, and brought him to the verge of ruin. The Raja was imprisoned for arrears of landtax and Mr Keating was appointed Collector, but the inhabitants supported by the Collector's head assistant, made common cause with the hillmen to oppose the Government and were not brought under control without some difficulty (1790 A D). The disorders in Bishnupur would 'says Sir William Hunter, 'in any less troubled time have been called rebellion'. This attempt to throw off the British yoke has been described by a learned local historian as 'the last flicker of the military spirit.

It is said that Chaitanya Singh went to Calcutta to lay his case before the British Courts with the family idol Madan Mohan first established by Bir Hambir and pawned it to Gokul Mitra of Bag Bazar. As however he was unable to repay the loan the god was set up at Bag Bazar where it is worshipped to this day and the temple of Madan Mohan at Bishnupur has remained empty ever since. The removal of the presiding deity of the Raj symbolised its downfall in the popular mind and many pathetic ballads commemorating the incident are sung by local bards. Lord Clive finding the system of primogeniture prevalent in the Raj had confirmed Chaitanya Singh in possession and the Sadar Dewany Adalat also decided in his favour but soon after the Raj was resumed by Government for arrears of revenue. At the decennial



Rajas and Temple

settlement of Lord Cornwallis the Raja was reinstated on his engaging to pay the exorbitant revenue of four lakhs of sicca rupees and eventually in 1806 the estate was again sold for arrears of land revenue and bought up by the Maharaja of Burdwan. The family has since been dependent upon small pensions granted by Government and upon what little debutter property they had. The title died with Raja Ramkrishna Singh. The descendants of Chaitanya Singh are to be found at Bishnupur and also at Indas and Kuchakole. Though the Raj is no more the leading representatives of the family are still popularly called Rajas and Ranas as the case may be and are treated with great respect by the people.

BISHNUPUR,

(To be concluded)

SOCIAL WORK IN THE AMERICAN ARMY CANTONMENT

By SUDHINDRA BOSE M.A. PH.D.

LECTURER IN POLITICAL SCIENCE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

NOT long ago I visited one of the largest American military camps (cantonments) for the training of soldiers. As an American citizen I expected the

drilling and marching of soldiers in olive drab khaki the exhibition of the manual of arms and the digging of trenches to inspire a patriotic thrill. In this I was

not disappointed; but what challenged my interest most and aroused my keenest admiration, more than the martial activity of this military establishment, was the workings of the forces of socialization. To me the Y M C A and Knights of Columbus buildings, the library, the theatre, the soldier's co-operative store, and the hostess house were far more inspiring than all the rifles, cannon, grenades, bomb throwers and machine guns.

TRAINING CAMP COMMISSIONS

The men in uniform have left their homes and friends, clubs and college societies, dances and theatres. They have entered upon a strange experience in which everything is secondary to the necessity of making an efficient fighting force—an experience in which they are cut off from the normal relations of life. In order partially to remedy this evil, to create a normal environment, to promote social and recreational work in the army and navy, the War Department and Navy Department have appointed Commissions on Training Camp Activities. The task of these Commissions 'is to re-establish as far as possible the old social ties—to furnish these youngmen a substitute for recreational and relaxational opportunities to which they have been accustomed—in brief, to rationalize as far as it can be done, the bewildering environment of a war camp.' The Commissions have not created much new machinery; they have for the most part employed agencies which were already in operation. Inside the cantonment social activities are directed by such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the American Library Association, the Young Women's Christian Association.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

The Young Men's Christian Association which works in close co-operation with the Commissions on Training Camp Activities carries on its educational, religious and recreational activities in its own buildings in the cantonment. The visitor to one of these buildings can see at any night something of interest always going on. There are musical entertainments, moving pictures and lectures. There are also classes in French, English, history, government and mathematics.

Besides one can find a special room supplied with newspapers, magazines, books, pens, ink, pencils, stationery—all free. Letter writing is one of the most favorite occupations of the soldiers in the 'Y' building. Such legends as, "Write Home", "Mothers' Letter First", are found on every wall. It has been estimated that soldiers and sailors write a million letters a day on Y M C A stationery.

Activities similar to those of Young Men's Christian Association are also provided for by the Lutheran Brotherhood and the Knights of Columbus. Although this brotherhood is intended to look after Lutheran Christians and Knights of Columbus after Catholic Christians, the facilities of both of these organizations, as well as those of Y M C A, are accessible to all soldiers without reference to their religious creeds. The meetings of every one of these societies are open to all men in uniform whether Protestants, Catholics, or Jews. "No meetings are held in any of these buildings", writes Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, Chairman of the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, "to which all the troops in camp are not invited, regardless of religious or other preferences. Indeed, the admission of such organizations to the camps was on the express condition that their activities must not be limited to any particular constituency, and from the first there has been a broad spirit of co-operation among them."

EDUCATIONAL WORK

The Training Camp Commission has appointed a committee on education to look after the educational interests of the men. In the camp there are many foreign born Americans who can neither read, write, nor speak English. For them, as well as for those native born Americans who have had no schooling, classes in English have been organized. The study of French is immensely popular, and so, conversational French is given to officers and enlisted men in hundreds of French classes. But education in the cantonment proceeds beyond elementary English and French. Instruction is also given in such subjects as clerical work, shorthand, type writing, telephony, telegraphy, engineering, animal husbandry, and German. There are in addition many regular university courses which make it possible for college

and university youths to carry on their studies while training for military service

THE LIBRARY.

The task of finding reading matter for the soldiers and sailors has been under taken by the American Library Association. This society has perfected an organization which virtually ensures a good book within the reach of every fighting man. "We will get for you any book in print if you will ask for it," is the challenge of the army library. The aims of the American Library Association are, first, that librarians and library facilities be available for soldiers and sailors wherever assembled, second, that the libraries be maintained in such a way that not only will reading matter be available for the large number of soldiers, but that every possible encouragement and stimulus shall be given to reading by the men in the service of the country.

A special library building is found near the centre of each cantonment. The library is in charge of trained librarians, and the building is open every day of the week from ten in the morning to nine in the evening. Books are kept on shelves which are free and easily accessible to all. They can be taken out by the borrower himself for seven days by the simple expedient of leaving a memorandum at the loan desk, a purely 'honor system'.

In addition to the central library, there are also branch libraries in the base hospital and in the Knights of Columbus and Y M C A buildings. Furthermore, there are in mess rooms and in the barracks deposit stations which contain from fifty to a hundred volumes.

The books that are most in demand are of fiction, but I have been informed that works on science, history, government, biography, travel, philosophy, and religion are also read in large numbers.

RECREATIVE ATHLETICS

It is not an easy life that the soldiers live in a camp, for the army is run on Spartan lines. The discipline is strict. Soldiers must do what they are ordered, and when they are ordered. Excuses do not go. Their days are pretty fully occupied.

Camps are camps and soldiers are soldiers.

And yet and yet

30½-4

Soldiers have their fun they have their hours of leisure. They are generally free from five thirty in the evening till taps or 'lights out'. Moreover, the regular routine of military training is suspended on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, and all day Sundays. This leaves the soldiers a considerable margin of leisure on their hands. The question then arises as to how the opportunities which the leisure brings may be improved. For one thing, men are encouraged to participate in some form of athletics during their leisure time. They play baseball, football, soccer, and basket ball. They also take part in field and track athletics.

Great stress is laid on boxing because of its close connection with bayonet fighting. "Boxing instructors have been appointed in nearly every large camp, and they have trained groups of men to assist them. In many camps from two hundred to four hundred of these assistant instructors have been developed and are giving lessons. Frequent contests are held, and to standardize the instruction and to give the men a better idea of the work, moving pictures have been made to demonstrate the fundamental principles of boxing and the elements of bayonet practice. Nearly every blow and position in boxing has its counterpart in bayoneting. Sometimes boxing lessons are given to a thousand men at one time by these moving pictures which are explained by a man on a high stand."

The athletic work in the camp is placed under directors who are regarded as important functionaries with military rank.

It is true that athletics are primarily intended to develop the fighting instinct and the technique of fighting. Nevertheless, they are not without recreational value. They divert the attention of training soldiers from the continuous round of military discipline to wholesome sports.

THE LIBERTY THEATRE

An up-to-date theatre, called the Liberty Theatre, is provided by the government in each of the army camps. It has a local manager who is responsible for its use. Plays of the very best type by the professional theatrical companies are presented in this theatre. There is also a dramatic coach to search out and develop the dramatic talent from among the soldiers themselves. The "home talent"

production invariably makes a hit with the soldier boys. A very very low admission fee is charged to defray running expenses.

Liberty Theatre, as one writer has aptly said, is the town hall of the cantonment: in it are given not only theatricals, but also lectures, moving picture shows, and important athletic exhibitions.

SINGING.

"Democracy! Near at hand to you a throat is now inflating itself and joyfully singing." Thus wrote the true representative of American national spirit, Walt Whitman. And though the poet had in his mind a spiritual song, he might actually have been prophesying what is taking place every day in the American army cantonments.

The place of singing in the camp and field is as important as that of powder. The army which does not sing heartily, Americans are wont to say, does not fight heartily. Indeed, in the opinion of military experts, a singing army is the winning army. "It is just as essential that the soldiers should know how to sing," said United States Major-General Leonard Wood, "as that they should carry rifles and know how to shoot them. It sounds odd to the ordinary person when you tell him every soldiers should be a singer, because the layman cannot reconcile singing with killing. But when you know these boys as I know them, you will realize how much it means to them to sing. There isn't anything in the world, even letters from home, that will raise a soldier's spirits like a good, catchy marching-tune."

As an aid to military efficiency, mass singing is most systematically practised and developed in the army and navy. Song-coaches are appointed from civilians, who are awarded the rank of commissioned officers. The soldiers and sailors have regular times for singing under these song-leaders. They sing from a small book, called *Songs of the Soldiers and Sailors* which is published by the government and sold to civilians for five annas and to men in uniform for ten pice.

The most popular camp song I heard among the soldier boys was the one entitled *Over There*. It is full of Yankee snap and go. These are the words:

Over there, over there.

Send the word, send the word over there

That the Yanks are coming,
The Yanks are coming.
The drums rum-tumming everywhere.
So prepare, say a prayer,
Send the word, send the word to beware.
We'll be over, we're coming over,
And we won't come back
Till it's over over there.

CO-OPERATIVE STORE.

The post exchange or soldier's co-operative store is one of the most important institutions within the camp. Here the soldiers can buy such articles of comfort luxury as are not "issued" by the government. Here he can purchase anything from tobacco, handkerchiefs, books, and magazines to officers' boots and wedding rings.

There is in each cantonment one post exchange for every regiment. The goods are sold at cost price plus five per cent. profit. By trading at their own exchanges the soldiers benefit themselves. Here they can obtain goods cheaper than elsewhere; and "any profits accumulating to the post exchanges are expended in a way decided upon by the votes of the men in the regiment." Usually the profits go to provide for athletic equipments, musical instruments for the band, better food for the mess, and sometimes for a tobacco fund for smokes in France where cigarettes can not be had easily.

THE HOSTESS HOUSE.

The Young Women's Christian Association has established a "hostess house" within the confines of each cantonment. The primary object of the hostess house is to furnish a place with pleasant surroundings where a soldier can meet his family and friends. As there are in a training camp anywhere from thirty to sixty thousand men, there is naturally a large influx of wives, mothers, and sweethearts. To those the hostess house furnishes a comfortable meeting place free from trouble and annoyance.

The building is usually as attractive inside as it is inviting out: it is furnished with all the latest appointments. The hostess house provides large rooms for visiting purposes, several bed-rooms for women visitors who have men very ill at the base hospital, an emergency hospital room, a mothers' room, and a children's nursery.

Sometimes the members of the hostess house staff go to the railroad stations and meet the trains so that no in-coming in experienced woman visitors are left to wander alone in that man made world in search of her soldier. She is brought to the hostess house where she finds every assistance and protection that she may need.

It should be noted in passing that the moral conditions in and around the camps and training stations are exceptionally clean. The government has adopted a rigorous policy of absolute repression in the matter of drink and prostitution—the twin evils of camp life. "The Federal Government," declared President Wilson himself, "has pledged its word that as far as care and vigilance can accomplish the result, the men committed to its charge will be returned to the homes and communities that so generously gave them with no scars except those won in honorable conflict." And so successfully has the government kept its word that it has "actually reduced to small an amount vice and drunkenness in our army and navy, that it is a fair statement that civilian America will have to clarify its moral atmosphere if it is to take back its young men after the war to an equally wholesome environment."

But to return to the hostess house. It supports a cafeteria, where good meals can be had at reasonable prices. The women who run the cafeteria are aggressively cheerful. At the instant, there flashes before my mind a scene at one of these places. The hall was crowded, yet it was pleasant and comfortable. I could not quite see why, but there was an indefinable something about the place which was exquisitely wholesome and clean. The women attendants, who had the appearance of college students (how shall I describe them) so lively and so happy. To see them makes one's heart glad. They had such charming ways. Somehow they make you feel that you are a guest and not a customer. They treat you like an old friend of the establishment. You go to the food counter, take what you like, pay your bill, and they smile at you genially. To be sure you have to wait on yourself, but what matter? You are in an American camp where all things are American.

On one occasion, I bought among other

things at the cafeteria, a bowl of what I considered to be delicious soup. I took my luncheon tray to a round table and began to sip from the bowl. Good heavens! What was I eating? Soup? Hardly. It was hot, pungently hot, it nearly burned my throat. I decided that the luncheon was a dismal failure. Quite chagrined, I went back to the counter and asked for an explanation. Behold, it was not soup at all. I had picked up the wrong bowl. I had taken a new kind of French salad which looked very much like soup! With well bred courtesy, they took back the dish and refunded my money. And how we laughed and laughed at the mistake! They are provokingly good natured people, those wonderful women folks of the hostess house.

SOCIAL VISION

From the social work at the army cantonments it is evident that America does not regard her troops to be soulless machines—mere cannon fodder—as they are called in some of the European countries. The United States government has fully risen to its moral obligation. It is doing a work of vast magnitude to keep its fighting men in physical, mental, and moral trim. The government has mobilized every material, social, and spiritual resource behind its troops. Nothing is considered too good for these brave men. Indeed, to the American government, this social service is an opportunity, a privilege, and increasingly, a special responsibility. "It is a movement for the improvement of the nation," writes one of the members of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, "and is utterly devoid of sentimentality. To make the men fit for fighting, and after, to bring them back from war as fine and as clean as they went, is just plain efficiency."

The noted English writer, Mr. John Galsworthy, said the other day that "the house of the Future is always dark." It is so, may be, but we know beyond a peradventure that the war has already coined for America many significant social ideas and ideals which have brought about in the American mind profound changes—changes which are bound to culminate in the re-making of the whole nation. With a new sense of values American leaders of thought are demanding that the social program which has proved so beneficent

to army cantonments should also be provided for civil communities; community stores, community theatres, community play, community singing and in short, community co-operation should be as much an integral part of civic as of army

life. When this social vision is fully realized, then indeed this mighty Republic will have fulfilled its highest destiny in respect to human liberty and social justice. Iowa City, U. S. A.
November 1, 1918.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND INDIA

BY THE HON. R. D. DENMAN.

IN the working of institutions continuity of form does not necessarily imply continuity of spirit. From time to time, therefore, you have to consider whether a given institution which may have admirably performed some function in the past, is still capable of fulfilling that particular purpose. Such consideration is especially needed in the case of the House of Commons. A body so truly living, so intimately related to the life of the British people, is subjected to all the elusive and subtle processes of growth and change, and on examination you discover that without any deliberate design or conscious act of human will its qualities and outlook have suffered alterations that have come about almost unnoticed.

In suggesting that the House of Commons has ceased to be a body that can usefully supervise the government of India, I do not wish it to be inferred that it has undergone some recent deterioration. On the contrary, it has probably never been a more competent assembly than it is today. More than ever it is a truly representative body, composed of men of fully average intelligence, honesty, and public spirit, possessing collectively a wide experience of statecraft. Never has it enjoyed a more complete equipment for carrying into action the democratic plan of "government of the people, by the people, for the people." For this very reason, however, its skill in the art of government of one people by another has diminished. In these days a representative body is expected primarily to regard the welfare of those whom it represents. Its interests tend to become more specialised and its range of knowledge narrowed.

No one who looks back into the 19th

century can be blind to this growing self-centredness of democratic institutions. Take the test of modern general elections. What are the topics that have dominated them and stirred the passions of electors? Everyone remembers the storms which raged round the reform of the House of Lords, Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, and the Insurance Act. Leading statesmen declared that they saw in such domestic matters as these evils which heralded "the end of all things." In such an atmosphere what candidate can preserve a due sense of proportion and give to Imperial or Foreign affairs their proper weight?

This last election, when the future of the world was at stake and when, if ever, our country ought to have cast its gaze beyond its own shores, provides a crowning example of its electoral domesticity. Its dominant issues, "expel all Germans," "make Germany pay our War Debt," were strictly insular. "Death to the Kaiser" represented an appeal to a world-wide emotion,—a longing that war-making shall be a universally recognised crime; but speaking generally that was as far as the electorate went in an enthusiasm for an ordered reign of international justice. At a moment when India presents one of the great problems of the world, I doubt whether the very name of India was mentioned in a score of Members' election addresses.

This increased self-centredness of democracy is no mere accident. It follows inevitably from the current conception of the function of the State. The State is no longer a majestic organisation erected to repress injustice and to maintain order, security and liberty. It is rapidly becoming

ing an intimate partner in the everyday affairs of a citizen's life. This tendency is bound to fix the attention of a Member more closely upon details of domestic legislation and leaves him less leisure than his grandfather, or even his father, enjoyed for the examination of wider problems. His constituents compel him to study improvements in State services which concern their daily well-being and give him no encouragement to acquire knowledge of Asia.

Let us now consider the recent practice of the House in relation to India. We find that the Secretary of State made an annual statement to almost empty benches. That was about all that was heard of India unless something went wrong. Then of course, questions were asked and sometimes debates ensued. Now surely no one can argue that a system of supervision amounting only to a criticism of past mistakes is a satisfactory form of control. A control which is always looking backwards, rather than keenly watching the present and preparing for the future must tend to thwart and discourage. It certainly cannot stimulate qualities of imagination and enterprise in those responsible to it.

The evil of the House of Commons supervision of India is not merely negative. It is not only that the House brings no store of understanding to current Indian affairs. There is a real danger of positively injurious action by the House in the event of a clash of economic interests between the two peoples.

Striking evidence of this peril appeared

last year in the debates on the Indian Cotton Duties.

The growth of democracy affords no security here. Labour Parties in this connexion cannot be trusted any more than Capitalist Parties. Suppose Labour were led to fear that a fiscal system desired by India threatened established trade in British goods. Can anybody feel confident that the House would then act as a fair and impartial judge of Indian interests?

These considerations unite in pointing to one conclusion: the need for removing the control of India's domestic affairs from the House of Commons and for increasing her own authority to manage them. The Standing Committee proposed by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy does not really meet the case. We must reorganise on federal lines the whole political machinery of the Empire. Subjects of common interest,—defence, foreign policy and the like—will become the province of a body representing not only the United Kingdom but also the Dominions and India. In internal affairs each unit must be self-determining. To get the best out of India she must be encouraged to play her full part in both aspects of this Imperial scheme. Since self-government is not the growth of a day, we cannot afford to delay in laying foundations. The sooner we promote in India, by wise measures of devolution, the habit of self-government the sooner will she be able to add to the common fund of our Imperial life the abundant riches of her ancient and valued civilisation.

THE DUTIES OF MAN

THIS is the name of a volume of *Essays* by Joseph Mazzini (1805-72),* the great apostle of Nationalism. 'The most timid and law-abiding citizen need not fear to turn over its pages,' says Mr Jones who contributes the introduction, though its author was once arrested by

the Government in his youth.' "Despotic Governments dislike dreamers. Mazzini was arrested really as the Governor of Genoa told his father because he was a thoughtful young man of talent, fond of solitary walks by night. 'We don't like young people thinking without knowing the subject of their thoughts.'" Such was the condition of Italy when he lived, that Mazzini's name will live on among

* *The Duties of Man and Essays* by Joseph Mazzini (Everyman's Library J. M. Dent and Sons)

those of Italy's greatest citizens and the world's best men seems now beyond dispute. But Mazzini's most precious bequest to the world was not a bundle of Essays, but a noble life. His real mistress was literature, and he would have served her with a fine devotion had not the more imperious call of Country claimed his loyalty. The idea of Italian unity is to be found also in the writings of Dante and Riezi, but Mazzini differs from them in being political and not merely literary, and constructive and passionately religious. He regarded life as a mission, and duty its highest law. He had poor qualities for a conspirator, and was a failure in that role. "This 'pestiferous conspirator' displayed to the subjects of the Pope a spiritual grandeur the like of which had rarely, if ever, been seen in a Vicar of Christ through all the ages of Roman Christendom." A writer of elevated thought and glowing prose, an inspiring talker, he was an

'Established point of light whence rays traversed the world'

Carlyle, a friend of Mazzini, called him 'a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity, humanity and nobleness of mind, one of those rare men who are worthy to be called martyr souls, he had the firm conviction that no nation deserved freedom or could long retain it which did not win it for itself. And with that conviction, he waged a life long warfare not only on Austrian misrule, but on Italian ignorance, dissension and vice—the wretched brood of oppression. Servile habits and unworthy affections must go. The nation must purify herself in order to fulfil her mission. The sole path to victory was through sacrifice,—constancy in sacrifice.' He died full of patriotic schemes and his days were full of toil for the salvation of his country. He wrote to a friend who was ill, it is absurd to be ill, while nations are struggling for liberty.

"Open my heart, and you will see
Graved inside of it, 'Italy'."

Let us now turn to the teachings of the man, who wrote mostly for the workmen of his country. At the outset he speaks of two maladies which threatened to lead Italian progress astray. Machiavellism—"that political Jesuitism which they call diplomacy"—and Materialism. He therefore preferred to insist on the duties, and not on the rights of man.

"When I say that the knowledge of their rights is not enough to enable men to effect any appreciable or lasting improvement, I do not ask you to renounce these rights, I only say that they cannot exist except as a consequence of duties fulfilled and that one must begin with the latter in order to arrive at the former. And when I say that by proposing happiness well being or material interest as the aim of existence we run the risk of producing egoists I do not mean that you should never strive after these things. I say that material interests pursued alone, and not as a means, but as an end lead always to this most disastrous result. Material improvement is essential, and we shall strive to win it for ourselves, but not because the one thing necessary for man is to be well fed and housed, but rather because you cannot have a sense of your own dignity or any moral development while you are engaged as at the present day, in a continuous duel with want. You need then a change in your material conditions to develop morally. You must strive, then for this change and you will obtain it, but you must strive for it as a means not as an end; strive for it from a sense of duty, not only as a right, strive for it in order to make yourselves better, not only to make yourselves materially happy. —To make yourselves better this must be the aim of your life. —Preach Duty to the men of the classes above you, and fulfil, as far as possible your own duties, preach virtue, sacrifice love, and be yourselves virtuous and prompt to self sacrifice and love."

This sense of Duty derives its sanction from God. Whosoever the Spirit of God is, there is Liberty—liberty of choice between good and evil, which evokes in us the sense of duty?

'Without God whence can we derive Duty? Without God, you will find that whatever system of civil government you choose to attach yourselves to, has no other basis than blind brutal, tyrannic Force. There is no escape from this. —Either we ought to obey God, or to serve men—whether one or many, matters not. If there be not a Supreme Mind reigning over all human minds who can save us from the tyranny of our fellowmen, whenever they find themselves stronger than we? Without God there is no other sovereign than Fact; Fact before which the materialists even bow themselves."

But who is to interpret the law of God?—the voice of the individual, or of the human race? On the one hand, 'the conscience of the individual speaks in accordance with his education, his tendencies, his habits, his passions.' On the other hand, in the history of Humanity we read the design of God. 'The law of God is one, as God is one, but we only discover it article by article, line by line, as the educative experience of preceding generations accumulates more and more and the association of races, peoples and individuals grows in extent and closeness.' At the same time we must remember that 'all great ideas which have helped the progress of Humanity began by being op-

posed to the general beliefs of Humanity, and were preached by individuals whom Humanity derided, persecuted, and crucified. We thus come to the conclusion that 'whenever the voice of your conscience corresponds with that general voice of Humanity, you are certain of the truth, certain of knowing one line of God's law.' God speaks in both the individual and the human race, and 'whenever they agree, whenever the cry of your conscience is ratified by the general conscience of humanity, there is God.'

But the economic question being at the root of all the misery of the working classes, 'to point out to them the duty of progress, to speak to them of intellectual and moral life, of political rights of education, is in the actual state of society, sheer irony. They have neither the time nor the means for progress. The doctrine of everyone for himself and liberty for all is not, as is alleged, sufficient to create little by little an approximate equilibrium of ease and comfort among the classes that constitute society. It may lead to increase of productive activity and of capital but not of universally diffused prosperity. 'The poverty of the working classes remains unchanged. Freedom of competition for those who possess nothing for those who are unable to save anything from their daily wages and therefore have nothing with which to start any commercial undertaking is a lie, just as political freedom is a lie for those who from want of education instruction opportunities and time cannot exercise its rights.' Socialism would according to Mazzini be no remedy. Such an existence, if possible would be a life of bravers, not of men. Physical life might be satisfied by it, but moral and intellectual life would perish and with it emulation, free choice of work, free association stimulus to production joys of property, and all incentives to progress. The remedy, according to Mazzini lay in the union of capital and labour in the same hands in association of labour and division of the profits of labour, in peasant proprietorship and the like.

But Mazzini is never tired of reminding his audience that those who speak to them in the name of material happiness are sure to betray them.

"No! I tell you with profound conviction that without God, without belief in a Law, without

moralty without the power of self-sacrifice you will never succeed. The lot of a man is not altered by renovating and embellishing the house in which he lives where only the body of a slave breathes and not the soul of a man. All reforms are useless the neat dwelling luxuriously furnished is a whitened sepulchre nothing else. And I believe that man can not be made better more worthy of love more noble more divine—whichever is our command—end upon earth—by heaping upon him physical enjoyments and by setting before him as the object of his life that irony which is called happiness. I believe that man ought to be able to eat and live without having all the hours of his existence absorbed by material labour that he ought to have time for developing his superior faculties. But I listen with terror to those voices which tell us: Man's aim in life is self-preservation on enjoyment is his right because I know that such maxims can only create egoists and that they have been in France and elsewhere and threaten to be in Italy the destruction of every noble idea of martyrdom and every pledge of future greatness."

Mazzini boldly challenges those who call him a dreamer dwelling on abstract principles and neglecting facts. A revolution whether social political or otherwise, —not necessarily violent— includes a negation and an affirmation the negation of an existing order of things the affirmation of a new order to be substituted for it. This means not only destructive criticism, but presenting before the masses a new aim. The generation which participates in the destruction of the old order of things is nearly always condemned to mark with its own dead the road of progress for its successor. Itself can never enjoy the result of its travail. Now what theory of material interests, what proof of individual rights could argue a law of self-sacrifice, or martyrdom if martyrdom be the goal that awaits us? Martyrdom is folly to a people that has no stimulus outside material interests. Great things are never done except by the rejection of individualism and a constant sacrifice of self to the common progress. The true instrument of progress of the peoples is to be sought in the moral factor. We are therefore driven to the sphere of principles which alone are constructive. We must revive belief in them, the logic of things demands it. The spirit alone gives importance to forms.

"Rise to the sphere of principles guide the peoples, now wandering in darkness to the law of progress to Humanity to God; awake again the moral sense the sentiment of Duty in men whom others would fain convert into calculating machines show a great purpose to the young as easily assailed to-day by discouragement and doubt; give to men by enthusiasm and religion and love a new

moral existence. "Men who mock at enthusiasm, deny the power of inspiration and self-sacrifice, call martyrdom quixotic, and try to regenerate the peoples by statistics." "But we subordinate the economic to the moral factor, because if withdrawn from its controlling influence, dissociated from principles, and abandoned to the theories of individualism [each for himself and the devil take the hindmost] which govern it to-day, it would result in brutish egoism. Principles, which some would relegate among abstractions, by their nature lie so near material interests, and what is called the economic factor, that they involve its practical triumph as an inevitable consequence. The sphere of principles includes and embraces them all."

To the religiously disposed man, whose theme is that the earth is clay, life is but of an hour, terrestrial existence is a period of trial, earth is a land of exile and so on—a theme with which we are only too familiar in India—and that we should therefore despise it and rise above it and turn to God, Mazzini's reply was equally emphatic:

"To the others who speak to you of heaven, separating it from earth, you will say that heaven and earth, like the way and the end of the way, are one thing only. Do not tell us that the earth is clay. The earth is God's; God created it that we might climb by it to Him. The earth is not a sojourn of expiation and temptation; it is the place appointed for our labour of self-improvement, and of development towards a higher state of existence. God created us not for contemplation, but for action. The life of a soul is sacred in every one of its stages, in the earthly stage as well as in the others which are to follow; so, then, every stage must be a preparation for the next, every temporary progress must help the continuous upward progress of the immortal life which God has kindled in each one of us, and in collective humanity which grows by the operation of each one of us. 'Thy kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven.' Let these words be the utterance of your faith, your prayer, O my brothers. Repeat it, and act so that it may be fulfilled. Do not heed those who try to teach you passive resignation, in difference to earthly things, submission to every temporal power even when unjust, repeating to you without understanding it this other saying: 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things which are God's.' Nothing is Caesar's except in so far as it is such in conformity with the divine law. Caesar—that is, the temporal power, the civil government—is nothing but the mandatory, the executor, so far as its powers and the times allow, of God's design, whenever it betrays its mandate it is I will not say your right, but your duty, to change it."

Religious individualism, like its political counterpart, is only 'egotism draped in the mantle of philosophical formulas.'

"We may not lock ourselves up in barren and selfish prayer for our own souls, while the cry of the poor and the oppressed smites our ears, nor turn away our faces from our neighbour, and be content with our own spiritual progress, while all around us is falling to wreck; while the country that God has

given us is in danger of a dishonourable death. ... 'The earth is of God; it cannot be accursed. Life, like the God from whom it springs, is one and everlasting; it cannot be broken up in fragments, or divided into periods of a character radically opposed. There is no antagonism between matter and spirit. The earth is of God. It is a step upon the infinite ascent that leads us to heaven; ours sojourn during one of our existences, during which we are bound to prepare ourselves for the next. ... The earth is the sphere where we have an appointed mission to perform, with instruments of labour furnished by it; and we are bound to regard it with love and reverence, as the seat of our possible sanctification. Life is a mission. ... We are each and all of us bound to strive to incarnate in humanity that portion of eternal truth which it is granted to us to perceive; to convert into an earthly reality so much of the 'kingdom of heaven'—the divine conception permeating life—as it is given to us to comprehend. ... The moral code deduced from our dogma preaches therefore to man: Seek not to isolate yourselves; imprison not your soul in sterile contemplation, in solitary prayer, in pride of individual purification, in pretending to a grace which no faith not realised in works can enable you to deserve. Be not deceived by the doctrine that salvation may be achieved in spite of, and in opposition to, the earth. You can only save yourselves by saving others. God asks not, what have you done for your soul? but, what have you done for the brother souls I gave you? Think of these; leave your own to God and His law. Labour unweariedly for others' good: such action is the holiest prayer. In God thought and action are one. Seek to imitate him from afar."

In his great religious apology, the sum of all his teaching, entitled "From the Council to God", Mazzini elaborates his views on the Papacy and on religion. He declared the Papacy to be morally extinct and regarded its alliance with the monarchy to be an impossible arrangement and to both he said, 'descend into the tomb you have dug for yourselves.' The Papacy worshipped force (authority), 'which, from Prometheus to Galileo, has ever sought to enchain the revealers and precursors of the future to the motionless rock of present fact.' The dignitaries of the Church are all practical materialists. Mazzini did not ignore the great service which the Papacy had rendered, in the past, by civilising, humanising and democratising Europe, and he bowed in reverence before the image of its great past, but a fatal inertia had overtaken it, and made it indifferent to the miseries of millions, and so its mission was over. Religions are transitory, but religion is eternal. To hold, as the Papacy did, that the whole truth had been revealed to it is to restrict within a narrow groove 'the limitless ascending spiral traced by the finger of God between the universe and the Ideal it

is destined slowly to attain ' Life is movement, aspiration, progress You deny progress, shrink in terror from all aspiration, crucify humanity upon Calvary, reject every attempt to detach the idea from the symbol, and strive to petrify the living Word of God '.

"When a religion no longer either creates deterrents or directs action when it rouses no power of sacrifice when it no longer harmonises and unites the different branches of human activity when its vital conception ceases to inform new symbols or new manifestations in art science or civilisation—that religion is expiring." Motionless sphinxes in the vast desert you inertly contemplate the shadow of the centuries as they pass Faith is perishing among the peoples because the dogma that inspired it no longer corresponds to the stage of education which they in fulfilment of the providential plan have reached.

The new faith no longer accepts a privileged interpreter, a sole immediate Revealer between the people and God Jesus says Mazzini, we love as the best of our human brothers The Catholic dogma humanises God, our dogma teaches the slow, progressive divination of man The teachings of Jesus and the Apostles constantly insist upon our divorce from all terrestrial things as a condition of moral improvement of salvation They preach the suicide of the man within us, the renunciation of every natural desire, abdication of every aim of social transformation, indifference to every earthly good, resigned acceptance of everything evil unreasoning submission to the powers that be, exclusive importation given to the work of internal purification.

' Christian charity was rather a means of purifying one's own soul than the sense of a common aim which it was God's will that man should realise here below. It did not ever pass the limits of benevolence and led to no attempt to destroy the causes of human hunger and misery Love of country and that love which embraces the generations of the future and is devoted even unto sacrifice for the sake that love which will not tolerate the brand of inequality or slavery on the brow of a brother man was unknown to Christian morality The true country the real home of Christian free men and equals was heaven Every man was bound to do his duty there [civitas dei] and the greater his sufferings on earth the stronger the hope he might entertain of his soul's future and of celestial joy The world was abandoned to Satan Religion taught man to renounce it religion which was alike his isolation and his refuge, it imposed no mission of earnest and resolute struggle and of slowly progressive but certain victory.

Christianity is, therefore the religion of the individual man, 'but remember that life is given to you in order that you may

endeavour to improve the society in which we live, to purify and enlarge its faith and to urge forward in the path of eternal truth the men who surround you, and who will bless your work." The Book of God is not closed, God is spirit, and there is continuous revelation of the spirit of God through humanity Revelation which is, as Lessing says, the education of the human race, descends continuously from God to man Each religion is a fragment, enveloped in symbols of the eternal truth Having accomplished its mission, that religion disappears 'Columns of the temple which the generations are building to God our religions succeed and are linked to one another sacred and necessary each and all but having each and all their determinate place and value according to the portion of the temple they sustain' The world is athirst of God of progress and of unity You substitute for God an idol an infallible Pope' Therefore the Papacy will be swept away.

To fix your gaze always on the Past, and avert it from the Future, is puerile.

Now while we are ago our fathers we forget that our fathers were no one and were great because of this Their aspirations flowed from contemporary sources from the needs of the masses from the nature of their environment And precisely because the instrument they employed was adapted to the purpose they had in view they worked miracles Why do we not act as they did? Why while studying and respecting tradition should we not move onward? We ought to worship the greatness of our fathers and seek in their tombs a pledge of the future not the future itself The future is before us and God the father of all revelations and all ages alone can point out the future way Up then! and let us be great in our turn Our fathers repose tranquil and proud in their tombs They sleep like warriors after battle wrapped in their flag Fear not that you will give them But let us advance in the name of God We will return hereafter to lay at its foot there where our fathers lie some of the laurels that our own hands have won The old Age can attain its actual fulfilment only in the baptism of the new.

'The end of politics is the application of the moral law to the civil constitution of a nation in its double activity, domestic and foreign' Therefore it is necessary to have a right conception of our Duty, not only to God but to the family, to the country, and to Humanity Duty is the mother of self-sacrifice, the inspirer of great and noble things The family is the cradle of humanity, the country of the heart, and the angel of the family is woman 'In her there is treasure enough

of consoling tenderness to allay every pain.

"Love and respect Woman Do not seek only consolation in her, but strength, inspiration, a redoubling of your intellectual and moral faculties. Blot out of your mind any idea of superiority to her, you have none whatever. The prejudices of ages have created through unequal education and the perennial oppression of the laws that *apparent* intellectual inferiority which you use to day as an argument for maintaining the oppression. But does not the history of all oppression teach you that those who oppress rely always for their justification upon a fact created by themselves? The feudal classes withheld education from you, sons of the people, almost up to our own day, and then from your want of education they drew, and still to-day draw, their arguments for excluding you from the sanctuary of the city, from the place where the laws are made, from the right to vote which initiates your social mission. The owners of the negroes in America declare the race *radically inferior* and incapable of education and yet persecute who ever seeks to educate it. For half a century the supporters of the reigning families have affirmed that we *Italians* are ill-fitted for liberty, and meanwhile by laws and by the brute force of mercenary armies they keep every way closed by which, if the disability did really exist, we might overcome it for ourselves—as if tyranny could ever be an education for liberty." "Today, half of the human family, the half from which we seek inspiration and consolation, the half to which is entrusted the first education of our children, is, by a singular contradiction, declared civilly, politically, and socially unequal and is excluded from this unity. The emancipation of woman should be always coupled with the emancipation of the working man."

After the family, comes the country.

"A country is not a mere territory, the particular territory is only its foundation. The country is the idea which rises upon that foundation, it is the sentiment of love, the sense of fellowship which finds together all the sons of that territory. 'A country is not an aggregation it is an association. There is no true country without a uniform right. There is no true country where the uniformity of that right is violated by the existence of caste, privilege, and inequality—where the powers and faculties of a large number of individuals are suppressed or dormant. In such a state of things there can be no Nation no people but only a multitude, a fortuitous agglomeration of men whom circumstances have brought together and different circumstances will separate. Your Country should be your temple. God at the summit, a people of equals at the base.'"

But before associating ourselves with the Nations which compose Humanity we must exist as a Nation.

"There can be no association except among equals you should have no joy or repose as long as a portion of the territory upon which your language is spoken is separated from the Nation [*Italia Irredenta*]." "Without country you have neither name, token voice nor rights no admission as brothers into the fellowship of the peoples. You are the bastards of Humanity Soldiers without a banner, Israelites among the nations, you will find neither faith nor protection, none will be surties for you. Do not beguile yourselves with the hope

of emancipation from unjust social conditions if you do not first conquer a country for yourselves; where there is no country there is no common agreement to which you can appeal, the egotism of self-interest rules alone, and he who has the upper hand keeps it, since there is no common safeguard for the interests of all. Do not be led away by the idea of improving your material conditions without first solving the national question. You cannot do it... O my brothers, love your country. Our country is our home, the home which God has given us, placing therein a numerous family which we love and are loved by, and with which we have a more intimate and quicker communion of feeling and thought than with others, a family which by its concentration upon a given spot, and by the homogeneous nature of its elements, is destined for a special kind of activity. Our country is our field of labour... In labouring according to true principles for our country we are labouring for Humanity; our country is the fulcrum of the lever which we have to wield for the common good. If we give up this fulcrum we run the risk of becoming useless to our country and to Humanity."

The individual is too weak, and Humanity too vast. Hence, in order to enable us to multiply our forces and powers of action indefinitely, Humanity has been divided into distinct groups, and thus the seed of nationality has been planted. This is the nationalism of which Mazzini speaks and of which he is universally regarded as the apostle, and the idea underlying it has been well expressed in the following lines of the present poet-laureate's latest poem, 'England to India':

Truth is as Beauty unconfined
Various as Nature is Man's Mind;
Each race and tribe is a flower
Set in God's garden with its dower
Of special instinct, and man's grace
Compact of all, must all embrace
China and Ind, Hellas or France,
Each hath its own inheritance;
And each to Truth's rich market-brings
Its bright divine imaginings,
In rival tribute to surprise
The world with native merchandise

The following passage from Mazzini is almost prophetic, and rings the clarion-call of justice and freedom and truth to the august delegates to the international Peace Conference now assembled in Paris: "Governments have disfigured the design of God, which you may see clearly marked out, as far, at least, as regards Europe, by the courses of the great rivers by the lines of the lofty mountains and by other geographical conditions, they have disfigured it by conquest, by greed, by jealousy of the just sovereignty of others, disfigured it so much that to day there is perhaps no nation except England and France whose confines correspond to this design. But the divine design will infallibly be fulfilled. Natural divisions, the innate spontaneous tendencies of the peoples will replace the arbitrary divisions sanctioned by bad governments. The map of Europe will be re-made. The Countries of the Peoples will

rise, defined by the voice of the free, upon the ruins of the Countries of Kings and privileged classes. Between those countries there will be harmony and brotherhood. And then the work of Humanity for the general emancipation for the discovery and application of the real law of life carried on in association and distributed according to local capacities will be accomplished by peaceful and progressive development.

Written more than half a century ago, the truth of these observations is just being made apparent to the dawning vision of the great political thinkers of the day.

Those who teach morality, limiting its obligations to country, teach a more or less narrow egotism. Progress is the law of human nature, and Humanity alone, continuous through the generations and through the general intellect fed by the individual intellect of each of its members, can gradually unfold the divine idea and apply it. Generations have progressively improved, and will continue to improve the conception formed by Humanity of God, His law, and our duties.

'It is of little avail that you worship the truth in your hearts if error rules your brothers in some other corner of this earth which is our common mother and you do not desire and endeavour as far as lies in your power to overthrow it, you are false to your duty.' And wherever human nature grows better, wherever a new truth is won wherever a step forward is taken on the path of education of progress and of morality it is a step a gain which will bear fruit sooner or later for the whole of Humanity. The time has come to teach men that as humanity is a single body we are all of us as members of that body bound to work for its development, and to make its life most harmonious, active and strong. We improve with the improvement of Humanity nor without the improvement of the whole can you hope that your own moral and material conditions will improve. . . your souls with the exception of the very few men of exceptional power cannot free themselves from the influence of the elements and which they exist, just as the body however robust its constitution cannot escape from the effects of corrupt air around it. In whatever land you may be wherever a man is fighting for right for justice for truth, there is your brother wherever a man suffers through the oppress on of error of injustice of tyranny there is your brother. Be apostles of the faith, apostles of the brotherhood of nations and of the unity of the human race—a principle admitted to-day in theory but denied in practice.

Mazzini also speaks of certain fundamental rights, foremost of which is Liberty.

'Without Liberty morality does not exist because if there is not freedom of choice between good and evil between devotion to the common progress and the spirit of egoism there is no responsibility. Without Liberty no true society exists because between free men and slaves there can be no association but

only dominion of some over others. Liberty is sacred as the individual whose life it represents is sacred. Where there is not Liberty life is reduced to a mere organic function. A man who allows his Liberty to be violated is false to his own nature and a rebel against the decrees of God'. Personal Liberty, liberty of locomotion, liberty of religious belief, liberty of opinion on all subjects, liberty of expressing opinion through the press or by any other peaceful method, liberty of association so as to be able to cultivate your own minds by contact with the minds of others, liberty of trade in all the productions of your brains and hands; these are all things which no one may take from you. God has given you thought, no one has the right to restrain it which is the communion of your soul with the souls of your brothers and the only way of progress which we have. The press must be absolutely free, the rights of the intellect are inviolable and any preventive censorship is tyranny; society may only punish the offences of the pen such as the inculation of crime and openly immoral teaching as it punishes other offences. Punishment decreed by a solemn public judgment is a consequence of human responsibility while every intertention beforehand is a negation of liberty.

The right of education is another fundamental right.

Without education you cannot choose rightly between good and evil, you cannot acquire a knowledge of your own rights, you cannot obtain that share in political life without which you will never succeed in emancipating yourselves, you cannot define your own life work to yourselves. Education is the bread of your souls. Without it your faculties lie dumb and unfruitful.

Therefore, 'ask, and exact, the establishment of a system of free national education, compulsory for all'.

The third important right is the right of association. If Progress be the law of life, association is the guarantee of progress.

The wider the more intimate and comprehensive your association with your brothers the further will you advance on the path of individual progress.

Inertia and content with the condition of things already existing and sanctioned by the common consent of mankind are habits of mind too natural in men to allow a single individual to shake and overcome them. But the association of a minority which grows every day can do it. Association is the method of the future. Without it the State would remain stationary enchained to the degree of civilization already reached.

Association must be peaceful. Its purpose must be to persuade, not to compel. It must also be public. 'Outside these limits, liberty of Association among citizens is as sacred and inviolable as Progress, to which it gives life'.

But 'sweet are indifference and oblivion to the man who sits in the sanctuary of his family, surrounded by smiling faces, while the wintry blast blows without,

and the snowflakes, swift and fine, beat against the panes of a double window."

"Do you hope to drag these favourites of fortune from their apathy by simply preaching of your rights? You must preach to them a new philosophy of life, hold up before them a new conception of the ideal—the ideal of duty. To do that you must have Faith." "...it will translate into art the religious and social philosophy; it will surround with its own beautiful light woman who though a fallen angel is ever nearer to heaven than we ... It will sing the joys of martyrdom, the immortality of the vanquished, the tears that expiate, the sufferings that purify, the memories and the hopes, the tradition of one world interwoven in the cradle of another. It will murmur words of holy consolation to those children of sorrow born before their time, those fated and puissant souls who ... have no confidants on earth ... And it will teach the young the greatness of self-sacrifice, the virtue of constancy and silence, how to be alone and yet despair not, how to endure without a cry and an existence of torments half understood, unknown, long years of delusions

and bitterness and wounds, all without a complaint it will teach a belief in future things, an hourly travail its promote it, without a hope in this life of seeing to victory."

Again and again in reading the noble call of duty, preached so eloquently by a mind permeated with the sense of the divine and devoted to the realisation of the divine idea on earth which it never ceased to regard as a preparation for heaven, have we been reminded of the opening lines of the *Isopanishad* :

ईया वाक्मिदं यन्मं मन् विदित् जगतां जगत् ।

तेन सज्जेन भूयोदा, या यदयः कल विदुः पनत् ॥

कुर्वन्नेष्टु कर्माणि निजोविषेयतां यदाः ।

एवं सवि, मान्यतोति, न कर्त्तुं विद्वन् नरे ॥

V.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

INDIAN NATIONALISM—its Principles and Personalities by B C Pal S R Murthy & Co., Triplicane, Madras Price—Rs 2

This slender volume of 238 pages consists of ten character sketches. The subjects, with the exception of Mr Tilak and Sister Nivedita, are all Bengalis, and all of them are leaders of the Nationalist movement—hence the title of the book. The get up and binding are excellent, the letter press neat and bold, but printing mistakes abound, especially in the earlier chapters. So much for the outside of the work.

The author, Mr. Bipinchandra Pal, is the best exponent of the philosophy of Nationalism on this side of India. By his intellectual equipment, well-digested erudition, political training, and his natural abilities as thinker and writer, he is well qualified to discourse on the subject of his choice. And the book is replete with pregnant observations, showing deep insight and a profound grasp of the political, philosophical and cultural aspects of Indian Nationalism—all presented in language which has a distinct literary flavour and is as far removed from the style of the hustings as it could well be. Many of the studies are obviously scrappy—that of Aravinda Ghose, 'in endowment, education and character perhaps superior' to all the other Nationalists though the youngest in age (p 155), is disappointingly meagre—and this is admitted to the Foreword. Some characters have been evidently introduced with a view to make them serve as pegs to hang the author's own sermons on. Nevertheless, these sermons, or expositions of particular phases of Indian cultural life (e.g. the doctrine of the Guna in Hinduism, the ideal of leadership in India, the rationalistic movement in Bengal, the nature religion of Sister Nivedita, the Vaishnavism of the Saint Bijoykrishna Goswami, etc.)

are profoundly suggestive, and will give the book a permanent value among that growing body of literature which seeks to interpret the soul of India to the rest of the world.

The book is one to be read from cover to cover and we shall not mar its interest by trying to summarise its contents, much as we should have liked to do so. We cannot, however, refrain from saying that to the greatest of his characters, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who leads off the volume, Mr. Pal seems to us to be rather unjust. It is not exactly a case of damning with faint praise, for Mr. Pal has paid his homage unreservedly to the greatest living genius in the Indian world of letters, but sometimes it has seemed to us that the praise offerings which he has bestowed with his right hand he has sought to take away with his left. One instance must suffice, for we do not like to enter into a controversy which would almost surely be disapproved by Rabindranath himself. According to Mr. Pal, Rabindranath has led the revolt against the intellectual and moral bondage of European civilisation 'with greater courage and effect than anyone else' (p 29). And yet, under the guise of a new abstract Cosmopolitanism or Universalism, he is said to have drifted into the safe role of a social and religious reformer, which in part at least has contributed to his European success (pp 24-30). If any proof were needed that this is a most cruel and unjust aspersion, it lies in Rabindranath's American lectures on Nationalism. A bolder attack on some of the ideals of modern European civilisation, right in the midst of the most advanced representatives of that civilisation, has never before or since been delivered by any man who has a reputation to lose either in the East or the West.

Mr. Pal's exposition of Indian Nationalism shows that this business of social reform is thoroughly distasteful to the conservative instincts of the Na-

tionist, though he admits that 'No revival can really revive the past just as it was in the past. It has to adjust the past to the living conditions of the present. A successful revival must, therefore, offer a new view point and a new synthesis. It is in such a synthesis that the Hindu revival in India of the last quarter of a century has had its main strength. And, it must be admitted that the underlying thought of this Revival has more or less openly and consciously taken note of the protest of reason raised by the Brahmo Samaj and other religious reform movements of our day. Neo-Hinduism, as it is called, is not really the Hinduism of our fathers; it is a new phase, a new development, a new interpretation, and a new adjustment of the old and traditional ideals in the light of present needs and conditions' (pp. 199-200).

Elsewhere he says that the object of the Hindu Revivalists is "to revive the medieval faiths and ideas and perpetuate the current social institutions of the land. There was, thus, in some sense a work of resistance, so far as modern thoughts and ideals are concerned" (p. 212). "The present Nationalist movement in India is very largely indebted to this Reaction or Revival for a good deal both of its inner strength and its outer influence" (p. 201). The connection between Reaction and Nationalism being thus established, it is no wonder that social reform should be looked upon with disfavour by a section of the Nationalists.

Mr Pal admits that 'one ugly feature of national ism' is a 'persistent and almost constitutional antipathy against the foreigner' (p. 196). If that be so, it seems that there is considerable justification for the preaching of Cosmopolitanism, specially as in other countries such antipathy is confined to the physical man, and does not extend, as to our infinite loss it does in India, to whatever the nations regarded as hostile have to give us materially, morally and intellectually. Hence thus contrasts (1833 A.D.) French and German patriotism.

"The patriotism of the French consists in this: the heart warms; through this warmth it expands, it enlarges so as to encompass, with its all-embracing love, not only the nearest and dearest but all France, all civilisation. The patriotism of the Germans, on the contrary, consists in narrowing and contracting the heart, just as leather contracts in the cold, in hating foreigners, in ceasing to be European and cosmopolitan, and in adopting a narrow minded and exclusive Germanism." And hence proceeds to speak of "the grandest and boldest idea ever brought forth in Germany, the idea of humanitarianism, the idea of the universal brotherhood of mankind—an idea to which our great minds, Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul and all people of culture in Germany, have ever paid homage." The Nationalist patriot seeks to remove the evils and weaknesses of his own nation 'from within by working up the latent goodness and strength, and is in the meantime lovingly tolerant of them' (p. 203). To what length this toleration is carried by some of our nationalists in the conditions known to his cost. Rabindranath's poems and essays are a living witness to the fact that he realises as few else have done, the latent goodness and strength of Hinduism, but he has the courage, which many have not, to speak out against the soul-killing customs of Hindu society and the inertia of the spiritually dead pandits (p. 228). To proceed as far as Hindu public opinion allows as is done by one of Mr. Pal's heroes (p. 204) is really no virtue for public opinion is made up of the opinions of indi-

vidual members of the public, and unless some of them have the courage to advance beyond the line prescribed by public opinion it leaves us just where we are and there is no progress. To recognise the frailties of society and yet shrink from ruthlessly rooting them up for fear of wounding the organism itself (p. 201) and to allow reason to be controlled by patriotism (p. 202) is, according to Mr Pal, the true position of the philosophical nationalist. The nationalism of the masses simply consists in their natural conservatism (p. 195). So between popular nationalism on the one hand with its blind and unreasoning conservatism and philosophical nationalism on the other with its sentimental tolerance of the evils of society, the cause of social reform seems to be in a bad way indeed and it is up to Sir Rabindranath, as, unquestionably the greatest living man of letters in Bengal (p. 1) to wield his mighty pen in this uphill and unpopular struggle on the side of truth and justice and progress. Mr Pal, a Vaishnav, calls Rabindranath a Cosmopolitanism emotional, and says that because it was not addressed to the intellect it fell absolutely flat on his own people (p. 30). But Mr Pal's typical nationalist, as we have seen, allows his reason to be controlled by the patriotic sentiment which evidently Sir Rabindranath does not, for he has a finer and nobler idea of patriotism, and it is this which makes him say (*Modern Review*, September, 1918). If I did not [love my country], it would have been quite easy for me to become popular with my countrymen.

Almost every nationalist," says Mr Pal (p. 204), has 'given up many of the obsolete institutions and usages of his country and caste'. Vivekananda we know was one such, and Mr Pal himself is another. Vivekananda, vehemently denounced our social abuses and Mr Pal's advanced social life, and broad outlook, place him outside the narrow grooves of orthodox Hinduism. And yet he, in common with Vivekananda has gone out of his way to have a fling at social reformers. It is difficult to understand why this is done by persons who have themselves seceded from orthodoxy unless we make the rather uncharitable supposition that they want to gain a favourable hearing for themselves by posing as orthodox. Rabindranath has never done so and has praised and blamed orthodox institutions according to their deserts without assuming the role either of a reformer or of a staunch Hindu, though his eloquent and sympathetic defence of Hindu social ideas and ideals centers on him, to say the least, an equal title with Vivekananda and others to pose as a true representative of Hinduism.

In Mr Pal's opinion, the concrete universalism of Vaishnavism is an advance on the abstract universalism of the Vedanta which is the highest theological ideal of the Brahmo Samaj (pp. 214-15). But the following expositions of Vaishnavism will show how humanitarian mind Mr Pal reads into his philosophy the most up-to-date programme of Western socio-political advancement. To the devout Vaishnav, every man is a manifestation of Narayana, Narayana being endowed with a divine sensorium and participating in some sense in the enjoyment and suffering of each individual human being. This suffering is not original but vicarious; but none the less it is a fact of divine experience. Collectively, also, the privations and sufferings of the race are equally part of the divine experience. In this deeper sense the service of man—every attempt to remove his ignorance, to

relieve his sufferings and set him upon the truest and highest basis of his life—all these elements are in the worship of God. Whatever contributes to human misery whatever retards the developments of humanity, whatever obstructs the advance of man into his proper and conscious life in God is therefore an out rage against God himself. Narayana is perpetually seeking to reveal and realise Himself in and through the life of each individual man and woman and through the life of humanity. The bondage of man is in one sense the bondage of Narayana Himself. Poverty, ignorance, social repression, political servitude, are therefore as much a violation of the Dharma or the Divine Law as anger and lust and other mortal sins" (pp. 224-25).

On the whole, the book under review is one of that rare order to which one turns again and again for helpful suggestion and inspiration.

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HINDU ACHIEVEMENTS IN EXACT SCIENCE—By Prof. Benay Kumar Sarkar of the National Council of Education, Bengal. 12 mo. 82 pages. Cloth price \$1.00, Longmans Green & Co.

This is a handy little volume from the facile pen of Prof. Sarkar who has been lately sending us interesting reports on foreign lands. In the Preface he tells us that "it has been sought to present a comprehensive, though very brief account of the entire scientific work of ancient and mediæval India in the perspective of development in other lands." He reminds us that "its worth should however, be estimated in the light of the parallel developments among their contemporaries the Greeks, the Chinese, the Græco Romans, the Sarcens, and the mediæval Europeans."

The work is therefore very ambitious and requires an amount of labour which, to us, would appear stupendous a fair amount of knowledge not only of each branch of science but also of its historical development from the ancient times almost down to the present not only in India but also in other lands and a broad philosophical insight rarely met with among specialists. Nor can the work be intended for every reader. For he must possess a similar amount of knowledge in order to appreciate the perspective view presented to him. The task is not lightened even when the author tells us that "the main object of this little book is to furnish some of the chronological links and logical affinities between the scientific investigations of the Hindus and those of the Greeks, Chinese and Sarcens." Nor when we are told that "all the achievements of the Hindus in any branch of science have not been treated in an exhaustive manner." For we actually find the author dipping into eighteen topics including mathematics and astronomy, chemistry and kinetics, human anatomy and physiology, natural history and the applied branches of chemistry, medicine and surgery. A bibliography of 79 volumes appended to the book shows that the author has diligently searched for his materials, through the references in the body of the book are scanty. Considering its small size we must say that his attempt has been successful. He has brought out some of the salient facts of Hindu knowledge extending over two thousand years from the 8th century B.C. to the 12th century A.D. At places there appear in the form of a mere catalogue though at others connecting links have been supplied by him. He has handled them with a directness which many students of science

would envy. There is nothing vague, no padding any where. The reader is reminded of the state of knowledge possessed by other contemporary nations and led to consider what the Hindus did. The style of the author is eminently suitable for the work, and the get up excellent.

It is not possible for a reviewer to check the accuracy of every statement made in the book or to trace it to its original source. There may be difference of opinion as to the relative value of the facts enumerated in this history of science, and also inaccuracy due to the sources from which the author has collected his data. But a compiler can hardly be held responsible for the opinion of his authorities. It is gratifying to note the self-restraint exercised by him, avoiding on one hand undue glorification of his ancestors, and depreciation of the worth of their discoveries on the other, because other nations could make similar ones. There was a real need of a handy volume like this for a rapid albeit an imperfect and disconnected, survey of Hindu achievements in positive science.

A perusal of the book forcibly reminds us of the need for exploring untrodden fields, scrutinising known ones and accumulating data for the purpose of a fuller history. Who ever thought that a rich harvest in the shape of commentaries awaited the patient scholarship of a Dr. Seal, or that our mental store of ancient history could be appreciably increased by a single labourer? The work has to be done by competent Hindus, who are better fitted by their environment and inherited culture than a foreigner to judge and interpret properly the significance of a term, perhaps a stray illustration, or even a metaphor. Many of the Hindu writers who have attempted to tell us the work of their ancestors fall, consciously enough under two opposite groups: one blindly following the impatient and often amateurish criticism of Western scholars and belittling the worth by their canon, and the other as blindly showing racial bias in the opposite direction and extolling every idea which can be deciphered in a Sanskrit verse. It is difficult to say who are less fitted for the task. The worst sinners are undoubtedly those who cannot say that they do not know, do not understand, but boldly put their own interpretation on sutras, phrases and words and there find reasons for condemning the Hindus. Objective science without a synthetic philosophy as the basis is apt to be conceited and dogmatic. It is easy to cite instances of wrong judgment based on a fictitious interpretation. Thus writers on Hindu Chemistry while naming the five classes of stuffs which form material bodies have a line to say that the Hindus regarded the earth and water as chemical elements! Yet it is now well known that at least some of the metals such as iron, tin, lead, copper, silver, and gold were in use among the Aryans of the Vedic literature and that by the 6th century A.D. the Hindus recognised at least three dozens of stones suitable for ornaments. And is it after all so very difficult for one ignorant of modern chemistry to separate at least some of the ingredients out of different samples of the earth's crust? It is equally wrong to translate the three dhatus of the human system assumed in the Hindu practice of medicine by the words air, bile and phlegm. Probably the origin of the triad of life to be found in the three gunas of the Sankhya philosophy, which the Purāṇs allegorized as Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. The surprise is that the grand conception of the trinity has so often been ridiculed. Prof. Sarkar has not mentioned the so-called

"elements" recognised by the Hindus, but is not happy when he writes that 'both in the East and the West chemistry was at first alchemy.' This statement regarding the East has yet to be proved. Besides, the author has apparently doubts about this. For he writes immediately after that chemistry was "principally a handmaid to the science or art of medicine." Similarly we cannot commend the author's comparison of the Hindu *dhatu* with Greek humours when he writes that "the physiology [?] of humour, whatever its worth, is older in India than in Greece." The fact is, the Hindu *dhatu* has to be understood apart from the four Greek humours. Besides, even if the *vata* of the Hindus be translated as "air," can it be called a humour?

A glaring instance of wrong judgment based on insufficient evidence is afforded by the oft repeated assertion that the Hindus were indebted to the Greeks for their knowledge of astronomy. Prof Sarkar is perfectly right when he says that "it is difficult to see precisely what the Hindus borrowed since in no case do the numerical data and results in the system of the two peoples exactly correspond." He has however, unconsciously fallen into the trap laid by superficial writers and reiterated Varaha's "candid acknowledgment of the fact that this science is well established among the barbarian Yavanas." But the fact is that Varaha did not refer to the science of astronomy; he referred to astrology as practised by fortune-tellers, the *dairagnas*. Every one knows that the Hindus, astrologically minded, borrowed a heap of rubbish not only from the early Greeks, but also from the Saracens at a later date. Superstitions of one race mingle rapidly with those of another when there is intercourse between the two.

But we have no time to go into details, or to quarrel over the capacities of the Hindus to build up a civilisation peculiarly their own. It is admitted on all hands that they possessed an unrivalled power of analysis which some critics would have us to believe developed only in metaphysical subtlety. These apparently forget that this subtlety is as much a work of intellect as positive science. It is, however, time to repeat that the Hindus were more practical than many imagine. They did not regard all kinds of knowledge as of equal worth at any rate the present want of knowledge for its own sake was unknown; for could it ever be an end in itself? A due recognition of this fact is necessary in every history of the ancient Hindus be it a history of their chemical-physical sciences or of their society and politics. Practical necessity compelled them to discover ways and means of living and living well the seed of future science just as men were compelled to be hunters, though hunting is at present a pastime. This explains why the Hindus did not care to catalogue the stars or the plants and animals of forests, or even to enunciate geometrical theorems for which they had no use. They did not despise this knowledge or even the diversion of research, but, as practical men, did not hesitate to ask at the same time *Quid bono*. Prof Sarkar like most historians appears to have missed the fundamental key to the Hindu mind and is probably ashamed to admit that the Hindus did not value knowledge because it is knowledge. For he tells us that the sole object of the Hindu specialists was "the discovery of the positive truths of the universe or the laws of nature according to the lights of those days." We agree so far as the statement goes, but demur if it refers to what they designated *para vidya*, interior knowledge, as distinguished

from *para vidya*, superior knowledge. It does not, however, follow that arts and manufactures did not flourish, that the people preferred a voluntary poverty, or that they were all ascetics. On the contrary, as the author says, "India was the greatest industrial power of antiquity." The difference lies solely in the point of view. India adored the ascetic king Janaka, and, as far as history goes, never like the French revolutionaries guillotined a Lavoisier, or declared that the nation had no need of chemists. Prof Sarkar need not have been apologetic and written that 'from the standpoint of modern science a great part of all that is described here is too elementary to have more than an anthropological [?] interest. For, consider for a moment the fact that the present have inherited what has been left by the past, and therefore appear richer by contrast. Intelligence has not increased since the present have appeared and it is certain that the present would have been insignificant and dark had not the past slowly and patiently accumulated the hard won secrets of nature and opened the way for light. We therefore salute the past with reverence be they of the East or of the West, and thank Prof Sarkar for a presentation of the same.

SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION AND INDIAN NEGLIGENCE OF SCIENCE. By F D Murad, B.A., M.Sc., Professor of Physics at A O College, Aligarh Demy 8vo 100 pages 1917

It is an address delivered by the author in 1917 before the scientific society of the Aligarh college. In the Foreword, he tells us 'that he feels that the subject is in several places far from being well-digested or systematised and that the sequence of facts is not everywhere strictly logical.' This is painfully the impression when one tries to follow the author in his address which is rendered obscure by profuse quotations. He would have been well advised had he not yielded to "the Resolution of the Society and the persistent demands of its indefatigable honorary secretary for the publication of this book" in the present shape. The author informs us that "this book was originally written for the young but 'rentures to hope that as it stands now it will afford to older persons who will accept its limitations, interesting information concerning the scientific regeneration of India and the place of science in a complete scheme of education." We expected to be benefited by his suggestions but have been sadly disappointed. "Scientific regeneration like 'scientific education' sounds mysterious and cannot be understood without the help of a complete scheme. The opinions of scientists and non-scientists quoted on the value of science have therefore an academical interest. The bibliography appended will be useful to our college students.

WATER IN THE ECONOMY OF NATURE. By the same author 1915 23 pages

It is said to be "a popular exposition of the part played by water in the economy of nature." But it is doubtful whether the experimental details regarding the composition, maximum density, etc., of water can be followed by 'laymen in science.'

J C RAY,

DICTIONARY OF CHEMICAL REACTIONS, with an appendix, containing an alphabetic list of minerals and ores with their composition and formulae. Compiled by Gerard Salathiel Apis M. A., B. Sc., Professor of Chemistry, Victoria College, Guelph, Pp. 240 + 5 + 222 1915, Price Rs 1-8

This is a collection of chemical equations and is intended for students going up for B A and B Sc. examinations. The endeavour of the author is good and it certainly would have supplied a 'long felt need of students' but it is so full of mistakes. Al ready the errata give 135 corrections, but yet there are many more mistakes. Thus, beginning with the slip on page 1, there are 2 mistakes both in the 6th line (equations, numbers); page 2 (line 5, bottom) rions, page 5 (line 5, top) cinnamic; page 67 (line 8, bottom) phosporated, page 199 (line 18, top) Atacamite $4H_2O$; page 200 (line 9, top) glance, page 207 (line 5 and 6 top) Harmanome Hausmannite, page 208 (line 15 and 19, top) Kieselguhr, Kroyolite, page 222 (line 6, top) Brittanite, etc.

On page 200, bauxite is said to be found in France and even in Iceland but no mention is made that it is found in India (Jubbulpore) Tannin (page 199) when boiled with water is said to produce pyrogallie acid, but strictly speaking only gallic acid can be converted into pyrogallie acid by heating with water under pressure. On page 17, it is mentioned that almond oil when acted by chlorine and hydriodic acid give respectively benzoyl chloride and toluene. The formula given is that of artificial oil (essence) of bitter almonds and not of almond oil.

I would request the author to issue a new edition of the book and make it as free from typographical mistakes as possible so that it may be really useful to students. Every alternate page may also be kept blank so that notes and additions may be made by the student.

MODERN CHEMISTRY AND CHEMICAL INDUSTRY OF STARCH AND CELLULOSE, (with reference to India) by Tarini Charan Chaudhuri, M. A., Professor of Chemistry, Arinath College, Berhampore (Bengal) Publishers, Butterworth & Co (India) Ltd., Calcutta. Cloth bound pp. viii + 156, and a map of India, 1918 Price Rs. 3 12

In the preface the author writes "While engaged in the study of starch and cellulose, the writer felt the necessity for a handy compendium on the subject containing up to date information in all its bearings. ... monographs based on original sources have a speciality of their own. With this end in view, it has been attempted, in the present volume, to give a brief survey of the chemistry and the various chemical industries that have direct and indirect bearing on starch and cellulose, specially in the light of recent researches—theoretical and technological." In practice, the author has dealt, in the small compass of 150 pages (printed in big piea types) with nearly every branch of organo-chemical technology. Thus, among others, the following subjects have been noticed: synthesis of Formaldehyde and sugar, plant physiology, chiefly theories on the mechanism in plant synthesis, industrial education and industrial problem of India; condensed milk; manufacture of alcohol (and remotely) of artificial perfumes and scents, natural rubber and chemistry of synthetic rubber, manufacture of gas mantles, paper, artificial silk, collodion and gun cotton, fermentation and distillation products of wood, etc. The result is that the main subjects have not received proper attention, the industries having "direct or indirect bearing on starch and cellulose" occupying most space. The author, apparently, tried to give a general outline of chemical industries to the lay reader, but in that respect it is quite unintelligible to them, being full of technicalities. From the point of view of advanced students it must be said that he can scarcely learn

anything that is not already known to him. It would have been well, in my opinion, if the author had written a true "monograph" on starch and cellulose which the author has acknowledged would have a "special" value of its own.

Lastly, we must congratulate the author (and publishers) for the beautiful get up of the book. Indeed at first sight one would suppose that the book was done up in England.

P. C. CHATTOPADHYAY,

LITTLE BOY'S OWN BOOK, by B. Anumananda. Can be had of Boys Own Home, 47 A Durga Charan Mitra's Street, Calcutta. Price 8 as.

This little book is a continuation of the series known as Boy's Own Primers. In those primers the author has tried to train the ears and vocal organs of the child and to accustom him to speak English. But in this book, while continuing the habit of conversation, the object of the author is to enable the child to express his thought in English writing. From this stage the boys will begin to read and write English.

The author is a great believer in teaching the Indian boys the English language by the direct method. English is compulsory throughout in the secondary schools of India. But the Indian boys require an unusually long period to write and speak the language with readiness and intelligence.

The old method of teaching a living language like English as a dead language, compelling the boys to cram grammatical rules and vocabularies of word book, and to undergo translation exercises from the very beginning, is mainly responsible for this unsatisfactory result.

However, it is hopeful to observe that increasing attention has been paid during the last few years to the teaching of the beginners of English. The direct method for the beginners has been introduced in many institutions. We are glad to see that an Indian teacher like Swami Anumananda has published the result of actual experience gained by following this method in his class room.

Some teachers insist that better result can be got by the old method in a shorter time. But Swami Anumananda says with great confidence "This is not a fact. My own experience in teaching compels me to give the palm to the direct method. Try it and you will see its potency also."

The special features of this book are as follows—
(1) The author does not teach words separately but as parts of a sentence.

(2) He does not dictate the meanings of words or sentences in the vernacular.

(3) With the help of this book teachers will do well in teaching grammar inductively by means of sentences given in it. Teachers are instructed to put the children on the way of discovering grammatical rules from the construction of sentences.

This book is specially suited to Indian children. The author's observation of the psychology of Indian boys is noticeable in his framing the lessons. He did not aim at teaching idiomatic English but tried to teach correct English.

The book contains a few pages of notes and hints for teachers full of suggestions.

KALINCHON GHOSH

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Pp. 542 price Rs. 3

The enterprising publishing firm of Messrs. G. A. Nateson & Co., of Madras, have done a great service



to the people of India by bringing out in a handy form a collection of speeches and writings of one who though not an Indian himself has been all through his life a true friend of India. In the course of his Presidential address to the Fifth Indian National Congress held in Bombay, in 1889 Sir William Wedderburn said: "I have passed a quarter of a century among you, and during that period of time have not known what it was to suffer an unkindness from a native of India. During that period I have been in the service of the people of India, and have eaten their salt. And I hope to devote to their service which still remains to me of active life", and Sir William, as promised by him, continued to render that service to India and her people even in his retirement in England. That the utterances of such a true friend of India, written or spoken ought to be studied with appreciation and gratitude by us all, needs no emphasis.

'A FRIEND OF INDIA—SELECTIONS FROM THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF B G HORNIMAN WITH FOREWORDS BY Mrs Sarojini Naidu and Mr Syed Hassan, pp 269 Price Rs 2 Published by Messrs Lakshmidas Kowjee Tarstee and R Venkat Ram 70 Apollo Street Bombay

Mr Benjamin Gur Horniman Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* is heart and soul in sympathy with our countrymen in their aspirations as true citizens of India and a perusal of this book will give a fair idea of what he has so far been doing towards securing this end.

SPEECHES OF BAL GANGADHAR TILAK with a foreword by the Hon Ganesh Srikrishna Aklurde Member, Imperial Council, Pp 284 Price Rs 2-4-0

Messrs. R. Thirumalai & Co., of 114 Coral Merchant Street, Madras have, indeed, rendered a great service to the public by publishing these speeches, which embrace a period of from 1889-1919 of Lokamanya Tilak.

'SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF M K GANDHI, with an Introduction by Mr C F Andrews and a Biographical Sketch by Mr H S L Polak Pp 416, priced at Rs 3

We owe this splendidly bound book containing several portraits to the enterprising firm of Publishers Messrs. G A Natesan & Co of Madras. Mr Gandhi is truly a patriotic son of India and his speeches and writings as well as his actions are worthy of the serious study and attention of our people.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, pp 524, Price Rs 3-0-0, published by Messrs G A Natesan & Co, Madras

This, indeed, is a splendid book containing as it does the utterances of one of our most prominent men, who, though it may be said still young in years, is old in experience and wisdom and whose services to the country are acknowledged by all, friends and opponents alike.

SIR S. P. SINHA—A Sketch of his life and career
SIR J. C. BOSE—A Sketch of his life and career
DR P. C. ROY—A Sketch of his life and career.

Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, have added to their Biographies of Eminent Indian Series three above new sketches. Sir S. P. Sinha, the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council has just become the first Indian Member of the British

Ministry, having been selected for the office of the Under Secretary of State for India and is now known as Baron Sinha of Raipur. The discoveries of Sir J. C. Bose and Dr (now Sir) P. C. Ray's Researches in Hindu Chemistry have won for them great distinction as Scientists in India. These sketches recording the achievements of the three eminent Bengalees, or for the matter of that three prominent living Indians of to-day will be read with interest and we wish to see them in the hands of every young man. Each sketch has a fine frontispiece and is priced at four annas.

THE PARROT'S TRAINING By Rabindranath Tagore (Translated by the author from the original Bengali) With Eight Drawings by Abanindranath Tagore and a Cover Design by Nanda Lal Bose, Calcutta and Simla Thacker Spink & Co Price Rs 2

This apologue by Sir Rabindranath Tagore originally appeared in its English version in the *Modern Review*. It is a masterpiece of pitying and shrewd satire. The cover design by Nanda Lal Bose is striking with its portrayal of the king and his courtiers and officers as blockheads with solemn faces who looked very important. The eight drawings of Abanindranath Tagore are delightful and full of meaning. Among the persons portrayed, only the Fault-finder looks like an ordinary human being as he alone has natural intelligence and a mind unwarping by mechanical or bureaucratic theories of education. The scribe who writes text books has been rightly drawn as resembling a mechanical contrivance, because in Bengal text books are required to conform to the rules and standards and opinions of the Text Book Committee in style, substance, number of pages, price, &c. The raja looks like an automaton. The frontispiece represents the parrot as dead pierced through with a fountain pen! The only fault we have to find with the book is that it has been dedicated to Prof. Patrick Geddes for it should have been dedicated to the Bureaucracy composed of 'the Raja's Nephews'!

GITANJALI AND FRUIT GATHERING By Rabindranath Tagore With illustrations by Nanda Lal Bose, Surendranath Kar, Abanindranath Tagore, and Abanindranath Tagore The Macmillan Company, New York Price Two Dollars and Fifty cents

The two works of Sir Rabindranath Tagore which have appeared in this illustrated volume, do not require any new commendation. We have therefore to say a few words only as regards the get up and the pictures. The paper and printing are good and the binding in cloth very tasteful. There are eight illustrations in colour and twenty three in black and white. While all the illustrations have been neatly reproduced those in black and white appear to us better done than those in colour. Many of the pictures appear to be very appropriate and full of meaning. Being a layman, the writer of this notice has not been able to discover the connection of some of the pictures with the text they illustrate, but for this he does not blame the artists.

In this connection one observation may perhaps be excused. In the old Indian water colours one usually finds bright and pleasant colours. On the other hand, water colours of the new Indian school, are sometimes characterised by a certain grayishness. Is it because

in the former days life in India was full of colour and variety and interest, but at present it is rather colourless dull and monotonous?

STORIES FROM TAGORE *The Macmillan Company New York Price one dollar and fifty cents*

This collection of the short stories of Sir Rabindranath Tagore is meant for school use. All the ten stories are sure to prove interesting to school boys and girls while their appeal to older readers is also undoubted. Two of the longest stories in the book are reproduced in English for the first time. Appended to each story is a list of words to be studied chosen from the story in order to bring to notice different types of English words. There are a few pages of notes at the end of the volume. In them we have noticed a few misprints. 'Dada' has been explained as 'The usual Bengali word for 'Brother' It ought to be 'The usual Bengali word for 'Elder brother' 'San Vajlean' ought to be 'Jean Vajlean' Banl ought to be 'Baul' The printing is very clear, making it a pleasure to read this book.

The English of the translation is very good. We are glad to learn that it is proposed to publish together in a single volume the original Bengali stories whose English translations are given in this Reader.

C

ENGLISH-HINDI

THE STUDENT'S PRACTICAL DICTIONARY containing English Words with English and Hindi Meanings in Devanagari character. Ram Narain Lal Publisher and Bookseller, Allahabad 1056+30 pp Rs 2-8 as

That this book has reached the *Seventh Edition* is a sufficient proof of its usefulness and its appreciation by the reading public. In the first place, the words have been defined in English so as to give a full clear and correct idea of the sense which a word has crystallised round it. Secondly an idiomatic translation into Hindi of the English definition has been given. In an appendix words and phrases of foreign languages often used in English have been explained both in English and Hindi. This handy volume we think will be of great help to Anglo-Hindi students both indigenous and foreign.

C B

HINDI

PRACHINA LIPĪ MĀLA (THE LITHOGRAPHY OF INDIA) by Rai Bakadur Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha *Chattrar, Rajputana Museum, Ajmere and published by the author Cloth bound quarto pp 104-105 and 84 lithograph plates Price Rs 25, or £ 2*

Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha is well known for his services to the cause of the Hindi language and literature. The credit of producing the first book in the Hindi language and for the matter of that in any language on the subject of ancient Indian scripts rightly belongs to him. The book entitled *Prachina Lipi Mala* was issued as far back as 1891 and was very much appreciated at the time by all scholars Indian and European interested in the study of Indian epigraphy. The first edition was about one third the size of the book now before us and was also moderately priced (Rs 3 per copy). The unsatisfactory nature of the lithographic plates, however which accompanied that edition induced

the celebrated German scholar Dr G. Buhler to publish in 1896 a new book entitled '*Indische Paläographie*' consisting of 96 pages of letterpress (in German) and 9 plates of alphabetical characters and numerals and tables of explanatory transliteration of them in the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Antertumskunde* or *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research*. For scientific purposes this volume of Prof. Buhler was far superior to the Hindi book of Pandit Ojha, but as the latter was intended for the use of Indian students to whom the German book was not accessible the first edition was soon exhausted. In 1904 the late Dr J. F. Fleet published an English translation of the *Indische Paläographie* as an appendix to Vol XXXIII of the *Indian Antiquary*, but the plates which accompanied the German Edition were not reproduced. The necessity of a fresh publication has been most keenly felt for some time past owing to the many discoveries in the field of Indian Epigraphy since the publication of Prof. Buhler's book and the fact that even the old tables which were published with the original German edition have been out of print for many years. Recently the study of epigraphy has received considerable encouragement in this country and, thanks to the wisdom of the authorities, archaeology has found a place in the curriculum of our advanced universities. Pandit Ojha has thus chosen a very opportune moment for bringing out a second edition of his book and we wish the enterprise a success.

Unlike so many voluminous publications in the vernaculars of these days the present book is not a translation but an original compilation and is written throughout in chaste Hindi suited to the requirements of the subject. It is divided into two parts (1) the descriptive and (2) the illustrative. The descriptive portion consists of twenty-four Chapters including those on (i) the antiquity of the art of writing in ancient India, (ii) the origin of the Brahmi alphabet (iii) the history of the decipherment of ancient characters and the chapter on writing materials the other chapters explain the plates which constitute the illustrative portion of the book. The letterpress also includes an appendix on the epochs of the various eras used in this country. Although one may not agree with the learned author in all his conclusions the attempt to bring together the opinions of various scholars scattered in publications of the various countries which possess institutions for the study of Indian antiquities is commendable, and it is expected that the present volume will open the door of antiquarian studies to those of our countrymen who have hitherto been prevented from taking an intelligent interest in the ancient history of the country owing to their ignorance of the language or languages in which these researches are generally carried on and recorded.

Finality can hardly be claimed by any scholar in such studies where important discoveries are still being made, and those engaged in the study of Indian Inscriptions will naturally be disappointed if they expect to find an up-to-date discussion on the subjects dealt with in the present volume, which is primarily intended for the beginner. But the chapter on the origin of the Brahmi alphabet deserves to be carefully studied by all inasmuch as the author has differed from the opinion of the most renowned of European scholars and considers that the Brahmi script is of home origin. In this conclusion he has not been swayed by mere sentiment as sometimes happens, unfortunately in discussions of the kind—a weakness for which European and Indian scholars are equally

blameable. One may be permitted, however, to state that the explanation which the learned pandit has offered on page 27 for the reversed order of the letters on the Iran coins is far from convincing.

But the same amount of originality is not noticeable in the other parts of the book and the sections dealing with the writing materials and the Indian eras ought to have been brought up to date. The author still persists in the now discarded theory with regard to the date of the Buddha's Nirvana which was held by Mr V. Smith to have occurred in 457 B.C. It may be mentioned in this connexion that this very scholar has now accepted the traditional date 543 B.C. for the Buddha's Nirvana while commenting in the last issue of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland on the edition of the Hathigumpha inscription by Messrs L. P. Jayaswal and E. D. Banerji in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for 1917 where this date has been conclusively proved to be correct.

But when one comes to the plates which form the illustrative portion of the volume one meets with an unexpected disappointment. In preparing this large number of lithographic plates in which characters have been copied from a very large number of records on stone, copperplates, etc., the learned compiler seems to have forgotten that no amount of draftsman's skill can produce a facsimile which may claim to be of use for scientific purposes. Nothing but mechanical reproduction can satisfy the needs of an enquirer and a student so far as the shape and form of the ancient characters are concerned, and it is to be regretted that the example of Dr. Bühler has been ignored by the author of the Hindi volume. A good deal of time, energy and money must have been spent by the compiler in producing the 84 plates but it is seriously doubted if the advantage which the buyer of the volume would derive will be proportionate to the price he has to pay, as these plates seem to be largely responsible for the eight fold increase in the price of the present edition although the author himself admits (p. 2 English preface) that the bulk has been increased only three times what it was in the first edition.

The compiler knew that some of the Indian Universities have included palaeography as an optional subject for the M.A. degree (p. 2 of English preface) and that in the absence of any better publication on the subject the students going up for that examination have to rely upon this book and consequently the majority of these will have to buy Pandit Ojha's volume.

In the circumstances the comparative poverty of the student class in India should have been borne in mind in fixing the price. As a matter of fact it has not been so done. This is regrettable; for it does not help to make the literature accessible to the average student, a circumstance which Pandit Ojha has himself deplored (vide p. 1) when speaking of the publications in other languages and which induced him to produce this book.

H P

STERE CHORITRA SANGATHAN, by S. Daya Chandra Goswami, P. A. & Published by the Rajputana Hindi Sahitya-Sabha, Jaipur. Price Rs. 5.

This is a Hindi translation of a book in Bengali. It deals with the several stages of a woman's life and contains instructions suitable for culture in those stages. The get up of the book is excellent.

VIMALA, by Pandit Gobindlal Chaturvedi of Qayanganj. Price Rs. 12.

This is a Hindi translation of a Bengali book. The plot is not very elaborate. The book will certainly repay perusal. It ought to have good circulation.

PATRAJALI, by Pandit Kalyanadasa Trivedi & Published by the Ganga Pustakamala Office, Lucknow. Price at 8.

This again is a translation of a well known Bengali book. Several imaginary letters from a husband to his wife are contained in it, as also an answer thereto. The book will certainly be instructive. The get up is nice and the book deserves encouragement.

M S

MARATHI

SUDHARANA WA PRAGATI—translation of Crozier's "Civilisation and Progress by Mr. Daya Nagesh Apte, B.A., LL.B. Baroda. Publisher—Mr. V. A. Thakkar, Baroda. Pages 353. Price Rs. 3.

The philosophy of human progress is a fascinating though laborious study and at a time like the present when old world notions about culture, society and reform &c. are being thrown into a vast cauldron for being melted and re-shaped into God alone knows what nothing can be more opportune than a presentation to Marathi readers of a readable philosophy of human progress. Buckle's History of Civilisation found years ago a place on the shelf of Marathi books. Guizot has not yet found a translator, Crozier also would have remained unknown to Marathi readers had it not been for the generosity of H. H. Maharaja Galkwar. The original work is no doubt rich in thought and clear in expression and with the broad and open mind of the author and an unbiased and unequivocal judgment forms throughout an interesting reading. But even a cursory glance at its pages leaves one with an impression that the writer has not fully recognised the significance of the cleavage between the two halves (Eastern and Western) of the Human race. He has ignored this difference and treated of the subject as a whole from the Western point of view. Mr. Apte, if he were not bound by restrictions laid upon him, would probably have seen the futility of conclusions drawn from such haphazard inquiry. It is no good saying as Mr. Apte has done in a light hearted manner that the Indian mind has been averse to material progress as if material progress was the only criterion with which to measure the civilisation of every nation. Nor can such a statement be altogether true. For India has achieved in the past even material progress and evolved social, political and industrial institutions which stand as objects of admiration even to this day. The fact is that no general conclusions can be drawn with regard to India's culture and progress from the data supplied by Western Society. India forms a separate entity and requires an earnest and close investigation from scholars. With this reservation Crozier's book is really valuable.

It must be said to the credit of Mr. Apte that as a translator he has done the work very satisfactorily. Mr. Apte has been to Crozier not only a translator of his work, but an intelligent interpreter of his thoughts. Assuming the role of an interpreter he had naturally many gaps to fill up, many amplifications to make so as to suit Indian requirements. But in fairness to the original author he should have marked

his addenda with asterisks or some other suitable devices which unfortunately he has not done and this gives occasion sometimes to the bewilderment of readers as to which portion of the book is the original author's and which belongs to his commentator.

This 'Marathi' book forms the 15th volume of the 'Shri Sayaji Sahitya Mala' inaugurated by the magnificent allotment of two lakhs of rupees made by H. H. the Maharaja Gaikwar for the enrichment and development of Marathi and Gujarati literatures.

DEGHANIKAYA, BHAG PABILA—translated by Prof. C. V. Rajwade, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Pali in the Baroda College. Publisher—Mr. A. B. Clarke, Commissioner of Education, Baroda State. Pages 266. Price Rs. 1/8.

It is a pity that the Buddhist period of Indian history should still be enshrouded in mystery and no attempt should be made by educated people to bring to the notice of the reading public the rich treasures of religious and philosophic thought which were the characteristics of that glorious epoch. Bengali writers are decidedly ahead of Marathi writers in this respect. One reason probably is that Pali has only been recently introduced in the Bombay University as a second language and it is no doubt a strange coincidence that a proposal to drop the subject from the University course is mooted just at a time when the first fruits of the devoted labours of a few Pali scholars turned out by the University are beginning to make their appearance.

Deeghanikaya is an important section of Sutta Pitaka, which together with Vinaya Pitaka and Abhidhammapitaka, forms the Three-fold Basket of Buddhist lore. The work under review is only one third of the original Pali book, and being in the form of dialogues is an interesting reading for those who have an inclination for religious reading. To an earnest student of Pali books, the Marathi translation will be a real boon, as the translator has spared no pains to facilitate his studies by means of elaborate foot notes and references. But such earnest students can be counted on one's fingers. Here a question may be asked whether it would be more desirable to interest the general reader in the knowledge of Buddhism by producing such works as would give him a general idea of the religion and philosophy of Gotama in a compact form, rather than spend large sums of money over the production of volumes like the one under notice. I think the experiment is worth trying and offer the suggestion for the consideration of the Baroda Publication Committee.

The book is the 3rd contribution in the 'Shri Sayaji Sahitya Mala' and deserves a high rank among Marathi books on religions of the East.

V. G. APTE

KAVYA KANTAR (काव्य कान्तर) a poem, the first part, and some other poems by Mr. Balwant Gangsh Khaparde. Pages 117. Price annas 8. Printed and published at Chitrasahala Press, Poona City.

The poems of Balwant Gangsh Khaparde are of a high order, and full of promise. They furnish us with a good and vigorous specimen of new Marathi Poetry. The poet at once to be noted as he contains the first half of his longer poem entitled Kavya Kantar or the Garden of Poetry, and seven other smaller poems. He has written several other smaller poems

on different themes. They are not however included in this first publication.

The spirit of the poems is purely Indian. It is expressed in vigorous and fresh forms.

His longer poem takes as its theme—that visit and wandering of the poet himself in the 'Gardens and Groves of Poetry' where he is taken to see the Goddess Saraswati, after all sorts of preliminary experiences, to be inspired as a great poet. The poet who writes this poem after a visit, so to say, to Kavya Kantar puts before us his best composition as a poet. Unless we read the latter half of his longer poem we cannot pass our final judgment. As it is, the style of his writing is at once sweet, charming and clear. Some of his descriptions are captivating. A few of the similes are original and delicate. The descriptions and similes at the end of the third Canto when the poet loses his consciousness, and those at the beginning of the fourth when he regains it are wonderful and show how the poet is deep in his study of emotions and in his observations.

S. V. PLATAMBEKAR, B.A. (OXON), BAR AT LAW

GUJARATI.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF DIVAN BAHADUR AMBALAL SAKARLAL DESAI, M.A., LL.B., Collected and published by Vaidunthial Shripalrao Thakore, B.A., with an Introduction by Prof. Balwantrao K. Thakore, B.A., Printed at the Karnatak Press Bombay. Cloth bound, Pp. 72, 277, 164. Price 2/8 0 (1918).

The late Divan Bahadur was one of a batch of the first graduates of Gujarati and was known as the Prince of its graduates. He was also known as a practical economist, a sound lawyer, a high class educationist, and above all, a possessor of robust and healthy character. The introduction of Prof. Thakore is mainly taken up with the elucidation of these points, and stocked as it is with incidents and stories, derived first-hand, does full justice to the hero of the story. The speeches and writings which follow, both English and Gujarati, by their fearless tone, logic and argument, straight talk and sturdy independence give a vivid picture of Ambalal Desai, as he was in flesh and blood. There was great need to preserve in book form the public utterances of one who was a valuable asset of our province and Mr. Thakore deserves our thanks for having done so.

SWADESH GITAVALI, by Keshav H. Sheth, printed at the Dharma Vijaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, Pp. 89. Price Rs. 1/4 (1918).

This little book contains songs and poems, as its name implies, of a patriotic nature. It is an emblem of the spirit of our times and the songs are set to that tune. So far they would attract attention.

YUVAK RATNA, by the late Ambalal Motibhai Patel, B.A., published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature and printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 428. Price Rs. 1/2 0 (1918).

Mr. Ambalal Patel, who died young had interested himself in education and social service. While doing so he found time to translate certain English writings bearing on self-sacrifice, morality and other

kindred subjects, and this posthumous work embodies them.

(1) *MIRAN BAI*, by Bhanusukhram Nirgunaram Mehta, B.A., printed at the Sayaji Vidyaya Press, Baroda, Cloth bound Pp. 102 Price Rs 0-12-0 (1918).

(2), *MANUSHYA VIDYANAN TATTVO* (मनुष्य विद्यानं तत्त्वो) by Madhukumar Shrivastava Dasa, M.A., S.T.C.D., printed at the Arya Sudharak Press, Baroda, Cloth bound Pp 185 Price Rs 1-0-0 (1918)

(3) *BALODYAN PADDHATI NUN GRIHA SHIKSHANA* (बालोद्यान पद्धति नुं गृहशिक्षण) by Bharatram Bhanusukhram Mehta Printed at the Same Press Cloth bound Pp 116 Price At 14 (1918)

(4) *PALASTINE KI SANSKRITI* (पलेस्टीन की संस्कृति) by Surendranath Rangnath Gharekhan B.A., Printed at the Same Press Cloth bound Pp 117- Price Rs 0-12-0 (1918)

These four books form part of and are further additions to the Shri Sayaji Sahitya Mala, some of the books going to make up this series, we noticed a short time ago, and the present additions do not incline us to change the views we expressed then. For instance, we fail to understand the utility or need of a History of Palestine in Gujarati. The translation, for it is nothing else, of MacAlister's History of Civilization in Palestine, must have been projected at the time, when Palestine had not been so much on peoples' lips as at present on account of the Indian troops having distinguished themselves in that Theatre of War, so that even on that ground the selection cannot be justified. The third book is a translation of Froebel's Kindergarten Teaching At Home, and one wonders what practical experience the young translator has of this system of teaching. He has, all the same, essayed to adapt the work to Indian homes. Marret's Anthropology has been translated by the third gentleman, who has tried to elucidate his subject by a glossary at the end explaining difficult and scientific words. *Miran Bai's* life is a compilation it cannot be said that either in research or telling, it surpasses anything that has been published before it, however, amongst the four books which we have received this time, we would surely give it the palm for interest and attraction.

K M. J.

CORRESPONDENCE

Inter-caste Marriage Among Hindus.

To

The Editor of *The Modern Review*

Sr,—With reference to your note on the Inter-caste Marriage Bill in the current number of *The Modern Review*, may I be permitted to elucidate a point or two arising out of it?

Anuloma (in the order of the classes) marriages are sanctioned in Manu (ch 3, 13) and *Pratiloma* marriages in ch 10, though they were looked upon with some disfavour. A host of well known Varnasankar castes are however attributed by Manu to such marriages, the Chandala, begotten on a Brahmin female by a Sudra male coming in for special reprobation (ch 10, 12). But the Chandalas, who now pass by the name of Namasudras are a recognised caste in Hindu society, and form an important section of the Fimbu population, particularly of East Bengal. If the issues of *Pratiloma* marriage in its most pronounced form are thus already a part of Hindu society, why, in the name of reason and commonsense, should the parties to such marriages, if contracted at the present day, be compelled to declare themselves non-Hindus as under the existing law they must?

Jimutavahana's *Dayabhaga*, which regulates the Hindu law of inheritance in Bengal, says (ch 1, 2) that *Anuloma* marriages are allowed, and Vijnaneswar's *Mitakshara*, an eleventh century compilation, which governs the rest of India even gives the length of

saying (ch I, sec VIII 2) that 'under the sanction of the law [Jainavalkya I, 57] instances do occur of such marriages (Colebrooke's translation) [Balam Bhattacharya, one of the best known commentators of the *Mitakshara*, and a contemporary of Colebrooke, in commenting on I XI, 2, says 'even a Sudra woman may be the wife of a Dnyaya and the issue will be legitimate']. It will thus appear that such marriages were prevalent even in Vijnaneswar's time—a fact which has been noticed by Justice Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjee in *Haria v Kanhaya* (Punjab Records, Vol 43 p 326) where he held that a marriage between a Rajput and a Kshattriyani is valid. Intermarriage between Vaidyas and Kayasthas in East Bengal districts has been held to be valid according to local custom by the Judges of the Calcutta High Court in *Ramlal Sakul v Chandra Kanta Sen* (Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol 7, p 619) and many interesting instances of the practice have been recorded in the judgment of Babu Gurnidra Mohan Chakrabarty, Subordinate Judge, published in the same issue.

Jimutavahan's date is variously placed between the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries of the Christian era (vide the History of Smriti in Bengal and Mithila, J.A.S.B. vol VI, p 321). There is an interesting passage in the *Dayabhaga* which gives us an idea of the depraved code of morals prevalent in his time, which we are now asked to conform to. In Ch IX, cl 9 he says 'Though such a marriage be in the direct order of the classes, Manu and Vishnu have strongly censured the union of a man of a regenerate tribe with

a Sudra woman (1) (Colebrooke's translation) But in clause 11, adultery, with such a woman has been held to be comparatively venial. The exact words are 'Hence these evils do not ensue on the procreation of offspring upon a Sudra woman not married to the Brahman himself' (2) (Colebrooke's translation).

It is only the commentator Raghunandana of Nadia (sixteenth century) who on the strength of a text in the *Bṛhannaradiya Purana* (XXII, 12-16) which is a minor Purana of doubtful authority, prohibits intermarriage in the Kali Age. But the same text of the *Bṛhannaradiya* also prohibits, among other things, sea voyage and 'द्वेषकाय व्रतचर्या' which may mean 'practising sexual continence for a long time' or 'study of the Vedas for a long time'. We very much doubt if all who protest against Mr Patel's Bill would also be prepared to subscribe to these two injunctions of the *Bṛhannaradiya Purana*, and we are not sure that some of them have not violated the prohibition against sea voyage themselves.

And after all, when we think of it what a blind, unreasoning torpor must have come over Hindu society

when it cannot go back even in imagination further than the time of Raghunandana barely 400 years ago, when Bengal was under the worst days of Mahomedan rule and the Prophet of Nadia rose and himself revolutionised society by obliterating distinctions of caste in the order of Vaishnavas created by him. Not only do we find Yavana Haridas accepted into the fold but in the *Chaitanyacharitamrita*, (Antyodish ch. 16) we read of Kaldia a devout Vaishnava well-beloved of the Master, who considered himself honoured by taking the dust of the feet of all Vaishnavas irrespective of caste, and even of such a low caste man as Jharu Bhumiari, a Vaishnava of great piety. To treat Raghunandana as a fixed star in the social firmament, when radical changes were going on in society all around him, shows what a dry rot has set in Hindu society, and that free thought, which was so characteristic of the times of Chaitanya, has altogether vanished from Bengal and a slavish adherence to customs, deadening the intellect and constituting a sure proof of national decay, has taken its place. And when graduates of the University and lawyers by profession have joined the unholy combination of Rajas and Maharajas, who need not be expected to know any better in denouncing Mr Patel's Bill who can say that priestly domination does not still flourish in our midst like the green bay tree, and that to quote the words of Sir Rabindranath (*Nationalism*, p. 122) we do not hope 'to build a political miracle of freedom on the quicksand of social slavery'.

Yours &c.

X

(1) 'यादृशोऽपि हिना, मूढायां बहुदोषमाह-
येद्विष्णु'।

(2) अथ स्वयमनुदायां मूढायामप्यजनने जैते दोषा,
किन्तु स्वप्रदोष प्रायश्चित्तजनकम् ।

A LETTER FROM KAUTILYA TO INDIAN POLITICIANS

Dear friends,

I pray you to spare a little time to read this letter from one who has served your country in the past. I have seen many such political crises as we have to-day in our country, and it is just possible that my advice may prove useful to you. It is, of course, for you to accept or to reject it, you are the sole judges of the affairs of India to-day and you are the Kautilyas of your own time. I cannot, therefore, presume to ask you to accept my opinion without consideration.

The proper constitution for India would be not what you, revered sirs, both 'Moderates' and 'Extremists,' apply for or demand. You should, in a Congress assembled, petition His Majesty King George V. to be allowed to elect him as King George Chudamani I. of India and to declare your

country a limited monarchy. If His Majesty deign to grant your prayer, you may crown him with your sacred texts, which allow the election of a foreigner, crown him with Vedic texts and put to him the coronation oath of the Aitareya Brahmana, which is quoted below —

यां च रात्रौ मजायेह यां च प्रेतारिणि तदुपममन्तराद्येष्ट-
इष्टं मे लोकं युक्ततमम्; प्रजां हृद्योया यदि ते द्रुष्टियमिति ।

"Between the night I am born and the night I die, whatever good I might have done, my heaven, my life and my progeny may I be deprived of, if I oppress you."

Aitareya Brāhmana, VIII, 4. 1. 13

As His Majesty is a constitutional monarch who has never oppressed his subjects, he has already been all along reigning in accordance with the spirit of this oath.

You should never pray to be under the

gana or *samgha* or, what you call to day, Parliament, of any people Rule of one people by another is far worse than one man's rule. In my humble opinion, you should reversed sirs prefer the autocracy of Chudāmani George I to *samgha* government dictated by the workmen of the west who are destined now to rule all European countries. By praying for permission to adopt the constitution which I suggest, you would ensure your liberty and the safety of the *vamsa* of Chudāmani George I. You determine for yourself this form of Rājya and you will become once more as strong as the India under my master Chandragupta. I may add that I have consulted my master, the great

est of sovereigns who liberated India in the past here in *svarga*, and he quite agrees in my opinion and submits it jointly with me to you with affection and blessings

HAUTHIA

Punashcha

Do not forget to help that nation of heroic love of liberty, the Irish like whom no other nation has struggled in my recollection to instal SRI (Goddess of Liberty) in their country help them-by passing resolutions all over your country in favour of the Imperial British Government granting the Irish the full right to manage their own affairs

K

"NATIONAL EDUCATION"

By LALA LAJPAT RAI

I

THE Indian papers to hand report that our publicists are engaged in a discussion of the question of 'National education for India. The movement is led by some of the sincerest and most devoted leaders of the nationalist movement for Home Rule for India, and appears to be spreading. From the stray papers that I have received I have not been able to find out the exact position of those who are reported to have struck a note of mild dissent, more by way of criticism than of opposition, but they give some idea of the position of those who are supporting it. Mrs Besant has kindly mentioned my name as one of those who pioneered the movement in the Punjab, in the eighties of the last century.

It is quite true that I am one of those persons who raised the cry of national education in North India so far back as 1883 A D and have since then used it rather effectively for enlisting sympathy and collecting funds for the various institutions that were from time to time started to impart education on 'national' lines. It is also obvious that the nationalism that we preached in those days was rather narrow and sectarian. Sir Syed

Ahmed Khan was the first among the Indian leaders of thought in North India who set afloat the idea of denominational education. The Christian institutions had led the way before him. The Mohamadan Anglo Oriental College at Aligarh was a symbol of the new Muslim Nationalism which (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khan founded educational in function, but political in scope and effect.

The Arya Samaj representing the new nationalism of the Hindus followed suit and the Dayananda Anglo Vedic College, at Lahore, was the fruit of its efforts. Then came the movement of the Central Hindu College at Benares upon which has now been erected the superstructure of the Hindu University. The Mohamadan College at Aligarh, the Arya College at Lahore, the Hindu College at Benares all embodied the 'National' ideals of their founders limited and sectarian as they were at the time. Each professed to provide its own kind of national education. The educational facilities provided by these institutions were open to persons of all creeds, denominations and religions, but the nationalism aimed at was undisguisedly denominational. Each institution created an atmosphere of its own—national to a

certain extent, so far as the general cult of love of mother-country was concerned but otherwise openly sectarian.

The education imparted in these institutions, as distinguished from the ordinary State-owned schools and colleges, was "national" only in so far as it helped the creation of the denominational atmosphere aimed at by its promulgators. The Muslim College and the Hindu Colleges all professed to enforce and encourage the study of the vernaculars and their sacred languages, but the emphasis all the time was on the University course and the University examinations. The scheme of studies promulgated by the official Universities was accepted unreservedly, except in the additions that were made to the courses in Hindi and Urdu, Sanskrit and Arabic. The principal business of the staffs engaged was to prepare students for University examinations. The results achieved in these examinations were the measure of their success and popularity. In the two Colleges in the United Provinces, the leading positions on the staff were reserved for Europeans. Special efforts were no doubt made in each institution to inoculate the students with the serum of that narrow nationalism which had inspired its founders. Subscriptions were raised and endowments made for the dissemination of religion, for the encouragement of the study of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. Some attempts were also made to encourage original research in the literatures and records that existed in these languages, with a view to prop up the several interpretations that the founders and the managers put upon their respective religions and their histories; but the success achieved in this line was, in each case, dubious and almost imperceptible.

I can speak more definitely of the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College, at Lahore, with the management of which I was intimately associated for about a quarter of a century. For over nine years I was the general secretary of the governing body, and for several years its Vice-President. I hope I shall not be charged with vanity if I say that for twenty-five years I gave the best in me to the institution—grudged neither time nor money, nor energy in doing all that I could to ensure its success and progress.

My duties were by no means confined to field and office-work (running the office, addressing public meetings, collecting funds, raising subscriptions, doing publicity work, conducting and writing for periodicals, etc.), but included close association with the staff and the students and the supervision of the different departments, particularly the boarding houses.

It is with immense pleasure and pride that I look back upon that period of my life. It was a rare privilege to associate and co-operate with men of the character and calibre of Hansraj, Lalchand, Dwarka Dass, Ishwar Dass, and others, too numerous to be mentioned here. Their spirit was denominational and sectarian, no doubt, but there was hardly anything of meanness or pettiness, or jealousy in it. Even their sectarianism was of an exalted kind, the Country—the Motherland—had always the uppermost place in their affections. They were all inspired by a spirit of genuine and disinterested patriotism and altruism. Their methods were clean and above board. It was a joy to work with them.

Of all the schemes of national education promulgated till then, theirs was probably the first which took cognizance of the economic problem. They were probably the first to include in their educational programme the idea of "Swadeshi". The original prospectus of the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College was remarkable for these things: (a) the emphasis it laid in bridging the gulf between the educated classes and the uneducated masses; (b) in emphasizing the necessity of technical education in arts and industries, which would make the future leaders of the country, independent of State service; and (c) in insisting that their scheme of national education should be absolutely independent of Government patronage and Government help.

Looking back on the record of the institution for the last thirty-two years of its life, giving all possible credit to the founders and the managers and the leaders thereof, for the best of intentions, the best of efforts and the best of every thing, I regret to say that failure in their principal aims, written and unwritten, is writ large on it. Let me guard against misunderstanding. There is no man in India for whom I have greater respect than Hansraj, the Founder-president of the

Arya College, nor another body of men in the whole country towards whom I entertain feelings of greater respect, regard, and reverence than the past and present managers of the Dayananda College. The spirit of self-sacrifice and national service, shown by Hansraj and his pupils, is almost unique, and worthy of the highest praise. The work done by them deserves all credit. The tiny bark of high education in the Punjab was rescued by this college at the time of its greatest danger. The spirit of public service in the land of the five rivers owes an immeasurable debt to the little band of workers who brought the college into existence and have run it since. Considering the positions and the resources of the men who conceived the idea and worked hard to make it a success, considering the general air of all round suspicion and distrust in which they lived and worked, the story of the financial and educational success of the Dayananda Anglo Vedic College, Lahore, is nothing short of a romance.

The Muslim College at Aligarh, and the Hindu College at Benares, were both started under better auspices, blessed with the smiles of the leading aristocracy of their respective communities, and with the good will of the ruling authorities. The Arya College had none of these advantages. It was founded, managed and run for a long time in defiance of both. Every brick of this institution has a story of its own, which, perhaps, will never see the light of day. These stories have already been forgotten and the few that are current will be burned with the bodies of those who composed them not in words but in deeds. Yes, all this is true, it is a pleasure and a privilege to be able to say this. Yet it must be owned that in solving the problems of national education, the Arya College at Lahore has been as conspicuous a failure as the other institutions started with similar objects in other parts of the country. Prior to the foundation of the National College, in Bengal, the Dayananda Anglo Vedic College, at Lahore was the only institution in the country which could even by a stretch of imagination and language, lay any claim to being called "national" in the sense in which the word was understood then. The Fergusson College is named after a

foreigner, and with the exception of the spirit of self-sacrifice of its founder, directors and teachers, had no other claim to be distinguished from the ordinary State Colleges. The Aligarh College and the Benares College both have had all the time, foreigners on their staffs and have, besides, in conjunction with the Fergusson College at Poona, been almost regularly in receipt of State aid thus subjecting practically the whole of their policy to Government control. Not that that fact necessarily makes them denationalised but that it reduces their claim to any great distinction from the ordinary State managed institutions.

Besides the institutions mentioned above there are some others also which claim to impart National education and which have been founded for that purpose. One of them is the Gurukula Academy at Hardwar founded by L. Munshi Rama and his party. The Gurukula, too, is a sectarian institution. Otherwise it certainly has a greater claim to being "national" than any of the others mentioned previously. It is an institution founded, managed, staffed, and financed by Indians only. In its curriculum it gives the first place to Indian languages. It is more in conformity with the spirit of Hinduism than the College at Lahore, or the Central Hindu College at Benares. It takes no notice of the official University courses or the University examinations. It enforces a discipline which is more truly national than anything done in the other institutions.

All that has been said about the spirit of self-sacrifice of those who founded the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College is applicable to it in its entirety. Yet I am afraid it is no more national than any of the others.

Another institution of almost the same kind is the Tagore School at Bolpur. It does not profess to impart high education, and is a one man institution. There may be some other institutions which claim to provide national education, with whose origin and history I am not acquainted. If so, I beg to be pardoned for not noticing them. It is not my purpose to give a complete list of "national" schools and colleges. The object is to notice some typical efforts and make a retrospective review.

The only effort of this kind which was,

in my judgment, truly national, was that made by the National Council of Education in Bengal, under the impetus of the Swadeshi and the Boycott movements. The scheme of the National Council was free from the sectarian tinge of the Upper India movements; it took no notice of denominational nationalism; it took ample cognizance of the economic needs of the country as a whole, and it frankly recognized the necessity of ignoring the official University curriculum, on the one hand, and of State aid on the other. It aimed at National consolidation and national independence. It was a direct challenge to the Government and the Government accepted it whole-heartedly. What came of it is known to everybody and need not be stated here. It failed, as it was bound to do, because it came into conflict with the State,—not, of course, of its own seeking.

The National Council of Education still exists, but only in name. Its condition is moribund. The leaders and officers themselves have strangled it. Taraknath Palit and Rash Behari Ghosh, two of its greatest pillars, gave it a death-blow when they handed over their magnificent endowments to the Calcutta University, instead of to the National Council of Education, founded and led by them. The few scholars who, with characteristic self-sacrifice, gave up careers to give instruction to the students of the National College, are almost all dispersed. They are seeking appointments in Government and aided institutions. The Nationalist schools, started by the Council, have (most of them) been disintegrated by the force of circumstances, and at the present moment the movement is nothing but a dilapidated and discarded landmark in the educational progress of the country.

The only institutions that are still in existence and prospering are the denomina-

tional ones. The D. A. V. College at Lahore and the M. A. O. College at Aligarh, are thriving and a source of joy to their founders. They follow the policy of least, or no resistance. The D. A. V. College, which was under suspicion ever since its birth, has more or less gained the confidence of the rulers by a radical change in its policy, and the reins of the Moham-medan College at Aligarh are held tightly by the Government. The Benares College is an independent University which enjoys both the confidence and the control of the Government. The Gurukula at Kangri, is virtually the only institution that is really independent of Government control. It was under a cloud for a long time, until Sir James Meeson and Lord Hardinge put upon it the seal of their approbation. I think the same might be said of Tagore's school at Bolpur.

Now I do not mean to insinuate even by implication that these institutions have not been educationally useful to the nation, or that their managers or leaders were not actuated by the best of motives. The remarks that I have made above about the Arya Samaj institutions apply, with equal force, to almost all these institutions. They are, without exception, monuments of the *patriotism* and public spirit of their founders and managers, and far be it from me to make any reflection on them.

Yet I cannot help repeating once more, that they have not, except by their failure, made any substantial contribution toward the solution of the problem of "national" education. I want the leaders of the new movement to realize that fully, and to keep it in mind in formulating their new scheme. I, for one, do not believe in living in a fool's paradise. The first thing is to clear our minds of cant, and have a clear conception of what we mean by national education.

WOUNDED PLANTS*

By SIR J. C. BOSE.

IT is a little over four years now that the Embodiment of World Tragedy stalked over Western Europe. The fair field of France and her bright sky

* Lecture at the Bose Research Institute. All rights reserved.

were under a pall of battle-smoke. Our sight could not pierce through the dense gloom, and the mortal cry of the wounded and dying, drowned by hoarse roar of a thousand cannon, did not reach our ear. But from the time the Sikh and the

Pathan, the Gurkha and the Bengali, the Mahratta and the Rajput slung themselves at the battle front, from that day our perception has become intensified. The distant cry of those whose life blood has crimsoned the white fields of snow, has found reverberating echo in our heart. What is that subtle bond by which all distances are bridged over, and by which an individual life becomes merged in larger life? Sympathy is that bond by which we come to realise the unity of all life.

And before us are spread multitudinous plants, silent and seemingly impassive. They too, like us, are actors in the cosmic drama of life, like us the plaything of destiny. In their checkered life, light and darkness, warmth and cold, drought and rain, gentle breeze and hurricanes, life and death alternate. Various shocks impinge on them, but no cry is raised in answer. I shall nevertheless try to decipher some chapters of their life history.

When a man receives a blow or shock of any kind, his answering cry makes us realise that he is hurt, but a mute makes no outcry. How do we realise his suffering? We know it by his agonised look and the convulsive movement of his limbs and through fellow feeling realise his pain. When a frog is struck it does not cry, but its limbs show convulsive movements. The shock of stimulus thus evokes movement in response.

MEASURE OF VITALITY

Responsive movement being a test of life we shall try to construct a scale with which the height of livingness may be gauged. What is the difference between the living and the dead? The living answers to a shock from outside, the most lively gives the most energetic, the torpid or dying the feeblest, and the dead no answer at all. Thus life may be tested by shocks from without, the size of the answer being a gauge of vitality. The answer of the strong will be violent and almost explosive in its intensity, while the weakling will barely protest. The responsive movements may be recorded by a suitable apparatus. The successive answers to similar shocks will remain uniform if the responding tissue remained always the same. But the living organism is always in a state of change, for environment is always building us anew, and we are changing every day of our life. We are thus subject to

change, some day we are in a state of high exuberance, and at other times in a state of lowest depression, and we pass through numerous phases between the two extremes. Not merely does the present modify, but there is also the subtle impress of memory of the past. The sum total of all these, characterises one individual from another. How is the hidden to be made manifest? To test the genuineness of a coin, we strike it and the sound response betrays the true from the false. The genuine rings true and the other gives a false note. In this way perhaps the inner history of different lives may be revealed, by shocks and the resulting response.

Turning from human subjects we will now inquire as to how the hidden history of the life of plants is to be recovered. For this it will be necessary to excite the plant by a shock, and make the plant itself record its answering signal, and the character of the recorded script will enable us to decipher its history.

SIGN OF EXCITATION IN THE PLANT

There are certain plants like *Mimosa pudica*, which answer to a shock by movement. At the lower side of the leaf joint there is relatively large mass of tissue. As our muscle contracts under a shock so does the lower cushion of tissue in *Mimosa* contract under excitation, and the leaf undergoes a fall. After this sudden fall due to excitation it gradually recovers and regains its normal horizontal position. Just as a man answers to a shock by a movement of his arm so *Mimosa* answers by movement of its leaf. The plant may be excited by the same irritation that excites us—by a blow, by a pinch, by a burn, or by acid acids. But under such torments the plant is likely to die. For long continued experiment it is necessary to have some feeble form of stimulation which can be measured and repeated. This is supplied by shocks given by an electric coil. The apparatus for record is my Resonant Recorder which is extremely sensitive and measures time as short as a thousandth part of a second (Fig 1).

In investigation on the effect of wound, we take the record of response of the plant in a normal condition, we next take the record after wounding it. The difference in the reply reveals the effect of injury.

But before entering into this question an interesting problem arises. The plant,

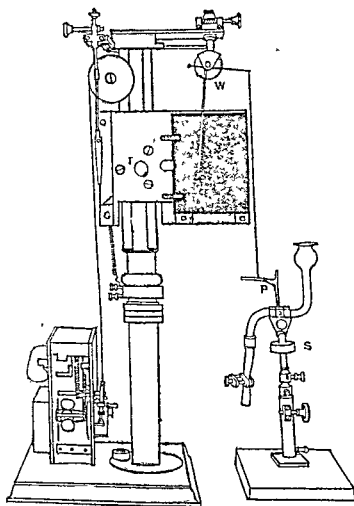


Fig 1 —The cut leaf attached to the Resonant Recorder.

ordinarily speaking, moves its leaf under excitation. But does the dog wag its tail, or does the tail wag the dog? So it may be asked whether the tree wags the leaf, or the leaf wags the tree? I have been able to carry out certain experiments which will be of interest to metaphysicians.

When the *Mimosa* is rooted to the ground, the plant cannot be displaced, and the leaf alone shows movement. But if the roots be carefully freed from the ground and the plant be held by the leaf, it will be found that it is now the tree that wags in response. (Fig 2). The effect of a shock does not remain confined at any one part of the plant, but is conducted to every other part and perceived by the tree as a whole. Every leaf, every twig and every branch is thus in intimate connection with the rest. The tree is thus not ageries of unrelated parts, but an or-

ganised unity; its different members are thus intimately bound to each other.

EFFECT OF WOUND.

I undertook three separate investigations on the effect of wound on plants. The first is the effect of injury on growth; the second is the change manifested in the pulse-beat of rhythmic tissues in plants. The third investigation had for its object, the study of the paralyzing effect of wound.

In the first of these, the normal rate of growth and change of that rate by injury were found from automatic records given by the Crescograph. When the growing plant was pricked with a pin, the normal rate was at once depressed to a fourth, and it took about two hours for the plant to recover from the effect of pin-prick. A slash made with a knife was found to arrest the growth, the inhibition persisting for a very long period. Severe shock caused by wound thus retards the growth in normal healthy specimens.

The reactions in exceptional cases are highly interesting. Certain plants, for reasons at present obscure, remain stunted in growth, the branches and leaves presenting an unhealthy look. Lopping off the



Fig 2 —Wagging response of the plant.
Plant held (1) by leaf and (2) by stem

offending limb, curiously enough, is found good for the plant. The stimulus of severe shock renews the growth that had remained arrested.

MARCH OF DEATH.

Another series of investigation was car-

ried out with the leaflet of the Telegraph plant which pulsates up and down like the movement of a semaphore. When the leaflet is cut from the parent plant and the cut end placed in a nourishing solution the pulsation is found arrested by the shock of operation. After a time the pulse throb is slowly renewed and maintained for nearly 24 hours. But death has found an unguarded spot at the wound and its march though slow is sure. The death change thus reaches the throbbing tissue which becomes permanently stilled with the cessation of life. Experiments are in progress to retard and arrest this death march. The problem is intimately connected with the proper understanding of conditions which lie behind life and the other conditions under which the molecular cog wheels become arrested in the rigor of death. The experiments already carried out, appear promising. The throbbing life of the cut leaf has then been prolonged under proper treatment, from one to seven days.

PARALYSIS OF SENSIBILITY

For studying the paralysing effect of wound I took for my experiment the sensitive plant *Mimosa pudica*. On cutting off one of the leaves the shock effect was transmitted to every part of the plant and all the leaves fell down and remained depressed for a considerable time. The detached leaf with its cut end placed in a nourishing solution was also depressed. The subsequent histories of the parent plant and the detached leaf were, however, curiously different.

The paralysing effect of the wound was determined by means of testing shocks, the response being at the same time traced by the automatic recorder. The parent plant gradually recovered and showed signs of returning sensitiveness (Fig 3).

The detached leaf fed with the nourishing solution soon held itself up with an attitude rather of defiance. In its newly found freedom from the entanglement of its former associates it was unusually energetic in its responses. This vehemence lasted for a whole day after which a



Fig 3.—Slow recovery of the plant from the effect of wound

able to survive the disaster while the detached and free leaf nurtured even in lux

curious change crept in the vigour of its responses began rapidly to decline. The leaf hitherto erect hitherto death had at last asserted its mastery (Fig 4).

The wounded plant is thus



Fig 4.—Effect of wound on detached leaf (a) Response four hours after sect on (b) Response after 4 hours (c) After 49 hours

ury falls a prey to death. Why should there be this difference? The reason is that the tree is rooted safely in its own soil. It is the place of birth that provides its proper nourishment and endows it with strength in its struggle of life. Many waves of change and disaster have passed over it. The shocks from outside have never been able to overpower it, these have only called forth its nascent powers. It had met external change by counterchange. The decaying and the effete had been cast off like worn leaves and changing times had called forth its powers of readjustment.

The tree also derived an additional strength from its racial memory. Every particle of the inconspicuous seed may thus bear the deep impress of the mighty banyan tree and so the sprouting seedling forces its roots into the yielding earth to anchor more safely the stems rise high against the sky in search of light and the branches with their canopy of leaves spread out in all directions.

What is the strength that has con

ferred on the tree the power of endurance and enabled it to emerge victorious from the struggle of life? It is the strength derived from the place of its birth, its perception and quick readjustment to change, and its inherited memory of the past.

The efflorescence of life is the supreme gift of place and its associations. Isolated from these, what fate awaits the poor wretch, nurtured in alien ways? Death dogs its footsteps and annihilation is its inevitable end.

NEED OF HINDU INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE

THE internal condition of Hindu society shows the urgent need of some sort of sanctioned intermarriage among its constituents, if it is really to prosper. Serious students of Sociology must have observed that Hindu society is not only horizontally stratified, but vertically divided. It is a well-known fact that Hindu marriage is subject to many restrictions. There are seven types of castes, viz., tribal, functional, sectarian castes, castes formed by crossing, castes of national type, castes formed by migration and castes formed by change of occupation.

Many of these types are endogamous and several are known to be exceedingly small; and even the larger ones, when distributed over a large area of country, may be so scantily represented in a given locality that the number of possible marriages open to their members must be inconveniently restricted.

"The disintegrating influence of the constant creation of separate communal groups has not escaped the notice of Indian Social Reformers. In an able paper on the fusion of sub-castes in India Lala Bajnath Lal, Judge of the Court of Small Causes in Agra, has pointed out the harm which they do 'physically by narrowing the circle of selection in marriage, intellectually by cramping the energies, and morally by destroying mutual self-confidence and habits of co-operation'."

About the Kanaujia Brahmans Lala Bajnath remarks that "the smallness of their various clans causes the greatest difficulty in obtaining husbands for girls except on payment of extortionate sums of money" [India Census Report, 1901, p. 423]. As Endogamy restricts intermarriage in one direction by creating a number of artificially small groups within which people must marry, Exogamy, on the other hand, has brought about the same result by artificially expanding

the circle within which they must not marry. The third restriction is known as Hypergamy or "marrying up", which forbids a woman of particular group to marry a man of a group lower than her in social standing, and compels her to marry a man in a group equal or superior to herself in rank. I would like to refer the readers to the India Census Report 1901, p. 426, in which Late Sir H. H. Risley very ably and graphically sums up the evil effects of hypergamy in society, which leaves, though theoretically, a large female population of a certain high sub-caste without their respective bridegrooms and brides. This led to many evil practices. To avoid the difficulty which the marriage of a daughter involved, the most horrible of crimes, female infanticide, was resorted to. [Indian Census Report 1911, pp. 215-218; also John Wilson's History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India—Bombay, 1855].

The exigencies of space will not allow me to enter into any detailed analysis of various endogamous, exogamous and hypergamous forms of marriages. It is a notorious fact that castes and sub-castes are all watertight compartments and the whole of Hindu community is divided into those groups. But now these rules are breaking up in certain quarters and Mr. Gait in the Bengal Census Report for 1901 gave numerous instances showing how in that Province the barriers dividing sub-castes were growing much weaker than those which separate castes. The same is the case in some sections of educated Indians outside Bengal. But reaction is working hand in hand and wherever an inch is conquered a foot is given elsewhere. Let us take the example of Bengal and

examine the working of the social stratification in detail Bengalees have no social connection with any indigenous community outside Bengal. So Bengal is an unit in itself, which must be self contained if it wants to be socially pure, as they would say. The Hindu Society of Bengal, according to orthodox views is divided into seven grades. I Brahmanas stand pre-eminently superior to all others. II Other castes ranking above the clean Sudras, III Clean Sudras, IV Clean castes with degraded Brahmanas, V Castes lower than the above whose water is not usually taken, VI Low castes who abstain from beef, pork and fowls, VII Lastly come the unclean castes.

But each of these castes is not a homogeneous whole in which all the members can act freely and choose their wives from amongst the community. In Bengal there are as many as 450 groups of castes and in Bihar and Orissa as many as 205 separate castes and tribes were enumerated in 1911. In Bombay the main castes and tribes, which in most instances include numerous endogamous subdivisions, number over 500, but of these only a small number have more than 100,000 members. The *Ethnographic Appendices*, published as supplement to the *Indian Census Report of 1901*, will furnish the readers with a very detailed description of the castes and sub-castes of Bombay and Rajputana in a tabulated form. The 1901 Census Report of Madras distinguished 450 communities of all degrees of civilization and enlightenment, from the Brahmins down to the Khandas of the Agency Tracts. It would be a tedious task to go from province to province and enumerate the number of castes, no attempt can be made here to analyse and explain the distribution of 2,400 castes and tribes which has been enumerated in the Census of 1901.

In a population of 300 millions 2,400 castes might not appear to be a large number. But let us cast a glance at the details of these castes. Each caste is divided into numerous sub-castes which are strictly endogamous and no sort of commensality is allowed amongst the members. The social stratification of Bengal has already been referred to where the apparently seven strata are divided into many castes and each caste again into several sub-castes, thus a variety of shades and restrictions the parallel of which is

nowhere to be found, has evolved within our society.

It is a well known fact that there is a general deficiency of females amongst all the Bengali Hindu castes, except a few lower classes. A few other castes or tribes of Mongoloid origin, who live on the borders of Bengal also show a slight excess of females. In Bihar and Orissa at the same time nearly every caste has a preponderance of females the exceptions being the three higher castes the Rajputs and Baniyas. It might be asked that this paucity of males in the different castes of B Orissa, is due to the exodus of their males but it is noticeable that there is no striking deficiency among the Animist Santals and Orons who are the pioneer races furnishing a large proportion of emigrants. Mr O Malley points out two noticeable features in these statistics. First, there is a smaller number of women among the Brahmanas and Kayasthas in both the provinces, a feature which is not noticed in other castes that have representatives both in Bengal and B Orissa. Secondly females are in excess amongst the Munda and Dravidian tribes (*Bengal Census Report, 1911, pp 298-9*).

Let us take, for example some of the unclean castes of Bengal who are neither served by Brahmins nor by Dhoba (washerman) nor by Hapit (barbers). Those who have any knowledge of the social life of these depressed classes of Bengal will at once recognise in their life the rule of division deep rooted in imitation of the higher castes. The Bauris of Bengal who seem to be one caste to the non-informed, are really divided into as many as eleven sub-castes. The sub-castes are all equal in rank and local superiority generally depends on numerical strength. Their social customs differ in various districts. In Bardwan, Hooghly and Birbham inter-marriage among them is forbidden on pain of social excommunication. In Faridpur and Nadia the same rule is in vogue but paying a penalty he can expiate his sin. In Bankura inter-marriage among different sub-castes of Bauris is freely allowed.

The Chamars who seem to be a homogeneous caste, are divided into as many as 25 sub-castes inter-marriage between them is strictly forbidden on pain of being out-casted, and members of different sub-castes will not eat, drink or smoke together, no member can gain admission

into any other sub-caste except in a few cases. I have already referred to the great sex disparity amongst the lower castes of Bengal and B. Orissa; and amongst these Chamars it is distinctly marked. The strength of Bengal Chamars is 137 thousands and that of B. Orissa is 1174 thousands. But the vital question,—I mean the disparity in the numerical strength of the sexes—should always be before our mind's eye when we want to solve some social question. The number of females amongst the Bengal Chamars is 544 and that among the B. Orissa Chamars is 1153 per thousand males. Of course we must remember the great number of male Chamars who annually migrate to Bengal. But in spite of this such disparity is abnormal and hence ruinous to the society.

Let us next take the case of *Doms*; they are divided into 28 sub-castes amongst whom inter-marriage is generally forbidden on pain of being outcasted; but in certain districts there are a few exceptions. Commensality is not allowed. Each sub-caste has a separate Panchayat and members cannot gain admission into any other.

Our popular belief about the *Haris* is that they are one homogeneous people and not divided like ourselves. But there, too, we find the same pitiable law of division repeated with no less vigour. The *Haris* of Bihar are divided into four and those of Bengal into five sub-castes. In the district of Birbhum there are four sub-castes of this caste amongst whom inter-marriage and commensality are strictly forbidden. The proportion of females amongst the Bengal *Haris* is 982 to 1000 males and in Bihar it is 1032 to 1000 males; so there is an excess of female in one and deficiency in another; and this disparity could have been made up and a healthy generation might have been raised from inter-marriage among the sub-castes.

The *Barhis* of Bihar and the *Sutars* of Bengal are the hereditary carpenters; and though their function is the same, they will never intermarry. Even the *Barhis*, who are divided into nine sub-castes, allow no inter-marriage amongst themselves. The Bengal carpenters have a low proportion of females (944) and the Bihar *Barhis* (1084) an excess of 84 females per thousand males.

The same is the case with the *Dhobas* of Bengal (932 females per thousand males) and Bihar (1063 females per thousand

males), who are divided into more than 30 sub-castes, and do not allow intermarriage and common eating and drinking are generally forbidden, for the weapon of excommunication is not unknown to them. The great sex disparity in Bengal as well as in Bihar might be made up if they were allowed to intermarry and the sub-castes were fused into one.

The *Goalas* of Bengal were once a very healthy and prosperous caste. The sturdy people had a fair increase of population in 1881-1891, when it was 7.14 p.c.; since then they have shown no sign of growing numerically,—in 1891-1901 showing an actual decrease of 10 p.c. and only in 1901-1911 they showed an increase of 1.8 p.c., which is absolutely below the normal. The *Goalas* of these two provinces are divided into 40 sub-castes, who are absolutely separated from each other by caste rules. Inter-marriage and commensality are forbidden, except in a few cases. But the notorious fact among the Bengal *Goalas* is well-known to all and the rich dowry, which is expected of the bridegrooms, is sufficient to damp the heart of many of them. The proportion of females is only 819 in Bengal, whereas the proportion of females amongst the *Bihari Goalas* is 1003 per thousand males. These people must be saved from degeneration and corruption and we must not restrict the marriage area and thereby create problems, whose invisible undercurrent is a sufficient set-back to many of our great endeavours to elevate the people.

The sub-castes of Brahmins, with their numerous ramifications, are too well-known to the educated public to require any elucidation. The Brahmin of India is not a homogeneous caste; a *Mahratta* Brahmin will not enter into any social connection with the *Maithili*, *Bengali*, *Kanujia* or *Madras* Brahmin. The Brahmins of Bengal, like those of other provinces, are a separate class, who have nothing to do in common with any of them. There are in Bengal three main classes of pure Brahmins. *Rarhi*, *Barendra*, and *Vaidik*, but there are others also, including the *Kanujia* and *Maithili* Brahmins, who are chiefly immigrants from Bihar and upcountry, the *Utkal* who are come from Orissa, the *Madhya Sreni* who are found in Midnapore, and the *Kamrupi* Brahmins of North Bengal, who serve as priests to the *Rajbansis*. Brahmins who

descendants of Kayastha emigrants from Bengal and women of Chasa and Bhaudari classes and are entered into the Reports and known in the society as illegitimate children.

Hindu society was a living organism; there were intermarriages among its constituents and new castes or Varna Sankaras rose out of them and they had a social position. Even in the days of *Manu* and *Vrihat Dharmapuran* there were as many as 39 Varna Sankara castes. But now there are ten times as many and Hindu Society has not yet collapsed.

Before the question of individual liberty, the question of sex disparity, the question of division among the castes, are considered in details, we cannot pass judgment against intermarriage.

It is a well-known fact that throughout Bengal the Mohammedan population is on the increase, contrasted with a steady deterioration in the case of the Hindus; and the reasons are not far to seek. They are the thousand and one restrictions placed against the growth of the Hindu population. The sturdy lower castes have imitate the higher castes and have taken to all the evils that are destroying the vitality of the higher ones. In a certain community there is a great want of girls, and in another an excess of girls and want

of males; in another group there are many marriageable widows; and these things have naturally given rise to many sex problems, which have been continuously attempted to be white-washed instead of being boldly faced.

We have made no provision for the people, who cannot get a bride within their caste, to marry outside and live decently and purely. Are we not aware of the wretched conditions of certain castes, who have been a problem to the whole society? Is not this undue restriction on marriage partially responsible for the conversion of a large number of lower class people to Christianity and in earlier days to Mohammedanism? Is not this restriction partially responsible for the large displacement of the Hindu population by Mohammedans?

One serious defect, that I have come across in handling the Tables of the census Reports is the want of figures for the male and female populations of the sub-castes of some of the important castes. Had these figures been given, the disparity of sex population among the sub caste could have been proved to demonstration.

PROBHAT K. MUKHERJI.

Santiniketan,
20-1-1919.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Woman in Social Co-operation.

In the course of an article on the above subject in the January number of *Everyman's Review*, Mr. P. R. Krishnaswami, M.A., writes:

It is attempted to show here that woman has a social duty as well as a domestic one to perform. The principle of freedom of social meeting between the two sexes is an incomparably trivial matter when compared to the admission of women into the British Parliament. Yet it is an essential step for the furtherance of all serious matters of social reform. It is foolish to overlook this. It can even be argued that the failure of social reform in many matters of importance in the past in this country is due to the want of recognition of the principle of free social meeting between the two sexes as necessary to sound social organisation. We fret at early marriages and

want post puberty celebrations. But how can a grown-up girl or boy be reasonably drawn into marriage without being permitted by social etiquette to have previously met and known and chosen her or his future partner? Again we talk of extending the period of a girl's education to greater length than at present. How is this possible if social feeling does not previously throw away the barrier of seclusion now effectively weighing on our womanhood, or, how can widow-marriage again take place unless it has been humanly led up to by mutual meeting? A Surgeon-General tells us one day that women-doctors and women nurses are a crying need in Indian hospitals. The idea catches us immensely and we echo it. But how is it possible unless our social feeling has properly recognised that woman's life is not necessarily confined to the home but should extend to the social sphere? Women-nurses—what angels on earth they are to the sick! And yet according to the popular feeling of

the bird. National life is impoverished, is crippled, deprived of its feminine element.

But of late there has been an awakening of women, touched by the wide sweep of National consciousness, and feeling the modern exclusion from all humanity outside the home. The wrongs wrought in South Africa on Indians brought the Indian women there to face, as of old, the dangers which were faced by their men. Women went to gaol as men went, and died from the hardships suffered. Then women in the Motherland arose, stung into action by the sufferings of the exiles, and women's meetings called for justice, so that men and women together marched in one army against wrong and—won. The degradation, foul and monstrous inflicted on Indian women in Fiji as indentured labourers, called in their sisters in the Motherland for help again: they moved sent a deputation to the Viceroy and succeeded in gaining a promise that indentured slavery should cease. A third great victory was won in the internment struggle, 9 women's meetings and women's processions played a remarkable part in the agitation.

Meanwhile efforts to win higher education were steadily carried on, and progress was made. Qualified women teachers, women doctors, began to appear. Handicapped by the evil custom of child marriage and child motherhood, women yet strove for education, and

Mr. Karmesbold stand for widow education, widow marriage, finally for a Woman's University, played a fine part in the struggle. Girl undergraduates and graduates attended Government Universities and distinguished themselves in the examinations. A woman poet, Sarojini Devi, showed an easy mastery of English melody that no masculine Indian has rivalled. Toru Dutt might have held her own had not death cut short her promise. Shrimati Sarojini's rare eloquence alike in English and in Urdu is making her a power in the political field of India.

Everywhere, as we look around us, we see the glorious arising of Indian Womanhood, the promise of a near and sure victory for Liberty for Woman is the Shakti, the Divine Power, and without her Man cannot reach the fullness of Life. Partner, not subject, comrade not rival, complement not antagonist, helper, not burden—such is Woman to Man. With her Freedom India shall become free. The subjection of the Motherland and of the Mother must end together. For Man and Woman are the halves of a Perfect Whole and by their united strength shall India enter into her Kingdom.

We say Amen!

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Indian Constitutional Reform.

In the January number of *The Asiatic Review*, of London, Sir F. S. P. Lely, C.S.I., K.C.I.E., a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, contributes an article on "The Report in Indian Constitutional Reform," in the course of which he says—

I desire to express my deep sympathy with the educated men of India who wish to take a larger share in the government of their country. Also I may be allowed to offer my tribute of admiration for the statesmanlike spirit which pervades the Report though on some points it seems open to criticism.

The authors do not take enough account of the inhuman institution of caste, which is still by far the strongest and most tenacious social force in the country, though it may have been concealed from view by phrases borrowed from England. It is not true that the training of the people to political activity is all that is needed to produce a fairly balanced system. A difficulty in the way of an Indian democracy which radically differentiates it from that of the Colonies is that the equality of all men before the law is not grasped even by the best, and will certainly not be learned in five or ten years more. The belief is still deep-rooted—a survival of the not far distant days when the Brahmin was exempt alike from penalties and taxes—that a man's rights vary with his caste

and that the lowest have no civic rights at all. They are regarded by the higher castes as simply of no account, as on the level of animals—in parts influenced by Jainism, as below animals. I could give innumerable instances from real life, but they would seem incredible, or else raked up to make out a case.

Towards the end of last century, being Collector of Surat, an advanced district of Bombay, I found on inquiry that the depressed classes—i.e., the outcastes, certain low castes, and the aborigines (called locally "the black people")—were outside the village school, even when they formed twenty per cent or more of the population. Occasionally by force, but generally by social pressure, the higher castes made them feel that the school was not for them. I used my influence as Chairman of the Local Board, to get a notice served on the worst villages that unless within a certain time a certain proportion of the inferior classes were receiving education, the Board School would be closed as not fulfilling its purpose. Rather than deprive their own children of it, the caste people gave way and numbers of the outsiders were let in. Now under any possible franchise these caste people will form the bulk of the electorate. If, as is assumed, they are truly represented they will add an element to the country's government not perhaps, in these days of active tyranny, but of passive resistance to the upward progress of the labourers, and especially of the 'unclean'. They will stand behind the Brahmins, who will occupy the places of

of our political superstitions of peace time persist in this hour of peril and anxiety and distract us, not only from the momentous contest raging almost within hearing of the busy activities of London, but from the work quietly performed by men of many races and tongues, in many different fields of unostentatious activity. There have even been Indians from Pondicherry and Chindernagore who have had the high privilege of fighting in the French Army as gallant and valued soldiers of the French Republic. When the German militarists let loose the unspeakable calamity of war in the hope of an easy, profitable, and rapid victory over unprepared and peaceful communities, they little knew that they were, in effect, bringing to a rapid head many incubating tendencies in East and West which were the very antipodes of their own social and political ideals and aims.

In concluding Mr. Anderson observes :

What the ultimate result will be, who shall say ? As I write, there are problems in Ireland, in Russia, even in India itself, which may well dismay the most opti-

mistic, and puzzle the most keen-sighted. Yet, after all, our so-called "democratic" principle, and the ideals for which we are fighting, are essentially optimistic. We refuse to despair of human nature ; we refuse to believe that the only way out is a sullen and despairing acquiescence in and submission to, military force engineered and supported by a marvellous abuse of scientific organization. Once that issue is fought out, we shall have other puzzles and problems. But we can face them in another than the Prussian spirit. We can cultivate a sense of humour and kindness, which, as I have hastily and inadequately striven to show, is not wanting even in the minds of animistic Tibeto-Burman savage races. We have learned, as never before, to work in hearty friendship with men of many nations, tongues and beliefs, in a sturdy confidence that the optimistic love of liberty, which we inherit, and now share with many other peoples, is the most infallible guide that stumbling humanity can employ.

DEMOCRACY VERSUS BUREAUCRACY

OF the varied aspects of the human society of to-day, one is the awakening in the masses all the world over of the consciousness of their political existence. The sentiment of national pride is keener and more widely diffused nowadays than it was in former times. The questions which directly affect the sons of soil and toil are those most calculated to enlist their sympathy, and the governing classes conscious of this fact have begun to modify their tactics accordingly. The masses have realised the condition of poverty, ignorance and misery in which a large part of them spend most part of their lives—a condition brought into existence by a certain number of economical forces, themselves the result of great progress in material sciences during the past one and a half centuries. This consciousness has led to what is known as the co-operative movement and the formation of trade-unions all over Europe and Europeanised world. The latter have come to the conclusion that the amelioration of the condition of the vast masses of the labourers is impossible unless they have a hand in politics and send their representatives to their respective legislative assemblies. They advocate the doctrines of socialism.

The middle classes see and realise that their interests clash and are in conflict with those of the wealthy classes and the feeling is based upon a bitter experience in the past that as long as the government remains in the hands of the latter, their interests would be crushed. This has raised the problem whether the government is to be carried on in the name of a people merely, by a privileged class for its own benefit, a government irresponsible to the people at large or it is to be carried on by the people for the good of the nation as a whole and responsible to the nation as a whole. In other words, whether there is to be a democracy or a bureaucracy. Before I describe the forces that are gravitating towards the success of democracy over all other forms of government to the utter mortification of the bureaucrat, I may let you know what I understand by the two terms.

Bureaucracy may be defined as a system of government centralised in a graded series of officials responsible only to their chiefs and controlling every detail of public life as it was till lately in Germany. On the other hand a democracy may be defined as a form of government in which the supreme power is vested

in the people collectively and is administered by them or by officers appointed by them, *e.g.*, in France

Before I examine these two definitions, I shall make clear certain terms which I shall use, by giving their explanations

Reduced to its fundamental principles the problem of government is how to protect members of a State against outside attacks and internal dissensions and how to promote their general welfare. Thus external and internal protection and the promotion of the general welfare comprise all the responsibilities of a government. If it avoids any of these two or adopts a course which is prejudicial to any of these two, it does what it ought not to do and in doing so it violates the rights of the members of the State, who naturally resent it and come in conflict with the government. In order to carry out its proper work, the government has to frame laws and make the machinery to carry them out, *i.e.*, it has got power to legislate and to execute the legislation. Thus the task of the government is divided between the legislative and the executive. Now I proceed to examine the definitions which I gave of bureaucracy and democracy

The former definition may be analysed into three clauses —

- (a) Centralisation of authority in graded series of officials,
- (b) their responsibility to the head of government alone,
- and (c) control of every detail of public life

Taken as a whole the three elements in a bureaucracy exhibit its great power of organisation which is essential to success in all departments and enjoin strict discipline and obedience on its members

But the power being vested in a graded series of officers—the lower officer is responsible to his immediate superior officer and the latter to his immediate superior officer—each officer from the lowest to the highest forms but a link in the chain, the last remaining unlinked which represents the absolute authority of the highest officer who is the head of the government. Now the highest authority might be vested in a single individual or a few members of them who are absolute, *i.e.* are not responsible to the people whom they govern

The danger of such a system lies in

the fact that it may deviate and such systems have deviated from the right path, *i.e.*, they have avoided what they ought to have done and done what they ought not to have done. They have actually put restrictions upon anybody and everybody's right to move about from one place to another or from one country to another. They have stunted and stifled a nation's education, repressed the freedom of its press, disarmed its citizens, if citizens they might be called who have no rights of citizenship, and neglected and crushed its industries. They have embittered the public life of the governed and have even in some cases interfered with the sacrosanctity of their private life. The wretchedness and the miseries of the people have only increased in cases where the personnel of the bureaucracy happens to be of foreign extraction, *i.e.*, where this form of government is superimposed upon a people by individuals of an alien race. But my quarrel is not with the personnel but with the system itself

Now have you ever tried to understand the psychology of the bureaucrat? It is this. The bureaucratic form of government is good for a country, I would not call nation in the period of its lactation. Its work is educational. It moulds the different tribes into a national unit. Beyond that it has no justification to continue to exist. It has to give over charge to democracy. But the difficulty lies in the fact that instead of quietly and peacefully transferring its authority to its successor it tries to continue by unlawful means its unlawful lease of life and in consequence it has to be dethroned. The bureaucrat is a parasite. He enjoys freedom by withholding the same from its legitimate proprietors, *i.e.*, the people at large. He has resorted unscrupulously to the tyrant's most terrible instrument of refusing the right of open trial and committing innocent individuals to jail on the pretext of public safety. Even the devil has his good side it is said and in the same manner even the bureaucracy can justify its unlawful actions by the appointment of what are called "commissions." Further to strengthen its position it sets up a strong militarism at the cost of the people ready to be used even against the very people themselves if they even try to open their muzzled mouths and utter the word 'liberty.' The evils

of such a system have been amply demonstrated in the case of the German East African Colonies where the people used to live daily under a sundry sort of such other tortures. This leads to movements at first secret and then open like those of the Communists. It is the result of this system that Bolshevism is at present rampant in Eastern and Central Europe.

So much for Bureaucracy. Now I must examine the definition of Democracy. It may be analysed into two clauses—

(a) The supreme power is vested in the people collectively

and (b) administration is carried on either directly by themselves or by the officers appointed by them.

Now there are two things introduced here. First the power is transferred from an individual or a few individuals or even from a privileged class to the people themselves. They are the sovereign. Some might call it a paradox but like all other paradoxes it has to be understood in order to grasp the deeper significance which underlies it. It does not mean that any individual can exercise the sovereign authority. That would be anarchy against which we are fighting. But the people as a whole possess that sovereign power which is denied to the individual. Moreover the people collectively relegate their authority for immediate purposes of legislation and its execution to a number of themselves while retaining to themselves the ultimate authority. They can criticise the actions of the body to whom authority has been relegated and can even dismiss it if they like. Usually the people choose their legislature which appoints the executive which is responsible to the legislature and through it to the people at large. This briefly put is the principle of democracy.

Now according to the different answers to the question who shall control the government the different forms of government e.g. monarchy aristocracy plutocracy theocracy democracy and in fact many other cracies depend. Therefore it would not be amiss to find out with whom the ultimate sovereign authority rests from which the government derives its sanction.

Plato in his Republic gives expression to the ideals of democracy which differs much from its modern form. He and his great disciple Aristotle did not abstract

man from the society, the latter went to the length even of opening his Ethics by offering the economic structure of society. Their ideal was to establish a large measure of justice between man and man and in their systems there seems to be no place for any form of government but in which the rights and privileges of the various members of the State are equal.

Now passing on to the modern times we find in the seventeenth century Thomas Hobbes rejecting Aristotle's notion of sociality as an essentially human characteristic and maintaining what is called the 'Natural State of man'. To come out of this chaos he invented the doctrine of *Social Contract* by which the whole community surrender their right of individual sovereignty into the hands of one man who thenceforth becomes the absolute ruler of the State and whose authority no body can deny in future. 'But the logic of Hobbes absolutism says Mr. Benn, 'shrivelled up under the Sun of English liberty'.

Although after Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau maintained his views as to the origin of the political society which is false as is shown by recent writers who hold that in the primitive stages of human development governments like languages are not made but evolve yet they hold in contradistinction to Hobbes view that the will of the people should be the law. According to Locke the chief and main end for which men unite into commonwealths is the mutual preservation of their lives liberties and estates (Treatise of Government) and if a government neglects to secure this end or invades the rights of its subjects may be lawfully set aside whenever an opportunity occurs. Hence the people themselves are to be regarded as the sovereign authority.

It was according to this great democratic principle that the members of the French National Assembly formulated the rights of man and since then this principle has been adopted in all the States of Europe Turkey excepted. As to Russia nothing can be said at present when it is being ruined by an internecine war and Bolshevik Terrorism prevails everywhere in the country.

Not only this the democratic principle has created a tendency to extend the franchise to all adult males so that they may be able to force the government to do

according to their own wishes. In England even women have been enfranchised and authorised to sit in the House of Commons. Moreover, the Bombay Legislative Council has also now passed the bill giving right to women to be elected as members of Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Besides this, written constitutions exist in all European countries, except England and Turkey, the one requiring none so strong being the traditions of constitutional government, in the other, the despotic government granting none, to prevent kings or president or government officials to exercise despotic powers.

The upshot of this whole is that it is now acknowledged that it is the people at large in whom the sovereign power resides and who are the ultimate arbiters of their fate. Now we find that bureaucracy *derives its authority from above, democracy from below, i. e., the people themselves.* Even in religion where authority might be supposed to come from the above, the Reformation has denounced it and we find among the Protestants as far as my knowledge goes, that the authority resides in the congregation and not in the clergy. In the latter it is only a delegated authority. If it be so, if man can look well after his soul, can he not look after his poor body? I think the bureaucratic principle here falls to the ground.

Now as to the second point—whether the government is to be carried on by the people directly or through their representatives. This is the basis of the distinction between what is called Absolute or Direct Democracy and Representative or Indirect Democracy. This is the distinction between the ancient Greek City States, for example, and the modern democracies. Nevertheless, it is often advanced as an objection against modern democracy itself.

I say they confound the two ideas. To have a correct understanding of absolute democracy, we must think of a small community, living within the four walls of a single town enjoying independent sovereignty as Athens was in the fifth century B. C. Or as the modern original Swiss Cantons are where all public business is discussed in a full assembly of the people. It was possible in ancient City States and it is possible now in Switzerland because of the difficulty of communication between one part of the country and another and owing to the fact that

geographical conditions isolated the cantons which have remained independent.

Nowadays our idea of State has expanded from a City State to a big country under one government. Moreover, the modern conditions do not permit of such City States. Therefore, the only form of democracy that is possible nowadays is what is called Representative Government.

Some sapient bureaucrats think that this is to give up the whole position. I say, not in the least. Whatever be the constitution the representative body is responsible to the sovereign body whose creature it is. Whatever powers the latter may delegate to the former as long as the former is responsible to the latter the principle of democracy still holds good. It is no secret nowadays that the control of the purse implies the control of policy and the lower or the representative chamber alone grants or withholds supply. The saying 'No taxation without representation' is familiar to all of us. Thus the principle of democracy is not violated.

Moreover, some pious bureaucrats raise the objection that in representative government the will of the people is liable to be thwarted by their very agents. May it not be replied that it is rather an advantage that the first impulse of the public will sometimes passionate and short sighted, should be tempered and enlightened by passing through a series of media on its way to action and the hold which the constituencies have upon their elections and in other ways is a sufficient guard against any defeat of a steady, earnest and public conviction.

Again it is objected that in a Representative Government majority is to decide and majority may often be in the wrong. Had not Socrates to drink the bitter cup of poison in accordance with the sentence of the majority? Yes, it was so with Socrates, and one must open and read Plato's dialogue with Crito to know that Socrates himself clung to the Athenian constitution and preferred dying in Athens rather than seeking the protection of some other government. Moreover is it not sufficient to point out that large minorities by opposition and criticism can get the punt cleared and thus hold in check the extremists on the other side? Moreover, if, as it is said, good government is no

substitute for self-government be true, it implies the right to go wrong.

Even John Stewart Mill, who considers Representative Government to be the ideally perfect form of government and whose extension he thinks is inevitable, doubts the sufficient mental qualities of the governing class under the system as compared with the aristocracy who have made it their business of life. But sufficient mentality can be secured by attaching the conditions of some educational qualifications in the persons appointed to public offices. Moreover, under a Representative Government there would be fair competition and only the best intellects would be able to come to the fore. Does anybody doubt the sagacity of the present British Cabinet because it is largely drawn from the people and not the aristocracy?

Another author who is now the democrat of democrats wrote more than a dozen years ago when she had not entered the arena of politics that democracy runs counter to all the compelling laws of nature, for said she, men are not born equal but very unequal and never can a stable society be built if we start by disregarding nature and treat all as having rights to equal power, the ignorant and the wise, the intellectual and the stupid, the criminal and the saintly. I admit that men are not born equal but very unequal and it is for this reason that the wise, the intellectual and the saintly will play the prominent part, by having the government of the people entrusted to them. Birth does not give man his rights. That is an exploded theory now. Whatever they are, they are made by the society and thus they can have no right as against society or its members. What are required are not equal rights for all, but equal chances and opportunities of developing and perfecting their personalities for all.

The bureaucrat might say that though a democracy is good during peace time, a centralised government is the only government for war purposes. To some extent this is true. But can democratic governments not rise to the occasion and succeed in gaining a unity and secrecy of purpose for outwitting the enemy without impairing their essential nature? It is democracy that has been the saviour of the world.

Perhaps, a bureaucrat might open his mouth and venture to enquire of me, what would be the result if the principles of Democracy are carried to the extreme and even if the doctrines of the Communists be ever carried into law under the auspices of Democracy, the society would come to a standstill. Gentlemen, it is not so. Certainly we do not know what other forms of government are in store for us besides those with which we are acquainted. But a glance at the past, and a historical review disclose the fact that Democracy is not of spontaneous generation. There is a certain order. First comes Autocracy to be followed by its mate bureaucracy which in its turn gives place to Democracy. Thus democracy has been evolved out of the primitive form of government where might was right, there can at all be any government in such a form of society. Some one might say that it may be a return to Autocracy. But they ignore the very facts of nature. The plan of nature is evolution. If autocracy transplants Democracy everywhere the long and laborious process by which nature has worked would be reversed and there would be again a return to what is called a state of nature. The *laudator temporis acti* may believe that the Golden Age has passed away and forever, but we of this generation believe that the Golden Age is to come. Nations may rise and fall, there may be revolutions of civilisations—but all such revolutions minister to the progress of the civilisation itself, though not of any one particular type of civilisation. Even the present war whose happening we all so deeply deplore has brought the world but a step forward. The long Czarism of Russia and brutal despotism of Turkey which no political force could uproot for above 1000 years have been sapped and undermined by the present war. Would you like to have such Autocracies again and would nature allow it? Indeed, we do not know what form of Government would succeed Democracy, but this much we know that there is to be no retrograde return to either Bureaucracy or to Autocracy after the most gigantic war has been fought for Democracy. But if human foresight and reason are anything, if the experience which history gives, teaches us something, I may venture to say on my account that individuality as well as society would be directly developed.

and brought to perfection by Democracy. If it be so, what then? The two extremes of human existence have been moulded and perfected. But this is a mere *speculus*. It is a problem not for me but for time itself to untie.

Now it may be asked what is the lesson which history gives us in this direction. When we turn to the history of the classical nations, we discover legislative attempts that Saviour of modernity. Even in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., the Athenians established a form of government which aimed to give an equal voice to all free men in determining the laws that were to control them. Nothing could be more provocative for the modern legislator than to read of the legislative experiments of Lycurgus at Sparta and of Solon and his successors at Athens. If we pass on to latter part of ancient history and consider the attempts at federal government that found expression in the Achaean and the Aetolian leagues we shall have been presented a prototype of nearly every legislative experiment of more recent times.

In our own times France after a century of bloodshed and struggle commencing with the French Revolution attained the ideal of liberty which England and America already possessed only to plunge again into the present world war to preserve the democracy.

As to England, John conceded the beginnings of English liberty in the Magna Carta. Charles I and James II questioned that liberty and history records the answer that England gave them. With the coming of the Hanoverians Cabinet system came into existence and after many cataclysms liberty emerged full-grown.

Italy inspired by Mazzini with the ideals of liberty found its saviour in Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia and in 1818 was conferred upon her a constitution by which the King governed through a ministry responsible to a Chamber of Deputies elected by the people.

Spain and Portugal have their respective Cortes and even the Russia of the Czar had its Duma.

America, we all know, revolted at the gross injustice of the Mother country. England. It formed a Constitution and gradually the different States entered into the Union. Even in the East, China is an experimental republic. Japan instituted a Diet of two Chambers by the

Constitution of 1889 and Persia expelled the despotic Shah and established a Majlis or Parliament in 1909.

Even the rulers of India have pronounced Self-government in reasonable time for her to be the goal of their policy, but when that time will come nobody knows. Gentlemen, the greatest of the wars fought for the principle of liberty and justice has come to a long sought victorious end for the Allies. If it be true that the present war is a war of ideals, may we not hope that with the victory of the Allies Democracy will be enthroned all over the world? Indeed the strongest argument in favour of democracy is to be had from the colossal failure of the most efficient and the most powerful Bureaucracy in the world, I mean the Prussian Bureaucracy and the Russian Autocracy. Bolshevism must teach too severe a lesson to the Bureaucrat and the Autocrat. They must know that the Panacea for all such evils is the Divine Democracy. Moreover it has been recognized all over the world, in press and on platform that some sort of league of nations should be established in future. Is not Democracy the most akin form of government in national politics to a league of nations in International Politics?

Gentlemen, such are the forces, not under the control of any one body or even one nation that are gravitating with accelerated speed towards the enshrining of Democracy in the governmental temples of every country in the world.

What is the conclusion then? Bureaucracy has become an anachronism in the twentieth century has been well remarked by Dr. White. It would hardly survive this century. If the laws of mechanics always hold good and if I may be permitted to draw an illustration from that source, I may say that the top heavy rod of the bureaucratic government cannot long stand erect and must fall down even when the mildest breeze blows. Democracy has been declared the goal of all government even by the most rigid bureaucrats. Bureaucracy had to play its part in the evolution of the human society and it has done its task. Perpetual it cannot be. On the other hand the forces of Democracy are so tremendous and overwhelming that one cannot but go in that direction. Democracy as described by Abraham Lincoln is a government of the people by the people for the people. The

future progress of civilisation lies in the universal triumph of this principle. For when it is fully established all the world

over, the long sought for millennium would arrive and the ideals would be materialised
Bareilly College. SHYAM BHARI LAL,

CORPORATE LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA*

THIS is a thesis which has earned for Professor Majumdar the Doctor's degree of the Calcutta University this year. The scope of the work has been clearly indicated by the author in the Introduction. "The spirit of Co-operation was a marked feature in almost all fields of activity in ancient India and was manifest in social and religious as well as in political and economic life. The well known Jati (caste) and the Samgha (the community of the Buddhist monks) are the most notable products of this spirit in the first two spheres of life. The same spirit, however, played an equally important part in the remaining ones and its effect may be seen typified in Gana (political corporation) and Sreni (guild)." Dr Majumdar has reviewed the Economic, Political, Religious and Social life of Ancient India from the standpoint of corporate activity which supplies the unifying principle through the four isolated monographs embodying the thesis.

The work points to a field of Indian research where we find up to this time very few workers of the first rank. Analysis of the concrete archaeological data (e.g., of the domain of Architecture and Sculpture, Epigraphy and Numismatics) has no doubt advanced to a certain extent; but the synthetic presentation of any aspect of Ancient Indian life has met with few attempts and fewer successes. We have no doubt the privilege of recounting the works of two hoary veterans—we mean Sir R G Bhandarkar's monograph on Indian cults and Dr Broyendranath Seal's treatise on the Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus—but these master craftsmen have not as yet given us a single disciple who could apply their technique in the same field. So we leave these Rishmas of Indology to their inaccessible Himalayan heights! Of the next generation Mr K. P. Jayaswal is the most brilliant worker. By his penetrating historical vision he has not only thrown a flood of light on the political and socio-economic life of Ancient India but roused a genuine enthusiasm in the study of her institutional history. But this is a line of inquiry which is as fruitful for a genuine scholar as it is futile for unripe or over-ripe enthusiasts who are every day being lured into the discovery of false fundamentals and flimsy foundations of Indian life. Hence while in department of objective study we get really valuable monographs like Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's 'Foreign Elements in Indian Population' and Mr R. D. Banerjee's 'Scythian Period of Indian History' the victories in the temple of Indian culture history are, with the single exception of Mr Jayaswal, as a

whole marked by a spirit of precarious self assertion that is anything but scholarly. Hence we have to watch painfully the materials for a short paper puffed up into a ponderous volume and cheap patriotism and premature generalisations parading under the cover of Indian culture history. Thus their Indian Politics is partisan, their Indian Economics ethereal, and their Indian Art polemical and problematic. Not that we do not believe in the reconstruction of Indian culture history but that we demand severer canons of criticism and profounder vision of synthesis. Before the establishment of the norms of Indian life and the valuation of those norms in the light of comparative culture history of Humanity we absolutely require the scientific descriptive survey and sound well grounded interpretation of the facts thus collected and co-ordinated. Unfortunately with characteristic oriental transcendentalism we are attempting to take our stand on normation and valuation of Indian life, neglecting the indispensable preliminaries of description and interpretation. Thus our descriptions are hasty and haphazard, our interpretations precarious, our norms arbitrary and our valuations parochial and false.

It is in such a crisis of our study of culture history that we welcome the dissertation of Dr Majumdar. Since the publication of Jayaswal's brilliant "Introduction to Hindu Polity" in the pages of this Review six years ago (1913) we have had not the pleasure of presenting before the students of Indian culture history such a sober well balanced and stimulating treatise. With the characteristic candour and humility of an earnest student of the objective school Dr Majumdar says: "I have avoided, on principle, all philosophical disquisitions throughout this work. It has been my aim rather to simply present the facts in a connected manner with a view to illustrate, as far as possible the gradual development of the various institutions." Thus he disarms all criticism from the more ambitious school while he presents us with a really first class descriptive work on our Indian culture history. An acute student of epigraphy and numismatics as he is, Dr Majumdar has collected the data of our corporate life with a thoroughness and marshalled them with a critical acumen that would do credit to any scholar. Indeed in almost every page we feel the impress of the personal ty of a dispassionate historian who examines an economic organisation (e.g., the Sreni) a political institution (e.g., the Samiti) or a social phenomenon (e.g., the Jati) in the same spirit of detachment and objectivity of judgment as is manifest when he deciphers a mutilated inscription or analyses a rare numismatic evidence. Herein lies his strength as well as limitation as a historian of culture. We miss the subtle psychobiological interactions that are at the genesis and progression of every phenomenon of culture history.

* *Corporate Life in Ancient India*. By Ramesh Chandra Majumdar M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer on Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University. Pp. viii—176. Price Rupees Four only (including postage).

we also miss the magic transfiguration of concrete facts by the synthetic genius of a social philosopher but we gain a full and accurate description of our cultural structures and a thoroughly reliable reading of the fluctuations in their functioning—achievements which by themselves entitle him to the dignity of a Doctorate.

Apart from its scholarly worth the thesis chances to appear in a very opportune moment when we are struggling with real queries in *politics* and *society*. By a curious coincidence it is a crushing answer to those who are at present struggling to establish against history that Self government is the chartered monopoly of the Western nations or that ethnic purity the monopoly of the Brahmanic hierarchy. Without the least tinge of political acrimony Dr. Majumdar completely demolishes the pretensions of both the schools of Secularists by positive presentation of the wonderful picture of the self governing life of the Ancient Indians while with the relentless ness of a true historian he exposes the intricate his-

tory of the growth of Brahmanic pretensions and the fiction of their immaculate heredity. He proves beyond all doubt that *race mixture* was as much a fact of our social life as *self government* that of our political history.

There is only one criticism which we fear, would be found unanimously, by every reader of the treatise, to be absolutely damaging to Dr. Majumdar. The body of the book is marred all over by such an amount of typographical blemishes as to exhaust the patience of any reader. This is his maiden production and he has no right or an iota of historical authority to deal such a rude shock to the corporate instinct of the public by presenting the 'Maiden so horribly disfigured by the Printer's Devil. In our judgment Dr. Majumdar ought to make an immediate and complete reparation by publishing an *édition de luxe* of this rich instructive and inspiring dissertation.

KALYAN

THE WORD SWARAJ IN THE RIG VEDA

BY KRISHNAKANTA HANDEKUL, B.A.

NOW that the demand for Swaraj looms large in the political consciousness of India, it may be of some interest to many of our countrymen to know how the word Swaraj fares in the Rig Veda, the oldest literary treasure of India, and for the matter of that, of the whole Aryan world.

The bases to which the different forms of the word can be traced are (1) स्वराज and (2) स्वराज.

(1) The most characteristic use of the word स्वराज is found in the 1st Mandala in the 80th hymn, addressed to Indra, where it occurs sixteen times, being repeated in each of the sixteen verses of the hymn. I shall quote only one verse—

महि तु मादभीमवीर्यं को योरां रा ।

वसिष्ठः सवितुः सवितुः देवाः योजासि व दधु

राजं स्वराजं ॥ (1. 80. 15)

"We do never know Indra, going (everywhere) Who is greater in strength (than he) In him the gods have stored up wealth, strength and might. He is honouring (i.e. displaying) 'his own regime'."

'His own regime' in this verse is स्वराज. It is very interesting to note here that the Latin root 'regere' from which the word 'regime' comes is allied to Sanskrit राज.

the Indo European form being REG. The word स्वराज cannot possibly be here explained as 'kingdom,' for, in Sanskrit, the primary meaning of the word is "the attribute (गुण) or the vocation of a king" (Bhattoji Dikshita on Pan 5.1.128).

The word स्वराज occurs in some other places, in one place in three successive verses (1. 84. 10-12). Once it appears as an adjective of Agni (स्वराजमग्निं) which Sayana explains as "shining with his own lustre." There is yet another occurrence of the word in the form "स्वराज" which deserves special mention. Here is the verse concerned —

महावीर्यवत्सवितुः सवितुः ।

वसिष्ठः सवितुः सवितुः देवाः योजासि व दधु ॥ (5. 66. 6)

The word स्वराज here presents some difficulty. The verse can be thus translated provisionally—

'Ye Mitra (and Varuna) with a vast outlook may we, who are your worshippers, strive for extensive स्वराज, which is to be defended by many.'

There are scholars according to whom स्वराज here means 'kingdom' and स्व refers to Mitra and Varuna. According to Sayana, however, स्वराज means स्वराज "one's own rule," 'self rule.' I propose

to follow Sayana for two reasons. First, राज्ञ "rulership" preserves the primary meaning of the word as opposed to राजा meaning a kingdom, and it is the primary meaning of a word, wherever appropriate, that we should look for in so ancient a collection as the Rig-Veda. Secondly, it would be idiomatic for the word राज्ञ ("one's own") to refer to the speakers in the verse rather than those spoken to. "May we strive for राज्ञा"—here, in my humble opinion, idiom would suffer if राज्ञ be made to refer to Mitra and Varuna, and not to the speakers themselves. The natural meaning would be "May we strive for our own rule" instead of "for Mitra and Varuna's own kingdom," particularly as the word Mitra occurs in a different line, as vocative, not genitive.

(2) The other base of the word, viz. राज्ञ, appears in a variety of forms—राज्ञ (nom. sing.), राज्ञम् (acc. sing.), राज्ञे (dat. sing.) and राज्ञः (gen. sing. and nom. plural).

राज्ञ means "one who shines with his own lustre" and in some places "one who rules of his own accord." (Cf. Latin Regere). It is an epithet of Indra. In one place, the poet sings—"One (Varuna) is called राज्ञ and the other (Indra) राज्ञः" (7. 82. 2). It would be tedious to trace each use of the word. Let us take only one instance :—

यस्यै देव म विरिषे महिम्नं दिवस्य विभ्याः—
यमं त विद्याम् ।

.....आ विद्मर्तुतः सविरिषमो वयस्ये रथाय ॥

"It is he whose greatness surpasses the heaven, the earth and the sky.....capable of (doing everything), having worthy antagonists, and going (everywhere), he leads (his soldiers) to battle."

The passage left out here is "राज्ञा राज्ञे," "Indra is राज्ञ in his abode," i. e., he rules of his own accord there. In order to preserve the dignity of the idea implied in "राज्ञ," Sayana explains "देवे" as "दमयितुं विषये" in that which is to be subjugated. But the word दम meaning "abode" is peculiar to the Rig-Veda. (Cf. Latin Domus). Moreover, in the Nighantu the word appears in this very form (देवे) among the synonyms of "house."

We should note in the above instance that the idea of ruling is particularly prominent there. The mention in 7. 82. 2 of राज्ञ along with the epithet राज्ञः applied to Varuna, the moral governor of the world, strongly points to the idea of ruling implied in the word.

To sum up, in the Rig-Veda, in some places the idea of shining (2.8.5, 1.36.7, etc.) and in some that of ruling (5.66.6, 1.61.9, etc.) appears to be prominent in the use of the word राज्ञ, and the idea of shining is always connected with that of ruling, for the root राज, primarily means "to shine."

This is, in brief, the earliest career of a word, which has after thousands of years become a bye-word with educated Indians. All honour to Dadabhai Naoroji who gave it a new lease of life, a new interpretation with a new message!

The word राजवत्मान seems to be a fit companion to राज्ञ; the great commentator Sayana has in some places explained राज्ञ, as वासवतद्वेषि.

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION AND RAILWAY WORKSHOPS

By RAI SAHEB CHANDRIKA PRASADA,
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AFTER reading the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission 1916-18, one is forcibly struck with the fact that India is sadly behind other civilised coun-

tries in the industrial line and in times of war its position becomes not only helpless but extremely dangerous. It seriously needs a thorough overhauling of its edu-

cational system and requires a number of Technical schools Engineering Colleges and Institutes of technology. The foundation for technical instruction and training should begin from the elementary schools where elementary drawing should be taught as a compulsory subject and physics and chemistry and carpentry and smithy included as optional subjects. In every town of importance we should have a technical school where theory and practice of all trades and industries should be taught to those who are likely to take the industrial line as their life's career. Larger cities or centres should have higher technical schools and engineering colleges while higher Institutes of Technology should be provided at selected centres.

The provision of new or independent technical schools etc. may take time and require large sums of money. In the meantime I desire once more to draw the particular attention of the public to the provisions which already exist in the Railway workshops in India in a large measure for the practical as well as theoretical training of the youth for mechanical and electrical engineering which require but a comparatively small amount of money for first equipment and for recurring expenses and are admirably suited for the purpose.

At pages 138-55 of the *Modern Review* for August 1917 the present writer dealt with the subject of practical training of officers and subordinates for the Technical Departments of Indian State Railways and pointed out the great facilities available in the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon workshops of Indian Railways for the training of the Indian youth for technical work generally for railways and other industries. In October 1917 the Provincial Conference of the United Provinces held at Sitapur passed the following resolution—

XVI (a) The conference requests that the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Workshops of Indian State Railways whether worked by the State or through the agency of companies Government Dock Yards and other State Factories be made available for the practical training in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering that the existing Technical schools and Drawing classes attached to the Railway workshops be thrown open to Indians who ever they are reserved for European or Anglo-Indian apprentices and in form rules conditions rates of pay and educational qualifications applicable alike to apprentices of all races or creeds may be laid down and improvements where necessary may be

made in the teaching staff and appliances so as to make it as reasonably possible to turn out men of both the superior and subordinate grades to meet all normal requirements.

It is satisfactory to note that the main points urged in the above resolution have been brought out and supported by the Indian Industrial Commission whose report has been just published. The Commissioners state that by far the most important development of mechanical engineering in India is represented by the numerous Locomotive and Carriage building shops which are an essential adjunct to the Railway system. The Commission mention over seventy such shops. A score of them are of large dimensions and are well equipped with a variety of machinery needed for almost all classes of mechanical work (Page 25 of the Report). The Commissioners were much impressed by the great possibilities for training in mechanical engineering in these workshops which are so distributed as to form convenient centres in almost every major province of India (Page 116). Some of these workshops have been in existence for a period of over 50 years and if they were properly utilised for the training of Indians in mechanical work as ordered by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in 1870 we should have had to-day a large number of Indians properly trained not only as Chargemen and Foremen but also as mechanical engineers occupying positions in the superior grades of Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents. But what did the Commission find?—They were forcibly struck when visiting the large railway and private workshops throughout India with the complete absence of Indians from the ranks of Foremen and Chargemen (Page 118. The italics are ours). Very few Indians have been allowed to rise to the ranks of foremen and still fewer have been appointed to the superior establishment (Page 26).

In the early days of Indian Railways the usual practice was to import from England not only the officers of the superior grades but also subordinate mechanics such as Foremen Chargemen engine drivers etc. About the year 1870 a requisition was sent by the Government of India for 30 artificers upon which the Secretary of State drew attention to the great advantage of endeavouring as far as possible to train the natives of the

country in all those branches of handicraft that are necessary for the maintenance of Railways." It was pointed out that "every large work of the magnitude of a railway or canal, and every shop in connection with such, forms a training school for artisans; and from these there is no doubt that some suited for the position of foremen could be obtained." To ensure this result it was expressly enjoined that

"It will probably be necessary to attach a school to each large shop which likely men should be encouraged to attend and those that give promise of rising to the responsible positions should be helped and their practical knowledge supplemented with theoretical training and some instruction in drawing."

In circulating the above order to the Local Governments and Administrations, the Government of India added—

"The success of the experiment will of course depend mainly on the tact and judgment and energy of men at the head of the shops, but His Excellency in Council sees no reason to doubt the successful issue of the experiment, if the object is put before the supervisors as one to which the Government of India attaches much importance and if the Local Governments interest themselves in securing their accomplishment."

The orders were issued over 48 years ago, and the results so far are shown above in the words of the Industrial Commission. The orders of 1870 were expressly meant for the training of *Indians* in technical schools and drawing classes attached to the workshops, but they have been applied to *Europeans and Anglo-Indians only*. Asiatic-Indians have been almost entirely ignored. The schools and drawing classes are no doubt attached to each of the large workshops of the principal Indian Railways, but they are either reserved for non-Indians or Indians are allowed only a secondary place and this has been but recently allowed. The restrictions against Indians are still in force and in Appendix N. to the Commission's *Report*, to which a reference will be made hereafter, it is still proposed to keep Indians down in number.

Some of the European Officers in charge of the Railway workshops are under the impression that Indians do not like mechanical work, that they prefer clerical work, or are incapable of doing the former. These complaints are devoid of truth. The Commissioners have expressly discredited them. In fact Indians have not been allowed an opportunity of showing

their worth or exercising their choice. They have, on the contrary, been discouraged by these very critics. Whenever an educated Indian makes an attempt to take up mechanical work, he is discouraged by such low stipends and low prospects as no one would care to accept. They have thus been driven to clerical work which gives them at least a better start. They get 20 or 25 rupees a month to begin with in the clerical line, while Rupees 6 or 7 a month only is offered for the mechanical work. The Commissioners have but mildly put the case when they state that

"It is doubtful if sufficient inducement in the way of pay are yet held out to men to become a really first class artisan" (Page 117)

At another place they observe that—

"the stipends and prospects offered are not of a nature to induce the better educated classes to spend a number of years as workmen." (Page 118).

Will Government see that sufficient encouragement is given to Indians and proper facilities are provided for their training? This is only possible when race or religious distinctions are completely removed.

The observations and recommendations of the Industries Commission are summed up in para 152 of their *Report* which is reproduced below :

"Railway workshops are, as we have stated, in many cases already receiving European and Anglo-Indian apprentices, to whom some degree of technical training is given with the object of enabling them to obtain posts as foremen, or, in special cases, even higher appointments. There is, however, a noteworthy absence of provision for the middle class Indian. We consider it of great importance that the conditions of training should be such as the educated Indian youth will consider consistent with his sense of self-respect; for if this is not satisfied, we shall be depriving ourselves of a most promising field of recruitment. The arrangement made for Indian apprentices are at present inadequate; and the stipends paid them during the period of training and the salaries offered on its completion are very much lower than the corresponding amounts in the case of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, a fact which is largely responsible for the failure of the better educated Indians to take advantage of these courses. As regards salaries, we consider that the principle must be adhered to that equal proficiency should be equally remunerated. The inequality of stipends is to some extent justified by the difference in the standard of living between Europeans and Anglo-Indians on the one hand and some classes of Indians on the other, though the stipends at present offered to Indians assume too low a cost of living to meet the case of the educated middle classes. We think the difficulty might be got over by allowing free board and lodging to all Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and to such Indians as prefer it. To other Indians, a stipend to cover board expenses based on the standard of living

of the middle classes should be given. Apprentices of all kinds should receive a monthly sum over and above the expenses of their board and lodging depending on the length of time they have worked and on their efficiency in the shops. We consider that every effort should be made to develop the training facilities existing in these shops, grants being given from Government funds for the establishment of technical classes, together with hostel accommodation and such other amenities as are necessary to attract educated Indian youths of the middle class. The precise allotment between Government and the Railways of the extra expenditure entailed will require further consideration. With the technical school alongside the workshop, it becomes possible to provide an almost ideal course of training. Almost equal possibilities for training can be made available in a few of the larger private workshops, and we do not doubt that the management of these would welcome the provision of similar arrangements for the technical training of their employees. In discussing the question of training industrial artisans we have suggested the adoption of an apprenticeship system and we think that a precisely similar system should apply to the more advanced class of students with which we are now dealing. The regulations for the admission of apprentices and for the working of the system generally should secure the admission of a proper proportion of Indians and the fair and equal treatment of all classes in their course of training while upholding the authority of the workshops management to the fullest extent. The indentures should be for a period of four or five years and as we have said already the apprentices should be paid wages. Apprentices of this class should start work usually between 16 and 18 years of age. If they enter the workshops at too early an age their physique will be insufficiently developed to stand the stress and the previous opportunities for obtaining the necessary education will be unduly restricted.

An example of a scheme of this type worked out by officers of the East Indian Railway Company will be found as Appendix A.

Most of these recommendations are satisfactory. The only point to which exception may be taken is about the line drawn between European or Anglo Indian and Indian apprentices on the so called standard of living. The difference is mainly in the way or manner of living and should not be emphasized. The only fair and equitable arrangement would be to treat apprentices of all creeds alike and to give them equal terms, equal facilities, and equal training.

According to his custom of living, a European or Anglo Indian apprentice can live comfortably in a boarding house or hostel which an Indian sometimes cannot do. The proposal of the commissioners allows fully what is needed or is at present allowed to Europeans and Anglo Indians but it does not concede what is necessary for the Indians. Their proposal to allow Indian apprentices "a stipend

to cover board expenses based on the standard of living of the middle classes" would leave the matter still in an unsatisfactory state, for an Anglo-Indian Superintendent of Railway workshops may think that an Indian can live without any money. To place the matter on a satisfactory basis, equal rates of stipend and board allowance should be allowed without distinction of race, creed or colour. If the matter be left to the discretion of Superintendents of workshops, who at present are Europeans or Anglo Indians only, they will continue to "assume too low a cost of living to meet the case of the educated middle class" as has been the case so far.

Appendix N to the Report of the Industrial Commission embodies the scheme of a proposed Technical school in connection with the E I Railway workshops at Jamalpur. It shows that at present European and Anglo Indian apprentices are engaged on a five years' indenture, and Indian apprentices of two classes are also appointed, with stipends as under—

Europeans	
and Anglo	
Indians	Rs 30 rising to 50 in 5 years
Indians	
1st class	Rs 10 , to 15
2nd class	Rs 4 , to 9 in 6 years

The proposed scheme provides for the training of 195 European and 56 Indian apprentices. Considering the large number of the Indian population, the numbers of apprentices proposed are very disproportionate. The stipends for both races are proposed at Rs 15 per month, but boarding allowance is proposed at Rs 34 per month for Europeans and at Rs 15 for Indians.

The rates should be equal for both. "For Indian apprentices a separate hostel would be provided but in other respects the boys would all work together and no distinction would be made between Europeans and Indians." This is as it should be.

In connection with railway workshops or large engineering establishments the Commissioners propose the establishment of ten schools each capable of dealing with about 200 apprentices. These schools would be located alongside suitable existing workshops, which would result in the following distribution—one each in

Madras, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Burma and Assam, and two each in Bengal and Bombay (Para 372, Page 268). So far as these provinces are concerned, the proposal is in the right direction, but the requirements of other important provinces have been left out. Take, for instance, Ajmer Merwara and Rajputana, Central Provinces, etc. At Ajmer we have two very large railway workshops equipped with extensive machinery, where Locomotive Engines and rolling stocks are entirely constructed out of raw material only. These workshops should certainly be utilized as a technical school established at Ajmer, would serve not only this industrial town but would also be extremely useful to the subjects of the surrounding Native States like Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Udaipur, Indore, Gwalior, etc. These Native States will, it is hoped, gladly join a scheme for the establishment of a technical school or an Institution for higher technology at Ajmer.

The Commissioners note that in the Engineering Colleges at Roorkee, Madras, Sibpur and Poona

Increasing attention has in recent years been paid to the provision of instruction in mechanical and electrical engineering but the measures adopted are inadequate and are conceived on altogether narrow lines to meet the needs present and prospective of a rapidly expanding industrial system. In an Civil Engineers have done well in the Public Works Department and have established their claims to promotion to the highest ranks of the service but in mechanical engineering which outside the railway workshops is mainly carried on by private enterprise we find that in the absence of a proper system of training they have seldom attended to positions of importance or responsibility. In practically all the Engineering workshops which we have visited we found the same state of affairs existing with regard to the superior staff as we had seen in the case of Foremen. The former whether assistants or managers were men who had been trained as mechanical engineers in Great Britain. (page 154)

This state of affairs cannot be satisfactory and the Commissioners state that—

'The experience of the war itself has been responsible for a new attitude on the part both of Government and of leading industrialists. They realize that it is necessary to create in India the manufactures that are indispensable for industrial self-sufficiency and for national defence and that it is no longer possible to rely on free importation of essential articles in time of war. . . .

Finally the attention of the educated public and in particular of the large industrial employers has been drawn to the inconveniences and dangers that arise from the entire dependence of India on imported personnel for the supervision of Engineering Industries' (Page 122)

The Commissioners recommend the adoption of the fundamental principles drawn up by the Council of the Institution of Civil Engineers for the United Kingdom. They are noted below —

(1) That the average boy should leave school when he is about 17 years of age, that much depends upon the development of individual boys but the minimum age should be 16 and the maximum 18 years

(2) That the practical training should be divided into two parts and that the preliminary stage of practical training should consist in all cases of at least a year spent in mechanical engineering workshops

(3) That during workshop training boys should keep regular working hours and should be treated as ordinary apprentices, be subject to discipline and be paid wages

(4) That nothing should be done in the form of evening study which would impose unnecessary strain upon the boys

(5) That as a rule, it is preferable to proceed to a technical college on the completion of the introductory workshop course; but that, in the case of boys intended to become mechanical engineers it may be advantageous to complete the practical training before entering the college, but in such cases it becomes important that simultaneous education during practical training should be secured. Otherwise the boys would lose seriously during four or five years' suspension of systematic study, and would be at a disadvantage on entering the college

(6) That for the average student, the period of college study should be at least three years

(7) That at least three to four years should be spent in practical training inclusive of the introductory workshop course previously mentioned

They note that the age of students when they join an Engineering College in India is from two to three years higher than that recommended. Indian boys are at a disadvantage inasmuch as they have to spend several years in acquiring a knowledge of the English language. To become an efficient mechanical engineer, one should possess sound brains and a sound body. Indians should acquire sufficient knowledge of English to understand technical books at the age of 16 or 17 years. The matriculation standard with special coaching in mechanical terms and expressions should do

In order to compete with boys of other nations, Indians should have the instruction in their mother tongue. This emphasizes the need for national education in the vernacular and the production of necessary text books in the vernaculars of India, for that is the only way by which Indians can keep pace with the boys of other countries. Until this is done, they must bear the extra strain caused by the

study of the English language, which alone gives them access to the higher technical knowledge at present.

The Commissioners record that there is a very decided consensus of opinion among practical men that—

'The ideal method of training Mechanical Engineers is to combine workshop practice and technical instruction as closely as possible. To attain this end in India the workshop has been imported into the college, but the results have not been altogether satisfactory. The atmosphere of the workshop cannot be obtained in the school, and the importance of this is so great that we are convinced that mechanical engineers must be trained in the workshops receiving supplementary class instruction in technical schools alongside of which should of course be of a more advanced nature than that which would be provided for foremen (Para 159 page 124).

We need such a school at every town or city where large workshops are established. These are at the following centres already —

BENGAL		
1	Lilloah (Calcutta)	} E I Railway
2	Jamalpur	
3	Kanchrapara	
BOMBAY		
4	Parel	B B & C I & G I P Ry
5	Hubli	M & S M Ry
MADRAS		
6	Perambur	M & S M Ry
7	Negapatam	S I Railway
UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH		
8	Lucknow	O & R Ry
9	Gorakhpur	B & N W Ry
10	Izatanagar	R & K Ry
11	Jhansi	G I P Ry
PANJAB		
12	Lahore	M W Railway
RAJPUTANA AND AJMER		
13	Ajmer	B B & C I Ry
14	Jodhpur	J B Ry
CENTRAL PROVINCES		
15	Kharagpur	B N Ry
16	Secunderabad	N G S Ry
KATHIAWAR		
17	Bhavnagar	B G Ry
ISSAM		
18	Pahartali	A B Ry
BURMA		
19	Insein	Burma Railways

Similar workshops are at many other places some of which may suit the purpose of training apprentices.

The recommendations of the Industrial

Commission are summarised as follows at pages 276-77 of their Report —

(31) Training for manipulative industries which include mechanical engineering should be given in the works themselves to which theoretical classes should be attached.

(36) The training for mechanical engineering as an example of a manipulative industry is discussed above in detail.

(37) At the large engineering shops practical training should be given to artisan apprentices on an organised system with teaching in shop hours and the apprentices should be paid wages a part of which they might receive in the form of deferred pay on leaving.

(38) In the case of foremen a system of apprenticeship on conditions that shall attract middle-class Indian youths is suggested with teaching in shop hours of a more advanced type than in the case of artisan apprentices and providing for boys who would start at somewhat higher age.

(39) In the case of mechanical engineers also the large engineering shops should be used as the practical training ground but a greater proportion of the time should be devoted to the theoretical teaching of a higher kind than is necessary for foremen. Those students who desire it may, after completing their shop training, take courses in special subjects at an Engineering College.

(43) It is recommended that the engineering classes in the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute Bombay should be adapted to meet the requirements of the apprentices in the railway and other workshops in Bombay and that the courses in the technology should be supplemented by two years' practical work before the full diploma can be given.

In this connection I would draw attention also to the recommendations of the Public Services Commission of 1912 as contained in para 32, pages 22-23 and in paras 5 and 9 pages 338-40 of their Report Volume I. The Commissioners in that Report also recorded their opinion in emphatic terms that the conditions which necessitated the importing of officers for the superior grades of the Loco and Carriage and Wagon Departments of Indian State Railways from England should not be allowed indefinitely to continue and that a determined and immediate effort should be made to provide better educational opportunities in India so that it may become increasingly possible to recruit from that country (India) the staff needed to meet all normal requirements.

The central workshops of the large railways in India have already technical schools and drawing classes attached to them. All that seems necessary is

1. To throw them open to Indians as most of them are at present reserved for European or Anglo-Indian apprentices.

2. To widen and enlarge the courses of instruction so as to provide for the

superior grades as well as for the subordinate apprentices of the technical branches of railway services and industrial requirements generally.

It is recognised that the cost of training apprentices other than those required for railway work should not be borne by railways. The Industrial Commission have noted that "the precise allotment between Government and the Railways of the extra expenditure entailed will require further consideration." (Page 120).

It is hoped that the Government of India will be pleased, as announced by H. E. the Viceroy at the last Convocation of the Calcutta University, to pass only orders adopting the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, with the few modifications suggested herein, namely

that the stipends and board allowances of apprentices should be fixed on a uniform scale without regard to creed, caste or colour and that Indians may be admitted to the Railway Technical schools in due proportions. This will no doubt attract a large number of educated Indians who are at present driven to clerical work or join the legal or other professions which are over-crowded. I particularly draw the attention of educated Indians to this matter of vital importance to the country. It is hoped the authorities of Ajmer-Merwara and the ruling Princes of Rajputana will see that a suitable Institution of Technology is established at Ajmer in connection with the State Railway workshops there.

Jonesgani, Ajmer.

THE OFFERING

Where is the earth,
Rich with its ancient rest,
And full of light of sun
And glamour of tingling stars,
Grave of winter—cradle of laughing life,
Transfused with the blood of heroes dying true,
And washed with the winds of the world,—
O, where is the Earth

These hands shall knead to a treasured form,
These fingers mould to an offering
For the Beloved,
For Her who watcheth over us unseen,
And sendeth love and rapture,
And findeth our faltering footsteps in the dark?
B. E. SPEIGHT.

HON. MR.]PATEL'S BILL--A DEFENCE FROM BIOLOGICAL STANDPOINT

MR. Patel's bill is being denounced by some critics on the ground that from the biological standpoint free intermarriage between the different castes of the Hindus will be productive of no good to the society, and in support of this passage is being quoted from G. Archdall Reid to show that the Brahmins, if allowed to freely intermarry with the Namasudras, will very soon lose their special characteristics just as "the speed of race horses can

not be maintained without continued stringent selection."

Analogy is not always a safe guide in biology. Biologically speaking, Brahmins cannot claim to have any special characteristics which are totally wanting in Namasudras. They belong to the same race (even the meaning of the word 'race' has undergone a radical change after the researches of such distinguished scientists as De Vries, Bateson, &c.). The difference

which we now see between them as classes is wholly due to economic social and political causes. Given the same opportunity and environment the Namasudras will not be found lacking in those special characters, which the critics claim as the exclusive possessions of their own caste. On this point, the attention of the critics is drawn to an interesting article by Prof Cattell, which appeared in Popular Science Monthly, May 1915. Moreover one thing must always be borne in mind, viz the triumph of the Biometricians was a short lived one. Now a days there is a general consensus of opinion among the biologists that genetic problems cannot be studied en masse. We must take individuals of known ancestry and study their offsprings. Thus, it will not prove anything if you can point out the bad results of cross breeding between such and such races or castes. These bad effects can be explained in another way. There is a very real tendency in human beings to prefer members of their own race. The fact called 'the race prejudice' is the expression of this preference. Indeed, Prof Karl Pearson's statistical studies have led him to the conclusion that this tendency goes much further, so that the tall people tend to marry tall and the brown eyed to marry the brown eyed. This general tendency for like to marry like is termed 'homogamy' by Karl Pearson. So long as this race or caste prejudice exists, sober minded persons on the average will not think of marrying outside their own castes for fear of social persecution. Thus, only among persons having morbid and undesirable forms of sex impulse, the greatest percentage of mixed marriages will take place with the result that a number of offsprings of such persons will inherit feeble mindedness which is a Mendelian recessive. If on the other hand, the different castes of India cease to be votaries of this 'idol of race', social and religious persecution will cease and a large number of normal and superior individuals will marry outside their castes and there will be, in these cases no reversion to lower forms.

The present caste system which favours a very close interbreeding is not a very healthy biological process. The attention of the critics is drawn to Prof W E Castle's book 'Genetics & Eugenics' when society becomes stratified and class distinctions arise with castes or families close

ly intermarrying, heredity is likely to bring Mendelian recessive defects repeatedly to the surface. Democracy is a safe remedy against such evils' (P 275). Further it is a biological fact, that inbreeding *unattended by selection* (as obtains in Hindu caste bound marriage) decreases physical and mental vigour. The reasons are two fold, viz, (1) inbreeding tends to the production of homozygous state which in many cases can be proved to be feebler than heterozygous state, (2) inbreeding brings to the surface the hidden or latent recessive defects such as albinism and feeble mindedness in man.

It is being pointed out by certain critics that large numbers of aborigines are finding their way within the pale of Hinduism, asking Can any good come of any inter marriages between them and the high caste Hindus? It is evident from the above quotation that the writer claims for his caste purity of race which any anthropologist will not do. Moreover, if you ask the latter to name one such pure race, he will reply that he cannot name one but that the nearest to such a standard are the lowest races he knows. To another question whether the mixture of the 'pure bred' Hindus with the aborigines will be productive of any good, it can safely be admitted that it will cause at least no harm so far as cultural inheritance is concerned provided such crosses do not disturb the agencies of social inheritance. As regards the physical vigour, such cross breeding will be of much good to the population by bringing together differentiated gametes, which, reacting on each other, will produce greater metabolic activity (Vide Castle's Genetics and Eugenics P 224).

I shall now quote three examples to prove that instances of human cross are not necessarily attended with untoward results. (1) The population of Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands originated more than a century ago by a cross between English men and women of Tahiti. The experiment has gone far beyond the F generation and would afford unique material for a study of effects of racial crosses uncomplicated by race antipathies. So far as present information goes the results have been excellent both biologically and sociologically (Vide Castle P 236).

(2) Another successful experiment in human racial crossing has been recently

studied and described by a German, who chronicles the origin of a tribe in German S. W. Africa of mixed Boer and Hottentot blood. Very likely the group as such will presently disappear but the experiment has progressed far enough to show that under conditions which do not interfere with cultural inheritance, crossing of racial stocks as widely separated as Europeans and Africans, has no evil consequence but produces a vigorous and sound race. (Vide Castle, P. 237).

(3) That the mixture of races is not necessarily disastrous is proved by the achievements of Anglo-Saxon race which is leading mankind in many particulars. No one can walk along the street, even in a provincial English town and fail to observe the extraordinary variety of human types and of human combination that confronts him everywhere. The Anglo-Saxon race is really an assemblage of individuals produced by the most extraordinary degree of 'mongrelisation' or intermixture; and perhaps the day may come when it will be possible to trace many facts of the national character and history of the Anglo-Saxon race to the great diversity of types which it comprises..... And if we look at the dominant

peoples of the world we find no evidence in favour of the view that inter-breeding involves degeneration of any kind. The reverse seems to be the fact. It is isolation that involves the degeneracy of a community. The lowest types we know, such as native Australian, the Tasmanian, the Patagonian and many others, are races of men marked by considerable physical uniformity who have been isolated for a long period and who have certainly not ascended in type by reason of their purity of race. (Vide P. 4254—Harmsworth Popular Science Series).

I think I have been able to prove that some of the critics of Mr. Patel's Bill have started with wrong assumptions and arrived at wrong conclusions. In this connection, I have one word to say to Mr. Patel. It is high time that he should withdraw his Bill. By this step he will at least save us from much nonsense that is being written or spoken against the bill which is coming as a very painful reminder to many a true lover of India that our love of freedom in all the departments of national life is in the inverse ratio of the fire-eating resolutions at congresses and conferences.

S. M. CHOUDHURI.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT AND INDIA

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH.

BY a strange irony of fate, the Parliament that, in all likelihood, will be called upon to settle India's immediate future has been elected on cries like "Kill the Kaiser." "Make the Hun Pay," and "No Huns Under This (the British) Flag." Problems pertaining to a just peace and to national and Imperial reconstruction that one had every right to expect would figure prominently in the election were swept aside by slogans born of the passions engendered by the conflict that raged for almost four and a half years.

In view of the time selected for the election, nothing else than what actually could have been expected. Had

the appeal to the country been made six months earlier or six months later, the electors would have been in different frame of mind, and the results might have been correspondingly different. No one knew that better, I am sure, than the Prime Minister, who is a shrewd judge of the moods and tenses of his people. The large majority with which he has returned to Parliament is due to the fact that he gauged, with precision, the sentiments of the nation and conducted his campaign along lines thoroughly in accord with British wishes. He is in power because the British felt that he has won the war, while Mr. Asquith has been heavily defeated, because

the people believe that had he remained at the helm of the nation the war may have been lost.

Perhaps never before were Britain's thoughts occupied with matters other than Indian than the time of the election. Any one who had been foolish enough to hope that, on account of the magnificent part that India had played in helping to ensure victory the immediate future of India in the British Commonwealth of Nations would constitute one of the live political issues of the campaign was therefore doomed to disappointment.

True Mr Lloyd George and Mr Bonar Law did not altogether forget India in their joint election manifesto. But the paragraph that they inserted was much too brief and colourless to rouse any body's enthusiasm. It read:

'The people of this country are not unmindful of the conspicuous services rendered by the Princes and peoples of India to the common cause of civilisation during the war. The Cabinet has already defined in unmistakable language the goal of British policy in India to be the development of responsible government by gradual stages. To the general terms of that declaration we adhere and propose to give effect.'

No wonder that even the Coalition candidates who had the combined support of Mr Lloyd George and Mr Bonar Law in their constituencies paid little heed to that pledge.

Several of my friends, some of them British in no way connected with any special Indian movement, did their best to raise the question in the course of addresses by candidates. But they received, as a rule, disheartening replies. The answer given in a metropolitan constituency by a Coalition candidate was for instance: "India is far too big, far too complex, and too far away to warrant my taking up the time of the audience with the discussion of Indian problems."

Had a vigorous campaign in behalf of Indian Dominionhood been carried on during the election, some enthusiasm for India might have been roused. Unfortunately none of the societies interested in the Indian cause ran candidates, though Britons interested in the Home Rule for India League and the British Committee of the Indian National Congress contested seats on their own account. So far as I

know, only one Indian, Dr Tarachand of Nottingham stood for election. Though heavily defeated he was able to do good service to the Motherland by giving our cause publicity that could not be secured in any other way. While the British Committee of the Congress contented itself with issuing a small number of handbills bearing a question to be put to Parliamentary candidates to ascertain their opinion regarding the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the Home Rule for India League which, unlike the Congress Committee has from the beginning, been supported by British friends of India, the Home Rule of India League broadcasted a million copies of four leaflets calling prominent attention to India's war services and to the failure of bureaucratic rule in India, and asking the British to apply to India their own doctrine of freedom which they were applying to Bohemians, Sabians, Poles, Jago-Slavs and Czechoslovaks. If Indian propaganda is to be effective in Britain, it must be conducted on a large scale.

India was lucky inasmuch as a few British candidates gifted with imagination to understand the Indian psychology and sympathy to appreciate Indian culture and ideals took the trouble to direct the attention of their constituents to the Indian cause. For instance, Captain Sidney Kansom who spent several years in India mostly at the Theosophical Headquarters and whose wife, like him is keenly interested in Indian progress, declared, in his address to the electors of the Sutton Division of Plymouth:

'In the case of India, I am eager to see there a progressive realization of self governing institutions.'

The programme of Liberalism printed at the back of his own address included a sentence reading:

'Liberals insist that Home Rule must be given to Ireland and that Self Government must be extended in India.'

Similarly Mr George Lansbury, the great Labour leader, who is identified with so many progressive movements, among them Home Rule for India, stated in his address to the electors in the Bow and Bromley Division of London:

'I think a start must be made with self government for India. In that country there are 310 millions of human beings governed by British officials. They are

asking why India, whose sons have fought to enable the Nations of Europe to secure self-determination, should be denied the same rights for themselves."

In another place he declared :

"All political prisoners, both at home and in India and the Colonies, must be set free, no matter what may be the offence for which they are suffering imprisonment. We must restore Freedom of the Press, Freedom of Speech, and Freedom of Public Meetings."

Mr. John Scurr, Mr. Lansbury's able colleague, who stood for Buckingham, holds the same views in regard to India, and advocated them. Major David Graham Pole, who contested East Grinstead, who has visited India many times, who has the Scottish gifts of imagination and sympathy to comprehend and appreciate our difficulties, our ideals, and our aspirations, and who uses all his influence to further our cause, did not forget us during the election.

But fortune proved fickle, and all these candidates were defeated. Dr. G. B. Clark, of the British Congress Committee and Professor Sidney Webb, who has considerable sympathy with our cause, also were rejected by the electorates.

The defeat of all the women candidates with the exception of the Countess Marievitz, who, on account of her Sinn Féin tendencies, is not likely to sit in Parliament, kept many women out of Parliament who would no doubt have helped the Indian cause. Mrs. Despard, who lost by a rather narrow margin in Battersea (North, London), is, I know, very sympathetic. Mrs. Will Anderson, (Miss Mary Macarthur), is also a progressive woman. The Woman's party, which put forward Miss Chrystabel Pankhurst, declared in their programme :

"Any proposed change in the system of governing India to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament after it has been clearly explained to the British people in what way the system is to be reconciled with racial differences, the caste system, the peculiar position of Indian women, and Indian conditions and traditions."

Sir Herbert Roberts, Bart, who for years has been co-operated with the British Committee of the Congress and is at the head of the Anglo-Indian Tem-

Association, had, for some

reason or other, to withdraw his candidature. Nearly all the members of the last House of Commons who took an interest in Indian affairs failed to be returned. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Phillip Snowden, Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. Geoffrey Howard, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, Mr. Lees-Smith, Mr. O'Grady will not be found in the new House. Mr. J. Kier Hardie who, in the last Parliament, raised his voice again and again against official despotism in India and in defence of liberty of person, press, and platform in India, is, alas! no more.

So far as I can see, only two of our old friends have been returned—Colonel (formerly Commander) Josiah C. Wedgwood, who, in his able and fearless minority minute in the Mesopotamia report, did more to shatter the boasts of the British bureaucracy in India than any other single individual, and Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, who, I am told, has not attended any of the few meetings that the British Committee of the Congress has held during recent years.

Sir J. D. Rees, who has been returned as a Coalition Unionist, would have us believe that he has abandoned his old ways of obstructing Indian reform, and if we were merely to judge him from superficial evidence we would gratefully admit his claim. But if I were Mr. Montagu I would pray to be delivered from such a supporter, for he very clearly brings out the fact that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms do not go very far in conceding to Indians any effective control over their own affairs; and that they confirm and consolidate "the British bureaucracy in India." Speaking in the last House of Commons he said, for instance :

"... The greatest objection raised in this country (Britain)—and I have read most of what has been said about these proposals, and have studied them with great care—is that they give away a good deal of the power of our Government in India. I find exactly the contrary at every stage. In the change which have been made in the provincial council ample power is safeguarded to the Governor to carry through any legislation that he wishes. In the Viceroy's legislative equipment complete power is given to carry out what he and his colleagues think necessary for the good of the country. So far from the Report having the opposite tendency, I think it confirms and consolidates our position. I find towards the end the Report says that so far ahead as the authors can foresee a substantial English element will be necessary in the administration, and the continued presence of English Civil Servants is vital to making India a self-governing entity. The authors

of the Report in their almost last words write that the presence of the British Civil Servants will be as necessary as ever for the people in India. It is an old Civil Servant, and as one who has been actively concerned with the affairs of India all my life as actively as once I left as when I was there. I can deliberately say I think the assurances which have been given are of the most satisfactory kind. (The italics are mine)

Among retired Anglo-Indians re-elected to the House is Colonel Tate, who continues to judge India by his generation old experience in backward parts of our country. The Anglo-Indian ranks in the House have been strengthened by the election of Mr. T. J. Bennett, elected for Seven Oaks. He is one of the proprietors of the *Times of India* and, I am told, the partisans of the Montagu Chelmsford scheme are counting upon his support. Mr. W. Johnson Hicks, who in the last House championed the cause of the Indo-British Association, has been re-elected.

The heavy defeat of the Asquithian Liberals, who will number only 26 in the new House and who have lost all their leaders, including Mr. H. H. Asquith, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Runciman, Sir John Simon, Mr. Herbert Samuel, Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. Geoffrey Howard, Mr. Masterman, Mr. J. M. Robertson, Mr. McKinnon Wood, Mr. H. J. Tennant, Sir C. Hobhouse, Mr. Gulland and Mr. Walter Rea, will undoubtedly alter the Indian situation in Parliament, for our leaders of the Gokhale school relied upon their aid. Indians will also miss the Irish Nationalists, whose number has been reduced from 74 to 12.

It is true, on the other hand, that Labour has increased its strength in the House from 34 to 64 members. But we must not forget that it has lost nearly all its leaders including Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. W. C. Anderson, and Mr. F. W. Jowett. None of the three leaders—Mr. W. Adamson, Mr. J. R. Clynes and Mr. J. H. Thomas—who remain in Parliament, is I am afraid particularly well informed on Indian affairs, or has the leisure to undertake an intensive study of our problems.

The return of so many mining candidates is I believe, a great gain to our cause. Unlike many classes of British labourers they have no selfish interest that comes in conflict with their desire to do the right thing by India. Three of my

friends who lectured on Indian self government in many mining centres in Britain assure me that the miners are heart and soul with us in our struggle for free institutions within the Empire.

Young India, I find, is counting upon Labour in much the same way that old India relied upon the Liberals. I hope that in its instinct young India will be more right than was old India, whose demand for free institutions was met by the response from Liberal leaders that they could not foresee a time when India would be given a measure of self government approaching that which has been granted in the Dominions.

The time for test will come when Labour in Parliament has to vote on the question of investing India with power to build up gigantic industries that will enable her to utilise her raw materials at home instead of shipping them abroad and depending upon the outside world (chiefly Britain) for manufactures. When that time comes I hope that Labour will have risen superior to selfish motives sufficiently to act otherwise than it did last year when the question of cotton duties came up before the House of Commons. Anyone who takes the trouble to look up the division list of that debate will find that the Labour Members of Parliament voted almost solidly against India among them being Philip Snowden, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. W. C. Anderson and Mr. Jowett. I may add that Sir Charles Swann, for something like a generation a member of the British Committee of the Congress and still, I believe, technically a member of it, and other Liberals believed by us to be our friends voted the same way, because they belonged to the Manchester school of politico-economic thought, and some of them actually represented Lancashire constituencies.

I have discussed with many Labour leaders the question of Indian fiscal autonomy. Some say that industrialization is bad for India's soul and that it would be an infinite pity if her hand industries were to disappear. Others say that it is unsound from the world point of view for a nation that is expert at growing raw materials but inexpert in modern industrialism to attempt to manufacture for herself, when she can get all the manufactured goods that she needs from

industrially advanced nations. All decry labour conditions in Indian factories.

Only one Labour leader have I met in all my years in Britain who recognized India's right to choose to be protectionist if she wished to adopt that course to foster her industries. He further conceded that so long as the policy of ruling India was dictated from this country and the pressure exerted for the improvement of factory conditions could be interpreted as a cunning device on the part of British capitalists to check the progress of Indian industrial expansion, such pressure could not but "put India's back up"—to use his expression. He admitted that not until the tremendous Indian energy that is now being poured into the Indian political movement to secure the most elementary rights was released by the grant of Home Rule, domestic reform would receive the attention that it deserves.

Instead of trusting to the generous instincts of Labour, we ought to make it our business to interest it in our ideals and aspirations. It ought to know what we have achieved in recent years in educational, social, and moral reform. It ought to be told what our progressive administrators have done in Indian States where the British could not elbow them out of responsible positions. While we are sleeping, our political enemies are hard at work seeking to mislead Labour in regard to India.

In my opinion, it would be as great a mistake for us to confine our educational efforts to the Labour party as it was to repose our implicit trust in the Liberal party. It is being freely said that Mr. Asquith will not recover from the blow that has been dealt to him, by Mr. Lloyd George, who has carried with him the bulk of Liberals elected to the House of Commons, and that the Liberal party has no

future unless it accepts Mr. Lloyd George as its leader. It is also being said that the Liberals with pronounced conservative tendencies will drift to the Unionist ranks while those who are really radical will join Labour—the party with which the future lies. Only the other day I was told by an eminent Englishman that when Mr. Lloyd George cannot get on with Mr. Bonar Law, he will turn to Labour. These are surmises which the future alone can prove or disprove.

In the meantime, the stern facts of the situation stare us in the face. Conservatives enjoy a large majority in the House of Commons, perhaps the largest in history, and our political enemies are using all capitalist agencies to prejudice them against educated Indians. So far as our past experience goes, the rank and file of Liberals have not been far ahead of the Unionists in their attitude towards Indian reform. Even the British minority Socialists are not, at present, prepared to go far in the matter of Indian reform: so great a democrat and friend of India as George Lansbury speaks only of making "a start" with "self-government for India." All sections of Britons—Anglo-Indians not excepted—know little of India that is not rank prejudice.

If Indians wish the new Parliament to endow our Motherland with free institutions, then let them do all in their power to make Parliamentarians acquainted with Indian aspirations, capacity, and promise. Indians who wish to see the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme drastically altered must bestir themselves and put their case before the British nation, or they will find that the bureaucracy, supported by officialised Indians, will ignore their wishes and carry the measure, perhaps in a somewhat whittled-down form, through Parliament.

NOTES

Philippine Independence.

In the *Japan Advertiser* for December 30, 1918, there is an article with the heading, "*Filipinos Trained in Good Citizenship*," and the subheading, "*Archipelago*

Rendy Now, Thanks to Uncle Sam, to Acquire Full Independence." The Philippine Islands were ceded by Spain to the United States by the treaty of peace concluded between those two countries on April 11, 1899; and the Organic Act of the Islands

passed by the Congress of the United States on August 29, 1916, known as the Jones Law, has provided an autonomous form of government for the Islands. This one sentence may be said to sum up the good work done by the Americans for the Filipinos. The Japan Advertiser tells us —

For nineteen fruitful years the work of strengthening and unifying the Filipinos politically and industrially, has been going on under the tutelage of Uncle Sam and now, says Mr. Manuel Quezon, president of the Senate of the Philippines the time has come when the Filipinos feel free and justified in asking that the independence long promised them by the United States be granted.

Mr. Quezon, who has been at the Grand Hotel in Yokohama for the past few days and who sails at noon today on the S. S. Shinyo Maru, is on his way to Washington, where he expects to see and confer with President Wilson on his return from Europe, and to gain from the American Executive the assurance that in the readjustments of the world brought about at the Peace Conference, the independence of the Philippines will not be forgotten.

Mr. Quezon is an experienced statesman.

Mr. Quezon is fortified with an experience of seven years as representative of the Islands in the United States Congress—1910 to 1917—and for nearly as long as member, and later as President of the Filipino Senate. Should the Philippines be made independent, it is more than likely that he will add to his honors that of becoming the first President of the Philippine Republic.

Mr. Quezon is naturally reticent about his trip and refuses to make any prediction as to its result, as his mission is really that of a herald, rather than an arbitrator or envoy. The Commission to follow him stands for the political and business interests of the Islands. It is composed of members of the Cabinet, of the Senate, the House of Representatives, and important businessmen, and will leave the Islands about the end of January, to join Mr. Quezon, who will preside over it in America.

The Japanese paper gives us some idea of what the Filipino Commission will say in America.

In its discussions with the American Government, this Commission will point to the fact that in the sixteen years of American occupation, the education of the natives has gone on apace, so that a large proportion of its population of 15 millions has now been developed by education to the point of being able to organize and maintain a well balanced self-government.

The Filipino of yesterday is no more, says Mr. Quezon, and the inheritors of old methods and apathetic ease are no more. They are awake, they are eagerly grasping the knowledge that America has given them, so eagerly that compulsory education has not been necessary. On the contrary parents and the children themselves make all sorts of sacrifices for an education.

ECONOMICALLY INDEPENDENT

Today, the Philippines are economically better off than they ever have been. Acres of new lands

are springing up and the finances of the Government have been developed on a firm and stable foundation. Furthermore, the Islands have practically had an autonomous government ever since the enactment of what is called, the Jones Law, brought about partly through the efforts of Mr. Quezon when he was in Congress.

The only official representative of the United States in the Government is the Governor General, the Cabinet, Senate and Congress being composed of Filipinos. The program adopted by Governor-General Harrison, who has just left the Philippines probably for good, was one of complete co-operation and understanding with the Speaker of the House Mr. Sergio Osmeña who is considered to be the leader of the people in all their political affairs. This policy made Mr. Harrison the most popular official in the Islands among the Filipinos.

That the Filipinos are thinking of independence, appears also from an editorial article in the *Philippine Review* for December, 1918, entitled, "The Matter of Philippine Independence." In the course of this article, the editor prints a letter received from Congressman Kraus, from Indiana, on the subject of Filipino independence, which runs in part as follows:—

I notice, under the portrait of President Wilson, that he is presented as the President during whose term of office and through whose sponsorship the Philippines may at last become a free, independent Nation.

I know that National Sovereignty is a commendable aspiration of all peoples, and I have nothing in condemnation of this spirit of your people, but nevertheless I wonder at it as a matter of expediency and welfare of the Philippine Islands. With such powerful aspirations as the Japanese have who are your neighbors, and considering the insecurity of the Philippines should they become isolated, or established as an independent nation I wonder at the latter's ultimate fate, and how you gentlemen with patriotism consider this aspect. I do not know, of course, but I assume that as an independent country the Philippines would have more of self-government under the United States than under any nation in the world and I cannot help but believe that if absolute independence were granted to the Philippine Islands it would only be a question of time when they would fall under the domination of some strong power of the world. If this should be true, why should not the Philippine Islands be contented in its present relations to the United States when upon our part there is a warm friendship and a disposition to grant the broadest liberality to the Islands in self-government.

I am interested in your subject in good faith and have presented my own superficial views, and would be extremely pleased to have you present the viewpoint as taken from the interests of the Islands.

It may be that in commercial circles there is a disposition to hold the Philippine Islands for their own business interests, but others, who are devoted to self-government, and to opportunity to a people, are disposed to be broad and liberal with the Philippine Islands, but I cannot understand why they should at such hazard to themselves, want to throw off the kindly protection of the United States.

I would sincerely appreciate a letter from you

disclosing in detail the entire subject from the standpoint of those in the Philippine Islands who desire separation, as I understand your position to be

In reply the editor says:—

In part our first two sub articles answer this letter which we are happy to publish now with due apology. In addition we should say that our independence would not mean separation—*physically*, may be, as we are separated now, but *morally and spiritually the union will be closer and warmer and gratefully eternal*. We are not concerned by the unfair "disposition to hold the Philippines for their own business interests." For we hope to be able to control and readjust said interests in the near future *for the good of all*. As to Japan, for obvious reasons we are entertaining no further worry about her after the war. She is an Oriental country, an Allied country, and a sister country, besides and we are confident she will go by the principles of justice to govern international relations hereafter, and that the happiness, uplift and prosperity of the whole Orient will be henceforth closer to her heart.

The old international policy must give its way to the Wilsonian one as demanded by the happiness and prosperity of Humankind.

We shall now give an idea of the "first two sub articles" referred to by the editor. The whole of the first sub-article is quoted below.

Two recent arrivals from States are authorities for the statement that the question of our independence would depend upon our own choice, and that a congressional committee would visit the Islands to determine the true will of the people as to protectorate or absolute independence for the Philippines. The matter of our independence is one now beyond the realm of doubt, insofar as we Filipinos are concerned. It is unnecessary for us here to mention that during the centuries we had been under the Spanish domination the undaunted spirit of the people for freedom from foreign yoke was distinct and unmistakable. It is true that we were not then strong or armed enough to face the handful of our so called conquerors that first invaded the country. But the death of Magellan, the death of our own heroes and the revolutions then successively occurring in the Islands were the best evidence of that unflinching liberty spirit.

As to our political relationship with the United States, we doubt if it could in any way be improved upon. Although our progress could have been faster up to about 1913 no doubt we have wonderfully advanced since that year, particularly since the passage and under the Jones Act whereby we were given very much greater, almost complete legislative and administrative responsibility. But as we had stated once and again, no matter how pleasant said relationship may be, no matter how wonderful our present progress may be, the longings of the people of the Islands can only find their full satisfaction in a complete political independence. It is our long ago-made self determination. For to live one's own life the worthy way one wishes to, and in accord with and within the limitations of law, order, peace and mutual respect, is the one supreme aspiration of a people or an individual, that cannot be curtailed or alienated. It is so self evident that whoever may feel otherwise should ask himself if he would find true satisfaction in a different way.

So with the Philippine Nation.

In the course of the second sub article the Filipino editor says:—

Then the Philippines, if given her independence at an early date, will be instrumental in starting, if she has not already started it, her share in a new community life in the Orient, to be the beginning of the independence of other Oriental countries. In Java, for instance, with her 35,000,000 inhabitants, now still in an almost enslaved condition, Holland should no longer continue to shut the doors of the country to the light of true civilization as conveyed through an efficient, up to date public educational system, under the pretext that "the Javanese are not like you, they are very loath to it." The Moros and Mountain people are enjoying better—their full—chances. Indeed, it is hurtful for us to see 35,000,000 people held in dependency by such a small nation like Holland, through a few thousands soldiers. Java should now be free from her present ignominious yoke, which should arouse the indignation of the rest of the Orient. For we Orientals have no separate fate. We are all one people, all one racial community, no matter what others may say. And we are bound to that union which should make the Orient respected in every way by all non Oriental people. Has Holland any further justification any longer to continue in Java? We Orientals can accomplish the task better. It is this great undertaking of the complete liberation of the Orient that Japan should start, through the necessary negotiations with Holland and other European powers, particularly with the sympathetic, moral and material support of America. European colonization of the Far East must come to an end through diplomatic channels. Wars or revolutions must no longer be resorted to. Their purpose can today be attained, perhaps more efficiently, through the force of reasoning and logic at a table conference. The Orient, as much as Europe, is entitled to an independent life, free from any further dependency, of which it has had enough for centuries. The Orient must have its chance. And it is time now for it. We are glad to read in the papers that India is soon to get a more substantial form of self government. It is gratifying for us to note that in this the labors of America have not been altogether unfruitful. But that is not enough. 315,000,000 people, exceeding in bulk the size of Europe's population, are certainly entitled to it and much more. They must be fully qualified factors of present day civilization and usefulness to the World Great Britain, we also notice with gratification, is determined to bring about self government in India, possibly independence later. But, as we have said in one of our previous issues, she would profit more greatly with a free India, thankful to her and bound to her by the bonds of gratitude, than with an India held through the bonds of armed political dependency. So the other countries in the East.

The independence, therefore, of the Philippines is a world wide convenience, highly advisable from the standpoint of Oriental politics, as well as from the standpoint of European politics. During this war, the acknowledgment of the rights of small countries, down trodden by Germany, has always been the moving ideal of the Allied Powers. If this is true, no European or other colonization has any further reason to exist. And the issue immediately to follow is the extension of that recognition to every people outside of Europe, West and East, in Africa, and elsewhere. Then East and West

could meet together and face each other as friends or brothers or allies for the cause of universal good. This may not sound pleasing to all concerned. But no member of the Allied Powers could loyally antagonize this plea for the welfare of small nations which is the ultimate result of this war.

The Republican party in America has not been very favorable to the idea of Filipino independence. But, as the Filipino editor rightly points out, that party is an integral portion of the great American nation, whose guiding principles of justice and liberty are the same for all and every American.

Besides the Philippine case has already passed the party line, and both the parties and America herself are looking forward to that day when the great task they had so brilliantly initiated in the Islands shall be an inspiring success. The contribution of a republic in the Orient out of a dependent people now ready to join the leaders and toilers of Democracy as a nation and the tremendous influence to be exercised by the Filipinos in the promotion of the welfare and civilization of the so-called backward peoples in the Far East—backward because they are still denied that opportunity they need so badly for themselves to acquire the instruments for a national life—should be a source of deeper gratification than party selfishness. The future relation, therefore between the United States and the Philippines is good doubt, will be forever most cordial. We will always look on America as our protector, as our deliverer from our former dependency, and as our guide and inspiration. We will always need her and we hope, however small, the Philippines will never cease to be of service to her, either as an Allied nation in the Orient, or as a trade center in the Far East. And we will be of greater service to her in an independent status and as a friend, than as a dependency.

Once more we will say. Our future will be one in which our union will be still closer than today warmer than ever in the furnace of gratitude and mutual love and sympathy. Not separation.

Such will be the eventual result of our independence.

We will add a few observations of our own to what the Filipino editor has written. There are independent states in Europe which are smaller in area or population or both than the Philippine Archipelago, as will appear from the following table, which does not furnish an exhaustive list—

Country	Area in sq miles	Population
Philippines	114,400	10,000,000
Denmark	15,582	2,940,979
Holland	12,582	6,583,227
Norway	121,642	2,391,780
Sweden	173,035	5,737,566
Switzerland	15,976	3,450,500
Portugal	34,490	5,957,985

Why do not these countries require "protection" at the hands of some great power

or powers? It cannot be said that each and all of these European countries have sufficient military strength to preserve their independence unaided if some "great power" or powers were to attack any of them. The reason why it is thought that "coloured" peoples of non-European extraction (except the Japanese who possess mailed fists) require "guardians" or "protectors," is that they are considered fair game. When the strong "civilised" peoples of the world are able to rise above the barbarous predatory stage in their international sentiments and dealings, then non-European peoples, small or big, will be able to enjoy freedom without requiring "protectors." But so long as any people, big or small, show by their conduct that they are satisfied with their position of dependence, no altruism or liberal political principles of strong nations, can enable the former to taste the blessing of true independence. For, though they may not have foreign despots they will have swadeshi tyrants. Moreover it is in the long run a partially beneficent law of nature that the weak must go to the wall, because it provides an incentive for the weak to be strong. In order that freedom may reign all over the world, unorganised peoples must be organised and the psychology of all peoples must undergo such a change that, should they be unable to strongly survive they would prefer strongly to be extinct.

It is mere hypocrisy to say that any European nation ever conquered or occupied any country with the sole or chief motive of maintaining law and order there; selfish gain has always been the main motive. If western nations be impelled by altruistic considerations, why do they not send all their armies to Russia, for example, to establish law and order there?

Economic Aspect of Philippine Independence

The Philippine Review has published a table of the revenues, expenditures, and surplus of the Philippine Islands, from 1907 to 1919. The figures, in pesos for 1908 were in round numbers, 23 millions, 22 millions and 12 millions respectively, and those for 1919 (estimated) are 71 millions 77 millions and 22 millions. This tells a story of remarkable expansion in revenue. The Filipino editor is justified in observing

It would be well to notice here that up to 1916 our total Insular Treasury assets available for yearly appropriations remained stagnant at an average of about only 33 000 000 pesos while since the inauguration of the Philippine Legislature (we mean to say both Houses of the Legislature) in accordance with the Jones Act, or in two years we have doubled said assets and the prospects of the following years look very much brighter indeed.

Autonomy has also enabled the Filipino people to attain to a condition of great financial prosperity, as will appear from the yearly balance of their National Bank—practically owned by the people through their Government—from its inauguration

TOTAL ASSETS

May 23, 1916	Pesos 11,800,000.00
July 15, 1916	" 29,300,000.00
December, 1916	" 50,700,000.00
June 30, 1917	" 98,035,000.00
December 31, 1917	" 138,276,000.00
March 31, 1918	" 161,093,000.00
June 30, 1918	" 210,942,000.00

These figures fully justify the following observations of the Filipino editor

We doubt if anywhere the world over any bank has made such a wonderful stride forward in hardly two years and six months of existence. Without, and before the grant of, our present legislative control it would have been impossible for obvious foreign business and political reasons for us to think of owning a bank. In fact the establishment of the National Bank was bitterly opposed. We were absolutely dependent on local branches of foreign banks established in the Philippines not for the avowed purpose of helping to develop our resources, but to finance and for the advancement of, their nationalities. No real help was given us and we were forced to accommodate ourselves, the best we could with our own means, which in no wise were enough fairly and properly to meet such an organized competition. The Filipino producers were thus practically helpless at the mercy of foreign buyer. It was simply impossible to think of co-operation or of sugar centrals of commercial and shipping companies of oil companies of intensive farming etc. That was not our gift as it is now. However with the establishment of our National Bank these banking discriminations came to an end the Bank at once becoming a most powerful factor to finance Filipino enterprises which only now are beginning properly to live. On the other hand in a government of our own our independent economic life our resources will be scientifically developed more in accord with our national needs—and it should be borne in mind that our natural resources are as yet almost 90 per cent untouched and that it is only now that we are beginning to touch them although in many cases in a way rather medieval as a result still of the recent past. Then we are confident we will be able to carry a five hundred million peso budget in the future if necessary and thereby have all the instruments of public happiness and prosperity—greater avenues of business direct business relations with the rest of the world ample education and chances for the masses modern extensive

and intensive farming and development of our other natural resources, an adequate army and navy if needed etc. The appropriation of Japan was only in the neighborhood of this amount a few years ago, and during the pre-war era, and worse still after it, not many nations could or can very well afford to carry so large a budget.

Furthermore, if there is to be a League of nations, efficient enough to put an end to wars and the ravages of the stronger upon the weaker, exemplarily to punish war provokers as now justly, intended to do with those of the recent war, and to make international community safer, and life in it much easier and less burdensome and the world a decent place to live in for all alike, we are confident our independence will not be a failure from the economic standpoint.

"Independence Can Never Be Given From Outside"

Along with other messages of good will, *The Independent*, the new daily of Allahabad, prints the following from Sir Kabindranath Tagore:

Independence can never be given from outside. Slavishness has its roots in our fear and self distrust, in the treacherous meanness of our self seeking ambitions, in our intellectual timidity which shuts its eyes to truth and seeks shelter in the dark holes of sophistry, and our moral cowardice which feels itself safe in the abject acceptance of all impositions from tyrannical power that resides in society or outside it. Those who are always ready ruthlessly to crush all signs of independence in their own community where they have authority to exercise their power, and are never ashamed loudly to denounce the helpless minority's claims for freedom of conscience will never be able to retain the doles of independence given to them in their beggar's bowls, full of cracks and any accession to power will give them freedom for tyranny which is another aspect of slavery, like the prickly aspect of the cactus born in the desert soil.

Sir William Meyer In Philippines.

Sir William Meyer, the late finance minister of the Government of India, has been on a visit to the Philippine Islands for the purpose of studying political and economic conditions. We learn from a clipping of a statement of his printed in one of the Manila morning dailies that Sir William thinks that "there are two main parties in India, the extremists who are in favour of immediate home rule while the moderates are fairly well content with the rate at which self government is being extended." What Sir William has said is false. The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri is one of the very ablest of the moderate leaders. He showed in his presidential address at the Bombay Provincial Conference that our legislative councils, constituted in 1853, "worked for eight years before the first

Indian found entry into them by nomination."

"Thirty years passed before the next step was taken a period within which other peoples have found it possible to begin and consummate their political evolution. This step consisted of a slight increase of non-official Indians, some of whom came in by a subsidiary process of election, not recognised in law. Seventeen more years passed before election became a reality and the provincial legislatures had a majority of non-officials which has proved a delusion and a snare. What is the next step to be and when will it be taken? Perhaps we should get an elected majority in two years more that is ten years after the last reform. Of course this majority would be bare and utterly ineffective. To make it decisive at least one decade would be necessary. Our mentors would then take us in successive decades through such fractions as two-thirds three-fourths four-fifths till in another half a century we might have a wholly elective legislature in the advanced provinces. Of course a longer period would be required for the Indian Legislative Council and the councils of the backward provinces to reach this level."

Referring to our progress as regards the public services Mr. Sastri showed that

"Eighty-four years after statutory affirmation of our equality we are still looking forward to getting something between a fourth and a third of the chief administrative posts in our own country. And the whole history is marked by noble sentiments and promises backsliding, bitter recrimination and paltry and graceless concession. Can a people who have endured this sort of thing be accused of seeking to introduce catastrophic or revolutionary changes or to effect a "sudden upheaval" and startling transfer of political authority into ignorant and inexperienced hands?"

It was a noticeable fact Sir William said that the politicians who had made no personal sacrifices for the causes of the allies in the war were eager to make capital of what their fellow-countrymen had done in the Indian armies which fought in Flanders Mesopotamia Palestine and East Africa, and to insist that greater measure of home rule should be extended as a just reward. The men who actually took part in the campaigns however are for the most part satisfied with the present state of affairs under British rule and exhibit confidence that Britain will proceed wisely in the gradual extension of self-government.

In Great Britain and Ireland some 8 million additional men and women have been given votes by the Reform Act of last year. Did they all "actually take part in the campaigns" or make other "personal sacrifices"? What "personal sacrifices" did the British politicians and capitalists make during the war, that they now seek to gain various advantages by the annexation of territory or other ways of exploitation? Moreover, it is not true that Indian politicians and others who did not in any way take part in the campaigns, made no personal sacrifices. Many con-

tributed to war funds and war loans, some helped in recruiting soldiers, many co-operated by public speech and writing in creating and maintaining friendly feelings towards the Allies and thus keeping the country quiet, and all Indians, except a few rich men, have been up till now suffering from various kinds of economic distress caused by the war.

But the strongest and, in fact, the only vital argument in favour of self-rule is that it is every nation's and every people's birth right. Whether we made any sacrifices or not, it is our right to have self-rule. And we mean to have it.

Sir William says that "the men who actually took part in the campaigns are for the most part satisfied with the present state of affairs under British rule," &c. Indeed! How did Sir William, or any other bureaucrat, ascertain the opinion of these soldiers? Was any pleb-scite taken? Have the fighters issued any manifesto? When it suits the bureaucrats to say so, they speak of our dumb millions knowing nothing of and caring nothing for our politics and therefore not sharing the views of our politicians. But when a different purpose has to be served, these same bureaucrats imagine that the dumb millions have become vocal and have given expression to opinions supporting the bureaucratic position! So far as our information goes, neither the civilian nor the military population of India are "satisfied with the present state of affairs under British rule."

Sir William Meyer has stated that "some British residents of India are of the opinion that Mr. Montagu's recommendations are too liberal, although they by no means satisfy the hopes of the extremist party of native politicians." As if "some British residents of India" did not in the past oppose as revolutionary every administrative or constitutional "reform," however delusive or unreal!

We have got our admission from Sir William Meyer which, though there is nothing new in it, possesses some importance, and which we have italicised.

One phase of the question which Sir William touched upon was the clamour on the part of the Indians for some sort of a protective tariff in order to allow them an opportunity to develop native industry along manufacturing lines. This proposition does not meet a responsive chord in England, especially among the merchants, since a British commercial policy has been based traditionally on free trade lines and since

manufacturers at home do not care to see de l'opinion in India along manufacturing lines. The Indians, however, argue, their chances for great industrial and economic development are lessened if there is not an opportunity to utilize at home the raw materials which they produce.

The Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines gave a banquet in honor of Sir William, at which Mr Gregorio Nieva, editor of the *Philippine Review* made a speech from which the following paragraphs are taken:

To a certain extent, there is naturally some parallel between Indian and Philippine affairs, particularly as regards the destinies of the two peoples in the Far East. India and the Philippines cannot feel themselves as different peoples because of the place they hold on earth, and because both come under the common term of "Oriental peoples." Their aspirations are very much similar, and, however different one country may physically seem from the other, such dissimilarity dwindles to insignificance in the broadening horizon of the Orient. On the other hand, India has been, during the last century and a half, under the dependency of the Power that has unfailingly been the mother of small nationalities in Europe, while the Philippines has had the very great fortune of being, during the last two decades, under the guidance of that power which is now at the head, effectively and wholeheartedly, of world Democracy, and of the new idea of binding the World together with the bonds of sympathy and friendship—America. Thus you see that there is really some parallel between India and the Philippines as well as between America and Great Britain. And while it is not yet all the parallel we wish it should be, we feel confident their purpose, and their aims, and their motives will at last become all one and the same at one time. And this is important to the promotion of public welfare in the Far East, and to the happy creation of that new psychology and that new atmosphere so strongly, so devotedly advocated by our President. Of this the Philippines furnishes a very gratifying evidence. During the three distinct stages of our existence under the glorious flag of America that is so nobly leading us to full independent nationhood, one under purely American administration, one with the co-operation of the former Philippine Assembly, and one, lastly, under our almost exclusive legislative and administrative responsibility,—all three in less than two decades—the commerce and revenues of the Islands have steadily grown up fully in proportion to the growth of our political institutions. This would lead us to affirm that the commercial resources of the Far East would reach their full or gradual development according as the still dependent countries of the Orient are fully or gradually released from European colonial tutelage. Thus their usefulness to the cause of universal welfare would be complete.

Such is, to our mind, the logical basis of, and requisite for, a great commercial boom in the Orient. For commercial intercourse in the east could only be carried on on a due scale between one country and another, and between Europe and the Orient, that day, to which we are anxiously looking forward, on which the East and the West could meet each other, not the one as a dependency or expansion field of the other, but as true friends in the enjoyment of equal international rights,

and we trust God that day will come with the opening of the new age and the inauguration of the new statesmanship to come and stay forever and for good. No doubt the great European powers will soon realize that this is worth their true, earnest effort, for the promotion of intensified business intercourse in the Orient.

Mr. Nieva writes: "We believe that notwithstanding present conditions in India as seen by foreigners, all that India needs to advance, very much more rapidly than heretofore, is chance and native leadership."

Lord Morley and the Press Act.

On May 28, 1908, Lord Morley as Secretary of State wrote to the Viceroy Lord Minto:

"In the Cabinet, Ripon was very restive, remembering his own reversal of Lytton's Press policy. I do believe that our introduction of a judicial element at every stage is an improvement, apart from general principles of a Free Press on the one hand, and the maintenance of Law and Order on the other."

In the Indian Press Act of 1910, which is Act I of 1910, we do not find a judicial element at every stage. It is only when a security, a publication, or a press has been forfeited that an appeal lies to a High Court, and we know how futile such appeals are. When a press is established, or when a newspaper is started, security may be and is usually demanded. Security may be and has in many cases been demanded from presses and newspapers established before the passing of the Press Act. Then, at any time security may be enhanced and increased security demanded. When a press changes its premises or its printer, or when a newspaper changes its publisher, and consequently new declarations have to be made, security may be and has often been demanded for the first time or a previous security enhanced. There is no judicial element at these stages; an executive order, against which there is no appeal, is quite sufficient. And in passing such an order, no hearing is given to the printer or the publisher. It is, therefore, difficult to see why Lord Morley wrote that a judicial element had been introduced at every stage. Did he really at first introduce such an element at every stage in the first draft of the bill, which was afterwards altered for the worse? Or was he mistaken? In any case, if there had been a judicial element whenever security was demanded or enhanced, and if there had been an appeal against the

executive order at every stage, that would certainly have been a distinct improvement upon the Act as passed. The introduction of these changes even now would be an improvement. But it is not improvements which will satisfy us now or meet the needs of the situation. It is the ending of the Act that is needed, not any mending.

The Inquisition and the Rowlatt Bills

The Inquisition is a hated name which still gives people the nightmare. And why? Because of the horrible cruelties for which it was responsible, and of which the following lines from *Chambers's Encyclopedia* will give some idea.

The number of victims as stated by Llorente the popular historian of the Inquisition is positively appalling. He affirms that during the sixteen years of Torquemada's tenure of office nearly 9000 were condemned to the flames. The second head of the Inquisition, Diego Deza, eight years according to the same writer, put above 1600 to a similar death; and so for the other successive inquisitors general. But Catholicism loudly protests against the credibility of these fearful allegations. It is impossible not to see that Llorente was a violent partisan, and it is alleged that a his work on the Basque provinces he had already proved himself a venal and unscrupulous fabricator. Although therefore he has made it impossible to disprove his accuracy by appealing to the original papers which he himself destroyed, yet his Catholic critics—as Hefele in his *Life of Cardinal Ximenes* have produced from his own work many examples of contradictory and exaggerated statements. Prescott in his *Ferdinand and Isabella* (III 46-70) has pointed out many similar instances, and Hankins does not hesitate (*European History* 1. 242) to impeach his honesty. Still, with all the defects to which it is possible to impute, the working of the Inquisition in Spain and its dependencies even in the New World involves an amount of cruelty which it is impossible to contemplate without horror.

We do not make or suggest any comparison between the Inquisition and the Rowlatt Bills as regards cruelty and horror, but we do wish to point out some similarities of procedure and to say that as the operation of the Defence of India Act and similar laws has been held responsible by public opinion directly or indirectly for the suicide, insanity and death from disease of some men and also for the heartless treatment of some men, the operation of the Rowlatt Bills if passed into law would probably be attended with similar undesirable results. We also assert that the procedure proposed to be adopted and the powers with which the executive and the police are proposed to be vested by these repressive bills would be responsible

for these results just as the procedure of the Inquisition was mainly responsible for its horrors.

Let us see what the procedure of the Inquisition was. We quote from *Chambers's Encyclopedia*.

The procedure of the Inquisition deserves a brief notice. The party suspected of heresy [in the case of the Defence of India Act it would sometimes be political heresy—L.J. M.R.] or denounced as guilty was liable to be arrested and detained in prison only to be brought to trial when it might seem fit to his judges. The proceedings were conducted secretly. He was not confronted with his accusers nor were the charges even then made known to him. The evidence of an accomplice was admissible and the accused himself was liable to be put to torture in order to extort a confession of his guilt.

The procedure of the Inquisition is thus described in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

The procedure was secret and in the highest degree arbitrary. The object being to ascertain not so much particular offences as tendencies, and on the other hand external acts of pity and verbal professions of faith were held of no value. Moreover the Inquisition was not bound by the ordinary rules of procedure. It is against the accused was secured by a sudden summons and as a rule imprisoned on suspicion. All the accused were presumed to be guilty though being at the same time the accused. Absence was usually considered as contumacy and only in cases the presumption of guilt by seeming to admit it. The accused had the right to demand a written account of the offences attributed to him, but the names of the witnesses were withheld from him so he did not know who had denounced him nor what weight was attached by the judges to the denunciations made against him. The utmost that was allowed him was the unsatisfactory privilege of the *recurso de revocacion* at his first examination he was asked for the names of any enemies of whom he knew and the causes of the enmity. Heretics or persons deprived of civil rights (*infames*) were admitted as witnesses in cases of heresy. Women children or slaves could be witnesses for the prosecution but not for the defence and cases are even to be found in which the witnesses were only ten years of age. Langbein in his *History of the Inquisition* states that a witness who should retract his hostile evidence should be retried and have his hostile effect on the sentence. No witness who should retract his hostile evidence should be punished for a false witness, but his evidence should be retried and have its full effect on the sentence. No witness who should retract his hostile evidence should be punished for a false witness, but his evidence should be retried and have its full effect on the sentence. No witness who should retract his hostile evidence should be punished for a false witness, but his evidence should be retried and have its full effect on the sentence. The prosecution went on in the utmost secrecy. The accused swore that he would tell the whole truth and was bound to do so—although those who were party to the heresy or whom he knew or suspected to be heretics, if he confessed and denounced his accomplices, relatives or friends, he was reconciled with the Church and had to suffer only the banishment or imprisonment for the canon law. If further examination proved necessary it was continued by means of moral subterfuges, but sometimes also by a process of weakening the physical strength.

And as a last expedient torture was resorted to. Canonically the torture could only be applied once, but it might be continued. The next step was the torture of witnesses, a practice which was left to the discretion of the inquisitors. Moreover, all confessions or depositions extorted in the torture chamber had subsequently to be 'freely' confirmed. The confession was always considered as voluntary. The procedure was of course not litigious, any lawyer defending the accused would have been held guilty of heresy. The inquiry might last a long time, for it was interrupted or resumed according to the discretion of the judges, who disposed matters so as to obtain as many confessions or denunciations as possible.

In Jack's *New Encyclopædia* we are told;

"The judicial procedure of the Inquisition was quite different from that to which we are accustomed. The accused was assumed to be guilty. He did not know who had accused him, and all proceedings were in secret. Hardly a case is known of complete acquittal, but if the prisoner confessed, he had to suffer various pains and penalties, such as scourging, penance, imprisonment. Torture was frequently used to extort confession and every effort made to induce the heretic to accuse others also.

It is necessary to make another extract from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*

Two features of the Spanish Inquisition are especially noteworthy, the prosecutions for 'speeches suspected of heresy' and the censure of books.

The censure of books was established in 1502 by Ferdinand and Isabella as a state institution. In 1547 the Suprema produced an Index of prohibited books, drawn up in 1546 by the University of Louvain, it was completed especially as regards Spanish books in 1551, and several later editions were published. Moreover, the *revisores de libros* [the revisors of books] might present themselves in the name of the Holy Office in any private library or bookshop and confiscate prohibited books. In 1558 the penalty of death and confiscation of property was decreed against any bookseller or individual who should keep in his possession condemned books. The censure of books was eventually abolished in 1812.

Rowlatt Bill No 1, which provides for the amendment of the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, has a section which is an "improvement" upon and more drastic than the way in which the Inquisition dealt with books. Section 2 of the Bill runs as follows—

In Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code after section 124-A the following section shall be inserted, namely—

"124-B. Whoever has in his possession any seditious document intending that the same shall be published or circulated shall, unless he proves that he had such document in his possession for a lawful purpose, be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two years or with fine or with both.

Explanation.—For the purposes of this section the expression "seditious document" means any document containing any words, signs or visible representations which instigate or are likely to instigate whether directly or indirectly—

(a) the use of criminal force against His Majesty

or the Government established by law in British India, or against public servants generally or any class of public servants or any individual public servant,* or

(b) the commission or abetment of anything which is an offence against sections 121, 121 A, 122 or 131.

The Inquisition punished men for being in possession of *published* books which it had already prohibited and condemned and of which the names could be found in the Index prepared by it, and successive editions of the Index were published, making it available to the public. Any individual member of the public who valued safety more than freedom of thought and conscience could, therefore, easily ensure his safety by knowing the names of these books and not being in possession of any of them. Rowlatt Bill No 1, proposes to punish men for being in possession of both published and unpublished books, and also published and unpublished pictures, of a "seditious" character. Unlike the Inquisition, the Rowlatt Bill does not, as it cannot, provide the public with any Index of "seditious documents", but, instead, it gives an "explanation" of "seditious documents," making use of such comprehensive, vague and elastic words as, "which instigate or are likely to instigate, whether directly or indirectly." It was, therefore, easier under the Inquisition not to possess prohibited or condemned books than it would be under the proposed law not to possess "seditious documents." In justice, however, to Rowlatt Bill No 1, it must be said that, whereas the Inquisition prescribed the penalty of death and confiscation of property for the offence of possessing prohibited and condemned books, Rowlatt Bill No 1 prescribes a punishment only of imprisonment which may extend only to two years or with fine or with both.

Let us now point out some similarities between the procedure adopted by the Inquisition and the procedure proposed to be laid down for the Investigating Authority by Rowlatt Bill No 2. Roughly the points of similarities are these. (1) Sudden arrest without warrant on mere suspicion, and detention without trial, (2) Conduct of the proceedings secretly in camera, (3) The person under trial ignorant of the name, &c., of his accusers or of the witnesses

* Including police constables and village chowkies — Fd M R

against him, (4) the accused not confronted with his accusers or the witnesses against him, (5) The accused not enjoying the right of defending himself with the help of lawyers, (6) The accused having only the right to a written account of the offences attributed to him, (7) No witnesses allowed in defence, (8) Judicial procedure quite different from that to which we are accustomed, (9) Trial or investigation of indefinite duration * The Reader may establish other points of resemblance for himself in order to enable him to judge whether the points of resemblance enumerated above really exist, we print below two sections of Rowlatt Bill No 2 to be compared with the accounts of the procedure of the Inquisition quoted above from three *Encyclopædias*

25 (1) When the Local Government makes an order under section 21 such Government shall as soon as may be forward to the investigating authority to be constituted under this Act a concise statement in writing setting forth plainly the grounds on which the Government considered it necessary that the order should be made and shall lay before the investigating authority all material facts and circumstances in its possession in support of its action

(2) The investigating authority shall then hold an inquiry in camera for the purpose of ascertaining what in its opinion having regard to the facts and circumstances adduced by the Government appears against the person in respect of whom the order has been made Such authority shall in every case allow the person in question a reasonable opportunity of appearing before it at some stage in its proceedings and shall if he so appears explain to him the nature of the charge made against him and shall hear any explanation he may have to offer and may make such further investigation (if any) as appears to such authority to be relevant and reasonable

Provided that the investigating authority shall not disclose to the person whose case is before it any fact the communication of which might endanger the public safety or the safety of any individual

Provided further that nothing in this sub-section shall be deemed to entitle the person in question to appear or to be represented before the investigating authority by pleader nor shall the Local Government be so entitled

(3) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (2) the inquiry shall be conducted in such manner as the investigating authority considers best suited to elicit the facts of the case and in making the inquiry such authority shall not be bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence

(4) On the completion of the inquiry the investigating authority shall report its findings to the Local Government the conclusions at which it has arrived

(5) If the investigating authority has not completed the inquiry within the period for which the duration of the order is limited by section 24 such authority may recommend to the Local Government that the period of duration of the order shall be

extended for such period as it may consider necessary and on such recommendation the Local Government may extend the duration of the order accordingly

It is necessary to quote section 33 also

33 (1) Where in the opinion of the Local Government there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person has been or is concerned in such area in any scheduled offence the Local Government may make in respect of such person any order authorised by section 21, and may further by order in writing direct—

(a) the arrest of any such person without warrant

(b) the confinement of any such person in such place and under such conditions and restrictions as it may specify and

(c) the search of any place specified in the order which in the opinion of the Local Government, has been or is about to be used by any such person for any purpose prejudicial to the public safety

(2) The arrest of any person in pursuance of an order under clause (a) of subsection (1) may be effected at any place where he may be found by any police officer or by any other officer of Government to whom the order may be directed

(3) An order for confinement under clause (b) or for search under clause (c) of sub-section 1 may be carried out by any officer of Government to whom the order may be directed and such officer may use any and every means to enforce the same

We have seen above that the Inquisition resorted to the 'process of weakening the physical strength' and to torture, as means of obtaining confessions. In connection with the operations of the Defence of India Act and Regulation 3 of 1818, there have been allegations of torture and of weakening the physical strength by such means as depriving the suspect of food, of sleep and rest, &c. The truth of these allegations has not been established by legal evidence, nor have they been disproved by open inquiry in due legal form. The suicide and insanity of several suspects and the hunger strike of many detenus and State prisoners lend colour to these allegations. The irresponsible and arbitrary powers proposed to be given to executive and police officers by the Rowlatt Bills give rise to the well grounded apprehension that the possession of these powers would make the resort to the above Inquisition methods possible with impunity

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* observes that the 'object' of the procedure of the Inquisition was 'to ascertain not so much particular offences as tendencies.' The fact that as a rule, internecine and State prisoners are not brought to trial for any particular offence and that many have been released support the

* Cf. Bill No 2 Section 23 (5).

presumption that a large proportion of them must have been deprived of their liberty not for any particular offence but for the suspected "tendencies" of their lives,—of their casual conversation, their letters, the company they kept, &c. The two repressive bills under criticism appear to have for their object, in part, the penalising of "tendencies." In support of this view, we quote the following sections of Bill No. 2.

20 If the Governor General in Council is satisfied that movements which are in his opinion likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State are being extensively promoted in the whole or any part of British India, he may, by notification in the *Gazette of India* make a declaration to that effect and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

21 (1) Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person is or has been actively concerned in such area in any movement of the nature referred to in section 20 the Local Government may, by order in writing containing a declaration to that effect give all or any of the following directions namely that such person—

(a) shall, within such period as may be specified in the order, execute a bond with or without sureties to be of good behaviour for such period not exceeding one year as may be so specified

(b) shall notify his residence and any change of residence to such authority as may be so specified,

(c) shall remain or reside in any area in British India so specified,

provided that, if the area so specified is outside the province, the concurrence of the local Government of that area to the making of the order shall first have been obtained,

(d) shall abstain from any act so specified which, in the opinion of the Local Government is calculated to disturb the public peace or is prejudicial to the public safety, and

(e) shall report himself to the police at such periods as may be so specified

(2) Any order under clauses (b) to (e) may also be made to take effect upon default by the person concerned in complying with an order under clause (a).

32 If the Governor General in Council is satisfied that scheduled offences have been or are being committed in the whole or any part of British India to such an extent as to endanger the public safety, he may, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, make a declaration to that effect and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

Section 33 which has been quoted before, should be read here again

Section 5 of Bill 1 also requires to be quoted in this connection

5 After section 510 of the said Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the following section shall be inserted namely—

510A. On the trial of an offence under Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code, the following facts shall be relevant, namely—

(a) that the person accused has previously been convicted of an offence under that Chapter, and

(b) that such person has habitually and regularly associated with any person who has been convicted of an offence under that Chapter

Provided that such facts shall nevertheless not be admissible in evidence under the provisions of this section, unless written notice of the intention to call evidence thereof has been served on the accused at least seven days before the commencement of the trial, together with reasonable particulars of the conviction or association intended to be proved."

The Star-Chamber and the Rowlatt Bills.

The Star Chamber has been branded with infamy in history; but originally it was neither meant to be nor was it in fact an instrument of oppression

"The statute conferred on the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Keeper of the Privy Seal with the assistance of a bishop and a temporal Lord of the Council and chief justices or two other justices in their absence a jurisdiction to punish, *without a jury*, the misdemeanours of sheriffs and juries, as well as riots and unlawful assemblies Henry VIII. added to the other members of the court the President of the Council, and ultimately all the privy councillors were members of it. The resulting tribunal was, during the Tudor age of undoubted utility as a means of bringing to justice great and powerful offenders who would otherwise have had it in their power to set the law in defiance. It was independent of a jury, and at that time juries were too easily terrorised by the nobles."

The form of proceeding was by written information and interrogatories, except when the accused person confessed in which case the information and proceedings were oral, and out of this exception grew one of the most flagrant abuses of this tribunal in the later period of its history. Regardless of the existing rule that the confession must be free and unconstrained pressure of every kind, including torture was used to procure acknowledgments of guilt; admissions of the most immaterial facts were construed into confessions, and fine, imprisonment, and mutilation inflicted on a mere oral proceeding, without hearing the accused, by a court consisting of the immediate representatives of prerogative. The proceedings of the Star chamber had always been viewed with distrust by the commons, but during the reign of Charles I its excesses reached a pitch that made it absolutely odious to the country at large. And in 1641 a bill was carried in both Houses which decreed the abolition of the Star Chamber and the equally unpopular court of High Commission."

We learn from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that

"By an act of 1529 an eighth member, the president of the council, was added to the star-chamber, the jurisdiction of which was at the same time con-

* The Rowlatt Committee's Report, section 181, recommends the exclusion of juries and assessors on similar grounds. It says, "We think it necessary to exclude juries and assessors mainly because of the terrorism to which they are liable." But history shows that the Star Chamber became an engine of oppression, because, among other reasons, there was no jury associated with the judges.

fewed. At this time the court performed a very necessary and valuable work, a punishing powerful offenders who could not be reached by the ordinary courts of law.

Its procedure was not according to the common law. It dispensed with the encumbrance of a jury, it could proceed on rumour alone. It could inflict any penalty but death. It was thus admirably calculated to be the support of order against anarchy or of despotism against individual and national liberty. During the Tudor period it appeared in the former light under the Stuarts in the latter.

The reader cannot fail to have observed the points of resemblance between Star Chamber proceedings and the procedure laid down in the Rowlatt Bills for the special court of three high court judges and the investigating authority. The Star Chamber had amongst its members men of learning and piety and of judicial training and experience—bishops, Chief Justices and other judges of the highest courts and at one time it performed a useful function too. Why and how did it then fall into disrepute, become oppressive and unpopular and was at length abolished? The answer is to be found in the last two sentences quoted from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. It was thus admirably calculated to be the support of order against anarchy or of despotism against individual and national liberty. During the Tudor period it appeared in the former light under the Stuarts in the latter. We contend that as there is no anarchy in India the Rowlatt Bills would only be admirably calculated to be the support of despotism against individual and national liberty.

For more than a decade, so far as arbitrary methods go we have been living in the Stuart period of our history. Hence we are justly afraid of the proposed coercive laws. Of course in case there be an outbreak of anarchy in the near future which is improbable, the laws would be an effective weapon against it for the moment but they would also be an effective weapon for the destruction of individual and national liberty. Government ought to devise some means which will prevent the rise of anarchy and will at the same time foster the growth of public spirit and the increase and expansion of civic freedom. This means can be found only in the direction of an adequate liberalisation of our political institutions. And the time is very opportune for making India free because Government can do so without there being the least cause for

anybody thinking saying or suggesting that India's liberation has been achieved by terrorizing its government.

Even if we accept as correct all that has been officially said regarding the existence and degree and extent of prevalence of anarchism in India before the Defence of India Act was passed and enforced we are deliberately of the opinion that, without the aid of any special law, it was quite possible to cope with the evil with the aid of the ordinary laws of the land, an efficient police and a liberal measure of constitutional reform.

The history of the star chamber brings home to the minds of students of history one important lesson. It is that if a people are so weak and cowardly that they can not protect themselves against the oppression of bold bad men, be they lawless powerful nobles or lawless anarchists it is futile to think of giving them lasting protection with the help of lawless courts or laws. In the history of England the star chamber certainly cruelly and unjustly oppressed many more persons than it saved from oppression. The Defence of India Act and Regulation 3 of 1918 may have saved some persons from death or plunder at the hands of 'political' assassins or dacoits but can anybody positively assert that their enforcement and operation have not been the direct or indirect cause of the death and insanity of some men and of blasting the lives of a considerable number of others? If a people be so cowardly that it cannot produce jurors who cannot be terrorized, it is certain that it will also furnish a large number of men who can be very easily and with impunity oppressed by courts, the executive and the police. That was the case in England, that is and would be the case here, too. It was not the star chamber which could give permanent protection to the people. That fearless public spirit of the people which abolished the star chamber also afforded them protection against lawless men. So for permanent protection against tyranny whether practised by 'political' dacoits and assassins or by police and other officials we must look not to Rowlatt Bills but to fearless public spirit securing civic freedom and civic freedom stimulating fearless public spirit. An enlightened government should make conditions favorable for the unfettered growth of public spirit and the expansion of civic freedom.

Nothing is truer than the Sanskrit saying that he alone is truly protected who is protected by himself. Coercive or repressive laws are calculated to terrorise and cow down not only revolutionaries, anarchists and the criminally disposed, they terrorise and emasculate the law-abiding and peaceful population too, and perhaps this effect is produced on the latter to a greater extent than on the former. It is, therefore, quite unreasonable to think of securing the lasting safety of a timid population by laws which tend to make them still more timid, seeing that self-protection alone ensures lasting protection, and none but the brave are capable of self-protection.

Apotheosis of Irresponsibility

The executive and the police are not at present responsible to the people, either directly or indirectly. The repressive bills are calculated to increase their irresponsibility to its maximum. Section 23 of the second repressive bill lays down that

23. The Local Government and every officer of Government to whom a copy of any order made under section 21 may be directed by or under the general or special authority of the Local Government, may use any and every means to enforce compliance with the same.

Similarly section 33 (3) says

(3) An order for confinement under clause (b) or for search under clause (c) of sub-section 1 may be carried out by any officer of Government to whom the order may be directed and such officer may use any and every means to enforce the same.

We cannot think of a more arbitrary and dangerous law,—one which is the negation of all law. What heightens its lawless character, if that were possible, is section 41, which runs as follows—

41. No order under this Act shall be called in question in any Court and no suit or prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.

The orders under section 21, to which reference is made in section 23, are to see that a person against whom section 21 is to be enforced,

(a) shall within such period as may be specified in the order execute a bond with or without sureties to be of good behaviour for such period not exceeding one year as may be so specified.

(b) shall notify his residence and any change of residence to such authority as may be so specified.

(c) shall remain or reside in any area in British India as so specified.

(d) shall abstain from any act so specified which, in the opinion of the Local Government is calculated

to disturb the public peace or is prejudicial to the public safety, and (e) shall report himself to the police at such periods as may be so specified.

It may be asked whether the officer entrusted with enforcing compliance with order (a), may keep the person in question in confinement, standing for 24 hours or more, without food, sleep, rest, or natural conveniences, or beat or torture him, in order to make him execute the bond in case he be unwilling to do so. For, "any and every means" do not exclude these means. And should the officer use such or similar means to enforce compliance with order (a) or those which follow it, would section 41 quoted above protect him or would it not? One does not know definitely what may or may not be done in India in good faith. It is generally presumed that officials act in good faith. In enforcing compliance with order (c), would the officer be justified in keeping the person in question in solitary confinement? In enforcing compliance with order (d), would an officer be justified in making a person physically incapable of using his organs of speech and his hands? Well may people tremble to think to what lengths of oppression and cruelty unscrupulous and tyrannically disposed officers may be encouraged to proceed by the immunity promised by sections 23, 33 (3), and 41. We cannot imagine how in the 20th century in a country governed by a civilised nation such shocking and irresponsible powers can be proposed to be given to any man in quite an unabashed manner?

"All the Accused were Presumed to be Guilty"

We have seen in the descriptions of the procedure of the Inquisition quoted before that all the accused brought to trial before it were presumed or assumed to be guilty. In section 2 of the first repressive bill a similar assumption is made, for it is laid down there that "whoever has in his possession any seditious document intending that the same shall be published or circulated shall, unless he proves that he had such document in his possession for a lawful purpose, be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two years or with fine or with both." So the burden of proving that the possession of the document is for a lawful purpose is thrown on the accused, or in other words, it is to be assumed that the possession is

for an unlawful purpose unless the opposite is proved by the accused. In the assumption of the guilt of an accused person which is contrary to the principles of civilised jurisprudence the first repressive bill is therefore akin to the Inquisition.

Another section of this bill also appears indirectly to assume to some extent the guilt of an accused. On the trial of an offence under Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code section 5 makes the fact of a previous conviction of the accused under that Chapter and of his habitual and voluntary association with a previous convict under it relevant evidence against him. In other words the guilt of an accused who is a previous convict or habitual companion of a previous convict is indirectly presumed. This section also therefore proves the truth of the first repressive bill with the Inquisition.

The First Repressive Bill

This bill is meant to have a permanent place in the Indian statute book. It ought not to have even a day's lease of life as it is dangerous to the liberty of the subject.

Section 4 runs as follows —

4. To section 343 of the said Criminal Procedure Code the following proviso shall be added namely —
"Provided that a promise of protection to an accused person against criminal force or any promise properly incidental to a promise of such protection shall not be deemed to be the use of influence within the meaning of this section."

The words "or any promise properly incidental to a promise of such protection" require careful consideration. The question is what is and what is not properly incidental to a promise of such protection. An accused who by his confession gives away his fellow accused may if he lives in a thatched house profess to be afraid of being killed by his house being burnt down at night. Therefore it may be argued that a promise to give him a *pucca* masonry building to live in is a promise properly incidental to a promise of protection. Further it may be argued that he would require for his protection a body of armed retainers and sufficient income to pay them and that as if he moved from place to place on foot, he might be easily assaulted he ought to have a protected conveyance and an assured income for its upkeep. Would the promises of a masonry house, a body of retainers, a good con-

veyance and sufficient income for their maintenance and upkeep be considered properly incidental to a promise of such protection? If so in what respect would such promises differ from bribing or holding out illegal inducements? If not is it not indispensably necessary to make it quite clear by many illustrations what is meant by the words "or any promise properly incidental to a promise of such protection"?

The material portion of section 5 is that on the trial of an offence against the State (Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code)

the following facts shall be relevant namely —

- (a) that the person accused has previously been convicted of an offence under that Chapter and
- (b) that such person has habitually and voluntarily associated with any person who has been convicted of an offence under that Chapter.

This section has been drafted ostensibly in accordance with the last paragraph of section 177 of the Rowlatt Committee's Report which runs in part as follows:

Lastly we think that in all cases where there is a question of sedition or evidence of previous conviction for sedition or association (of an accused with persons so convicted) should be admissible. What we have called sedition or crime would of course have to be accurately defined.

The reader will notice that section 5 does not mention that the association with a previous convict must be of an incriminating kind of course. By the omission of these words a great safeguard has been taken away. Any kind of association provided it is habitual and voluntary might thus suffice to damn a man which is quite unreasonable. A man convicted of an offence against the State (which may not necessarily be an offence against morality and may be only a technical offence) would therefore be precluded from having friends, playmates, employees, employers, co-workers, teachers, pupils or relatives living with him in the

* For example, consider section 124A of the Indian Penal Code which defines and provides punishment for sedition. It has been judicially held that absence of all criticism on sedition (*Bal Gangadhar Tilak* 27 B.L.R. (134)) and to excite or attempt to excite sedition is one form of sedition. Strictly speaking therefore most journalists, British and Indian and most public speakers are guilty of sedition though they may never have been brought to trial and convicted. A man of the highest character may be brought to trial and convicted of sedition and the First Rowlatt Bill proposes in effect to make him "untouchable."

Defence of India Act was meant to be in force for the duration of the war and six months thereafter. Has that fact stood in the way of the Government trying to give it a longer lease of life in another and a more drastic form and under new names? Similarly, if after three years, the men then constituting the Government of India consider it necessary to introduce a new bill similar to the present one, they would certainly not be bound by the promise made by the present Government. Moreover, the very fact of there being in the country a law like the present bill for three years, may produce political conditions which in the opinion of the bureaucracy may justify the forging of new weapons to combat them. The vital and essential objection to the bill is to its principle and methods, not to the length of its life.

The bill is professedly meant to supplant the ordinary criminal law, but in reality it will, if passed, to a great extent supplant the ordinary criminal law. Section 3 says:

3 If the Governor General in Council is satisfied that scheduled offences are prevalent in the whole or any part of British India and that it is expedient in the interests of the public safety to provide for the speedy trial of such offences he may by notification in the *Gazette of India* make a declaration to that effect and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

The scheduled offences are briefly as follows: waging war or attempting to wage war against the king, conspiracy for the same, collecting arms for the same, assaulting Governor General, Governor, &c., sedition, waging war against allied Asiatic power, abetting mutiny, and the following offences, if connected with any movement endangering the safety of the State, namely, rioting armed with deadly weapon, promoting enmity between classes, murder, culpable homicide attempt to murder attempt to commit culpable homicide, voluntarily causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons or means, voluntarily causing hurt to extort property or to constrain to an illegal act, voluntarily causing grievous hurt to extort property or to constrain to an illegal act, voluntarily causing hurt to deter public servant from his duty, voluntarily causing grievous hurt to deter public servant from his duty, putting person in fear of injury in order to commit extortion, extortion by putting a person in fear of

death or grievous hurt, putting person in fear of death or grievous hurt in order to commit extortion, robbery, attempt to commit robbery, voluntarily causing hurt in committing robbery, dacoity, dacoity with murder, robbery or dacoity with attempt to cause death or grievous hurt, attempt to commit robbery or dacoity armed with deadly weapon, preparing to commit dacoity, belonging to gang of dacoits, belonging to gang of thieves, assembling for purpose of committing dacoity, mischief by injury to public road, bridge, river, or channel, mischief by fire or explosive substance with intent to cause damage, &c., mischief by fire or explosive substance with intent to destroy house, mischief with intent to destroy or make unsafe a docked vessel or one of 20 tons burden, mischief committed after preparation made for causing death or hurt, making house trespass or house breaking in order to commit offence punishable with imprisonment, the same after preparation for hurt, assault or wrongful restraint, the same by night in order to commit offence punishable with imprisonment, the same after preparation for hurt, assault or wrongful restraint, grievous hurt caused whilst committing house trespass or house breaking, and criminal intimidation. The following also come under the schedule: any offence under Explosive Substances Act, 1908, any offence under section 20 of the Indian Arms Act, 1878, any attempt or conspiracy to commit or any abetment of any of the above offences.

The above list, which is not exhaustive, will show how large and varied are the offences whose prevalence will warrant the Governor General in Council to exercise emergency powers under Part I of the bill and supplant the ordinary criminal law. It would not at all be difficult for the C. I. D. to satisfy the Governor General in Council that they are prevalent or that they are connected with any movement endangering the safety of the State, seeing that the safety of the State or public safety has been held to be so very brittle a thing as to be liable to be endangered by the mere presence or speeches of some public men in certain areas. Practically, the law may come into force at the sweet will and pleasure of the Governor General in Council, for most of the offences included in the schedule are not rare but ordinary forms of crime, and

there is no definition given in any law book or lexicon which lays down the number of offences per month per thousand square miles which would justify one in holding that they are prevalent. This law moreover is only ostensibly and apparently meant for the trial of the scheduled offences. In reality and in actual practice it may be used for punishing any offence mentioned in the Penal Code. For section 15 provides that

15. If in any trial under this Part it is proved that the accused has committed any offence whether a scheduled offence or not the Court may convict the accused of that offence although he was not charged with it.

We have shown below how taking advantage of this section the court may punish any accused person for any offence scheduled or not without his having the opportunity of self defence. So this bill is really intended to supersede the ordinary criminal law.

After section 3 has come into force in any area a person may be tried for any scheduled offence according to the provisions of Part I where the local government is of opinion that he should be so tried. Nothing more is required than the mere opinion of the local government. Executive authorities being generally in favour of shortcuts to the punishment of accused persons local governments would generally be in favour of the trial of persons according to the provisions of Part I. This consideration shows in how large a number of cases accused persons may not have the advantage of trial under the existing ordinary laws of the land.

The courts for the trial of offences under this part will be constituted by the Chief Justice and will consist of three High Court Judges. But the Chief Justices are Englishmen resident in India having for the most part the bureaucratic bias against the dependency of India having freedom and it would generally be easy for them to choose three bureaucratic civil judges. But even such a court would have been a welcome improvement upon the present state of things if it tried only those accused who had been sent up for trial by a magistrate after the usual public preliminary investigation if the trial were fully public and open if the accused had the right of being tried by jury and if he had the right of appeal. But the bill takes away all these usual safeguards.

The special court consisting of High Court judges formed for the purpose, may sit for the whole or any part of a trial at such place or places in the province as it may consider desirable. It should be considered whether and how this may prejudice the accused. Do these words mean that the court may sit in other than a public building or in a room (in a harem for example) not accessible to the public? That would do away with the least semblance of a public trial. The special courts will no doubt consist of High Court judges. But away from the atmosphere of the High Court they may not inspire as much confidence as they do in the High Court or they may themselves be unconsciously affected by local conditions. Moreover, in High Court towns it is easier for the accused to obtain the services of good lawyers at moderate fees than elsewhere. For these reasons the special courts should sit only in High Court rooms.

The court is bound to grant only a maximum adjournment of 10 days and that only when a charge is framed not afterwards. But this may not in many cases enable the accused to make all necessary preparations for defence.

As the judgment of the Court is to be final and conclusive and there shall be no appeal it may seem perhaps that it does not much matter that the court shall be required to make a memorandum only of the substance of the evidence of each witness examined. But even during the trial should there be a difference of opinion between the judges and the lawyers for the defence as to what a witness has said how are the different impressions of the lawyers and the judges to be reconciled and a just decision arrived at in the absence of a full record of evidence? Much depends on the exact words used by witnesses. The difference of or in a single word may make all the difference between justice and injustice. Therefore it is imperatively necessary that all evidence should be taken down in full. The memory of neither judge nor counsel is infallible. No law should assume that in trials speed or ease of passing sentence is of greater importance than the ends of strict and impartial justice.

Section 11 provides that the Court may at its discretion conduct the whole trial or any part of it in strict secrecy in the public interest or for the protection of

same house, without the possibility or probability of his jeopardising their safety. He would thus be made a modernised specimen of an "untouchable," "unapproachable," and "uncomprisonable" creature,—a most shocking punishment.

The Rowlatt Committee say "What we have called seditious crime would of course have to be accurately defined." But the bill under comment does not define seditious crime either accurately or inaccurately. It tacitly takes it for granted that all offences against the State dealt with in Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code are seditious crimes, and it is well known that so many things can be construed as sedition that it is seldom that anybody accused of sedition has escaped conviction.

As regards making the previous conviction of an accused under Chap. VI of the Indian Penal Code a relevant fact against him, this change in the law is proposed to be made only as regards offences against the State. But, to use the words of the Rowlatt Committee's Report, "there can be no justification for making" this change in the law "in order to facilitate prosecutions in cases of sedition if in other cases the law is allowed to remain" as it is "a proper safeguard against injustice." The proposed change is neither fair to the accused nor reasonable. Every fresh offence ought to be proved independently and a previous conviction for the same offence may be considered as enhancing the guilt of the accused, only when the offence for which he is being tried has been independently established. The English law does not allow evidence of a previous conviction until a verdict of guilty has been given. There is no reason why the law should be particularly hard on alleged political offenders by the omission of existing safeguards against injustice, unless it be intended that even those who have recourse to constitutional agitation and other constitutional means for the attainment of an increasing degree of civic freedom should be terrorised and emasculated. In countries which are not governed by the representatives of the people many laws against offences against the State may in one sense be considered as partisan laws that is to say, laws which the party or persons in power have enacted in order to prevent the people or their representatives from securing the right and the power

to manage their own affairs. Some offences against the State are statute made, because what was no offence formerly may be made an offence afterwards, and what is an offence in one country is not an offence in another. And practically the party which makes these laws is also the party which tries offences under these laws. Therefore, in the trial of political cases, there ought in fairness to be greater safeguards against injustice than in ordinary trials. But the repressive laws under consideration propose to take away even some of the existing safeguards. This attempt must be opposed by all constitutional means in our power, and whoever will not join in this opposition will brand himself as a slave or as disloyal to his country and his nation.

Section 6 is of a most dangerous character. It relates to persons convicted of an offence punishable under Ch. VI of the Indian Penal Code, whom we will briefly call political offenders or political prisoners. We will quote its material portion.

6 After section 565 of the said Code the following section shall be inserted namely—

565 A (1) When any person is convicted of an offence punishable under Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code the Court may if it thinks fit at the time of passing sentence on such person order him on his release after the expiration of such sentence to execute a bond with sureties for his good behaviour so far as offences under Chapter VI of the said Code are concerned for such period not exceeding two years as it thinks fit.

(2) An order under sub section (1) may also be made by an Appellate Court or by the High Court when exercising its powers of revision.

(3) If the Court makes an order under sub section (1) it shall further direct that until the person who is the subject of the order furnishes the required security such person shall notify to the Local Government or to such officer as the Local Government may by general or special order appoint in this behalf his residence and any change of residence after release for the period for which security is required.

(4) Where any person is under an obligation to notify in accordance with the provisions of sub section (3) his residence and any change of residence after release the Local Government may by order in writing direct that such person—

(a) shall not enter reside or remain in any area specified in the order

(b) shall reside or remain in any area in British India so specified and

(c) shall abstain from addressing public meetings for the furtherance or discussion of any subject likely to cause disturbance or public excitement or of any political subject or for the distribution of any writing or printed matter relating to any such subject.

(5) Any person refusing or neglecting to comply with any direction under sub section (3) or any order under sub section (4) shall be punishable as if he had

committed an offence under sect. 177 of the Indian Penal Code

In cases of a second conviction with imprisonment for 3 years or upwards for offences like counterfeiting coins and Government stamps, theft, robbery, dacoity receiving stolen property, cheating house breaking, Section 563 of the said [Criminal Procedure] Code gives power, at the time of passing sentence, to add an order that the offender's residence and any change of residence after release be notified to the police for a term not exceeding five years from the date his release.

Political prisoners generally belong to the educated class and are men of a higher order of society than coiners, thieves, dacoits, burglars, &c. The first Rowlett Bill shows its kindness to political prisoners in various ways. First it places them in the same category with thieves, burglars, &c. Secondly whereas thieves, &c., may be required only to notify residence, &c. if convicted a second time and sentenced to imprisonment for three years or more political offenders, even when convicted for the first time and sentenced to imprisonment for less than three years, may be required to execute a bond with sureties for good behaviour for a maximum period of two years, and, until the security is furnished, also to notify residence, &c., for the period for which security is required. Thirdly, —and this is what thieves, &c., are not subject to,—political offenders may be ordered, in addition, (a) not to enter, reside or remain in any area specified in the order, (b) to reside or remain in any area in British India so specified, and (c) to abstain from addressing public meetings for the furtherance or discussion of any subject likely to cause disturbance or public excitement, or of any political subject or for the distribution of any writing or printed matter relating to any such subject. And fourthly,—and here the bill surpasses itself in its tenderness for political prisoners—as no period is fixed or definitely mentioned in the section for which the orders marked (a) (b) and (c) may be passed and remain in force they may be meant for the remaining period of the lives of these unfortunate men. Thus, it may be in the power of the Local Government to blast their whole lives and subject them to a kind of civil death in a state of solitary confinement in a house. There is no subject

religious, social industrial economic, political, and even philosophical or scientific, of which the discussion may not occasionally cause public excitement or which may not be held likely to cause public excitement or disturbance. This section, therefore, practically gives powers to the local Government to prevent any and all kinds of public discussion and activity on the part of persons who, whatever the purity of their character or their integrity and record of public service, may have unfortunately been convicted of sedition. They may not for the rest of their lives discuss or write on any political subject. How drastic and how barbarous such a law would be can be understood by those who know how easy it is at present to get a man punished for sedition. That many are not so punished is not due to the state of the law but to the policy pursued for the time being by the powers that be. That is no freedom or security which is not enjoyed by a man as a matter of right, but only as a matter of favour or politic forbearance. Any Indian who has heard of these repressive bills and would be content to have such laws is either perfectly fitted to be a slave or is a traitor to his country.

The Second Coercion Bill

Owing to the sturdy opposition of the Indian non official members of the Imperial Legislative Council, Government has promised that the second coercion bill will be in force for only three years, following in this promise the precedent of the Irish Coercion Bill. Regarding coercion in Ireland Lord Morley, by the by, has made the following remarks in his *Recollections*

as for legislation on the lines of the Irish Crimes Act it is pure nonsense. He seems to refer to Forster's Act (not Balfour's of 1887) and that was about the most egregious failure in the whole history of exceptional law. If I know anything in the world it is the record and working of Irish coercion since 1851.

In another passage he speaks of himself as possessing a spotless character as an anti-coercionist in Ireland.

The limiting of the duration of the second repressive bill to three years ought not to conciliate or deceive anybody, and it is satisfactory to find that it has not in the least diminished the opposition to the bill in the country. It is to be hoped that the opposition would be continued even if and when the bill becomes law. The promise of limitation has no meaning. The

Defence of India Act was meant to be in force for the duration of the war and six months thereafter. Has that fact stood in the way of the Government trying to give it a longer lease of life in another and a more drastic form and under new names? Similarly, if after three years, the men then constituting the Government of India consider it necessary to introduce a new bill similar to the present one, they would certainly not be bound by the promise made by the present Government. Moreover the very fact of there being in the country a law like the present bill for three years may produce political conditions which in the opinion of the bureaucracy may justify the forging of new weapons to combat them. The vital and essential objection to the bill is to its principle and methods not to the length of its life.

The bill is professedly meant to supplement the ordinary criminal law, but in reality it will, if passed, to a great extent supplant the ordinary criminal law. Section 3 says

3 If the Governor General in Council is satisfied that scheduled offences are prevalent in the whole or any part of British India and that it is expedient in the interests of the public safety to provide for the speedy trial of such offences he may by notification in the *Gazette of India* make a declaration to that effect and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

The scheduled offences are briefly as follows: waging war or attempting to wage war against the King, conspiracy for the same, collecting arms for the same, assaulting Governor General, Governor, &c., sedition, waging war against allied Asiatic power, abetting mutiny, and the following offences, if connected with any movement endangering the safety of the State, namely, rioting armed with deadly weapon, promoting enmity between classes, murder, culpable homicide, attempt to murder, attempt to commit culpable homicide, voluntarily causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons or means, voluntarily causing hurt to extort property or to constrain to an illegal act, voluntarily causing grievous hurt to extort property or to constrain to an illegal act, voluntarily causing hurt to deter public servant from his duty, voluntarily causing grievous hurt to deter public servant from his duty, putting person in fear of injury in order to commit extortion except by putting a person in fear of

death or grievous hurt, putting person in fear of death or grievous hurt in order to commit extortion, robbery, attempt to commit robbery voluntarily causing hurt in committing robbery, dacoity, dacoity with murder, robbery or dacoity with attempt to cause death or grievous hurt, attempt to commit robbery or dacoity armed with deadly weapon, preparing to commit dacoity, belonging to gang of dacoits, belonging to gang of thieves, assembling for purpose of committing dacoity, mischief by injury to public road, bridge, river, or channel, mischief by fire or explosive substance with intent to cause damage, &c., mischief by fire or explosive substance with intent to destroy house, mischief with intent to destroy or make unsafe a docked vessel or one of 20 tons burden, mischief committed after preparation made for causing death or hurt, making house trespass or house breaking in order to commit offence punishable with imprisonment, the same after preparation for hurt, assault or wrongful restraint, the same by night in order to commit offence punishable with imprisonment, the same after preparation for hurt, assault or wrongful restraint, grievous hurt caused whilst committing house trespass or house breaking and criminal intimidation. The following also come under the schedule: any offence under Explosive Substances Act, 1908, any offence under section 20 of the Indian Arms Act, 1878, any attempt or conspiracy to commit or any abetment of any of the above offences.

The above list, which is not exhaustive, will show how large and varied are the offences whose prevalence will warrant the Governor General in Council to exercise emergency powers under Part I of the bill and supplant the ordinary criminal law. It would not at all be difficult for the Council to satisfy the Governor General in Council that they are prevalent or that they are connected with any movement endangering the safety of the State, seeing that the safety of the State or public safety has been held to be so very brittle a thing as to be liable to be endangered by the mere presence or speech of some public men in certain areas. Practically, the law may come into force at the sweet will and pleasure of the Governor General in Council, for most of the offences included in the schedule are not rare but ordinary forms of crime, and

there is no definition given in any law-book or lexicon which lays down the number of offences per month per thousand square miles which would justify one in holding that they are prevalent. This law, moreover, is only ostensibly and apparently meant for the trial of the scheduled offences. In reality and in actual practice it may be used for punishing any offence mentioned in the Penal Code. For, section 15 provides that

15. If in any trial under this Part it is proved that the accused has committed any offence whether a scheduled offence or not the Court may convict the accused of that offence although he was not charged with it.

We have shown below how taking advantage of this section, the court may punish any accused person for any offence scheduled or not without his having the opportunity of self defence. So this bill is really intended to supersede the ordinary criminal law.

After section 3 has come into force in any area, a person may be tried for any scheduled offence according to the provisions of Part I where the local government is of opinion that he should be so tried. Nothing more is required than the mere opinion of the local government. Executive authorities being generally in favour of shortcuts to the punishment of accused persons local governments would generally be in favour of the trial of persons according to the provisions of Part I. This consideration shows in how large a number of cases accused persons may not have the advantage of trial under the existing ordinary laws of the land.

The courts for the trial of offences under this part will be constituted by the Chief Justice and will consist of three High Court Judges. But the Chief Justices are Englishmen resident in India having for the most part the bureaucratic bias against the dependency of India having freedom, and it would generally be easy for them to choose three biased native judges. But even such a court would have been a welcome improvement upon the present state of things if it tried only those accused who had been sent up for trial by a magistrate after the usual public preliminary investigation if the trial were fully public and open if the accused had the right of being tried by jury and if he had the right of appeal. But the bill takes away all these usual safeguards.

The special court consisting of High Court judges formed for the purpose, 'may sit for the whole or any part of a trial at such place or places in the province as it may consider desirable'. It should be considered whether and how this may prejudice the accused. Do these words mean that the court may sit in other than a public building or in a room (in a bari, for example) not accessible to the public? That would do away with the least semblance of a public trial. The special courts will no doubt consist of High Court judges. But away from the atmosphere of the High Court they may not inspire as much confidence as they do in the High Court or they may themselves be unconsciously affected by local conditions. Moreover, in High Court towns it is easier for the accused to obtain the services of good lawyers at moderate fees than elsewhere. For these reasons the special courts should sit only in High Court rooms.

The court is bound to grant only a maximum adjournment of 10 days and that only when a charge is framed not afterwards. But this may not in many cases enable the accused to make all necessary preparations for defence.

As the judgment of the Court is to be final and conclusive and there shall be no appeal it may seem perhaps that it does not much matter that the court shall be required to make a memorandum only of the substance of the evidence of each witness examined. But even during the trial should there be a difference of opinion between the judges and the lawyers for the defence as to what a witness has said, how are the different impressions of the lawyers and the judges to be reconciled and a just decision arrived at in the absence of a full record of evidence? Much depends on the exact words used by witnesses. The difference of or in a single word may make all the difference between justice and injustice. Therefore it is imperatively necessary that all evidence should be taken down in full. The memory of neither judge nor counsel is infallible. No law should assume that in trials speed or ease of passing sentence is of greater importance than the ends of strict and impartial justice.

Section 11 provides that the Court may at its discretion conduct the whole trial or any part of it in strict secrecy in the public interest or for the protection of

a witness' But public interests are never served by secret trials, as the history of the Inquisition and the star chamber shows, and the secrecy maintained to 'protect' witnesses would most probably encourage lying scoundrels to perjure away the lives and liberties of political suspects or of those against whom they had a grudge, and it would also encourage unscrupulous police officers to fabricate evidence. It is the accused whom the law ought to be the most anxious to protect. If he be in danger of being punished with the help of fabricated evidence, he ought at least to have that moral support of public opinion which publicity secures and lying witnesses also ought to be kept in check by that social opprobrium which publicity may bring on them. Neither a court, nor an accuser, nor witnesses ought to enjoy immunity from public reprobation if they do wrong. There is no kind of evil imaginable which secrecy may not breed. These observations apply also to the following proviso in section 25

Provided that the investigating authority shall not disclose to the person whose case is before it any fact the communication of which might endanger the public safety or the safety of any individual

Section 12, subsection 3) (a) deprives the accused of the usual safeguard that a witness need not answer a question which may incriminate him

Sections 15 and 16 are most dangerous to the accused. They say

If in any trial under this Part it is proved that the accused has committed any offence whether a scheduled offence or not the Court may convict the accused of that offence although he was not charged with it

The Court may pass upon any person convicted by it any sentence authorised by law for the punishment of the offence of which such person is convicted and no order of confirmation shall be necessary in the case of any sentence passed by it

So in reality these Courts, whose proceedings may be made entirely secret, may in reality sentence a man for any offence whether scheduled or not, and therefore this Bill No 2 of 1919 practically in fact may supplant the ordinary criminal law of the land. If in the course of any trial for a scheduled offence, after the days of adjournment are over, a surprise is sprung on the accused and evidence is brought forward to prove some other offence, whether scheduled or not, he would be unprepared to rebut the charge by calling witnesses or by other means, and

he would not have the right to demand an adjournment to have time for preparation for self defence. For, according to section 9, the court is bound to grant an adjournment at the request of the accused only at the time when a charge is framed. Thus an accused would very often be bound to be punished, either for the scheduled offence for which he was being tried, or for some other offence. If such a law be passed, the people of India, particularly those who love liberty and openly write or say that they long to have it, must be prepared for a reign of terror, for nobody who was suspected by the police or against whom spies and informers had a grudge, would be safe.

Section 18 supercedes the Indian Evidence Act as regards evidence given by persons who have not been cross examined,

Such statement may be admitted in evidence by the Court if the person making the same is dead or cannot be found or is incapable of giving evidence and the Court is of opinion that such death, disappearance or incapacity has been caused in the interests of the accused

But may not the disappearance of some witnesses be sometimes caused by police action? Suppose a witness says something very damaging and incriminating against an accused. His disappearance may be presumed to be caused by the friends of the accused, but it may also be caused by police action. For should he be a lying and tutored witness, cross examination may expose the lies, and the police may bring about or report his disappearance to prevent such exposure.

Part II of the Bill is preventive. Section 20 says how it shall come into force

If the Governor General in Council is satisfied that movements which are in his opinion likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State are being extensively promoted in the whole or any part of British India he may by notification in the Gazette of India make a declaration to that effect and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification

No offence need be committed by any one to bring this Part into force. If the Governor General in Council is satisfied that movements which are in his opinion likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State, then every man and woman may be placed at the mercy of Local Autocrats. Imperial Autocrats who are timid, panicky, afraid of and opposed to popular freedom, innocent of first hand

knowledge of the country and who see things through the eyes of the C I D, may be easily satisfied that the most innocent and legitimate movements are likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State. The way in which the Press Act and the Defence of India Rules have been misused shows that our apprehensions are not unfounded.

Section 21 has been reproduced and partly commented upon in a previous note in this issue, as also section 23. Sections 25 and 26 have been so framed that the Local Government may keep a political suspect deprived of liberty for as long as it likes, practically condemning him even to life long confinement. Section 25 has been quoted before. Here is section 26 —

26. (1) On receipt of the report of the investigating authority the Local Government may discharge the order made under section 21 or may pass any order which is authorised by the terms of that section.

Provided that—

(a) any order so passed shall recite the finding of the investigating authority and

(b) a copy of such order shall be furnished to the person in respect of whom it is made.

(c) No order made under sub-section (1) shall continue in force for more than one year from the date on which it was made, but the Local Government may (if it is satisfied that such a course is necessary in the interest of the public safety) on the expiry of any such order, again make any order in respect of the person to whom it related which is authorised by section 21.

(3) No order made under sub-section (2) shall continue in force for more than one year from the date on which it was made, but on its expiry may be renewed by the Local Government for a further period not exceeding one year.

Provided that any order so made or renewed may at any time be discharged or may be altered by the substitution of any other order authorised by section 21 and in that case no further reference to the latest act of authority shall be necessary.

Section 25, quoted before, prescribes how 'the investigating authority' shall conduct its inquiry. The methods resemble those of the Inquisition and the Star Chamber. To our previous comments on this section we will add a few observations on the following portion of it —

Such authority shall in every case allow the person in question a reasonable opportunity of appearing before it at some stage in its proceedings and shall, if he so appears, explain to him the nature of the charge made against him and shall hear any explanation he may have to offer and may make such further investigation (if any) as appears to such authority to be relevant and reasonable.

In the memorandum submitted to the Bengal Government by the Advisory Com-

mittee appointed by it, consisting of ex Justice Sir N G Chandavarkar and Mr Justice Berchcroft, we read that these experienced judges did not allow any detainee or state prisoner to appear before them in self-defence. One reason which they gave for the course adopted by them is as follows

From our judicial experience we have found that if an accused person is not defended by counsel, he generally speaking spoils his case when he conducts his own defence or in answer to questions from the trying judge either gives irrelevant answers or makes vague protests of innocence or makes unwittingly admissions against himself or by his demureous in answering questions prejudges his defence by producing an unfavourable impression on the mind of the judge.

Now if according to two judicial authorities chosen by Government to enquire into the cases of suspects such are the dangers of defending oneself personally, why is a law going to be made depriving a suspect of the right of defending himself by counsel and allowing him to appear in person before the investigating authority, only to spoil his case?

Lawyers on neither side are to be allowed to appear before the investigating authority and the inquiry shall be conducted in such manner as the investigating authority considers best suited to elicit the facts of the case, and in making the inquiry such authority shall not be bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence. It is easy to see what kind of justice a suspected person is likely to have under such conditions. The bill is famous for giving a *carte blanche*. It has been pointed out before how the bill gives a *carte blanche* to various officers by sections 23, 33 (3), and 41. To these should be added the above mentioned words giving the *carte blanche* to the investigating authority. Probably Government has discovered in the *carte blanche* an infallible means of securing 'public safety', 'the safety of the state' and 'public interests'. But this infallible means was tried by the Inquisition and the Star Chamber, by various bodies and persons in France before and during the Revolution and also in Russia of the Tsars—but always with the same ultimate result, disaster.

Sir William Vincent has said in counsel that the period of orders under parts II (section 26) and III is limited to one year in the first instance and three years

in all. But this is nowhere clearly and definitely mentioned in the bill, which gives one the impression that Government can deprive any suspect of his liberty for life.

Sir William has himself said that "Part III is more drastic." The only thing that is necessary for this part to come into operation is that the Governor General in Council should be "satisfied that scheduled offences *have been* or are being committed to such an extent as to endanger the public safety. In such circumstances, the Local Government, where there is reasonable ground for believing that a person has been concerned in a scheduled offence, may direct the arrest of such person [without warrant], his confinement [without trial] in such place and under such conditions as may be prescribed." It will be noticed that both in section 32 of this part and in section 21 of Part II, there is no time limit. According to section 21, a person who is or *has been* (in some past time) concerned in any movement, &c., shall come under its operation, and according to section 32, Part III, shall come into force if scheduled offences *have been* (in some past time) or are being committed, &c. So this unparalleled law can bring within its clutches both the Past and the Present, the Future alone still enjoys immunity. Whatever is said in any section of the two bills about the Governor-General in Council or the Local Government being satisfied or being of any opinion, &c., simply means the satisfaction or opinion of the C. I. D., which again very often rests merely on the information supplied by such incarnations of truth as the spies and informers employed by the police. From this one can understand, how much the life and liberty of Indians would be worth when the bills became law.

Part IV applies the provisions of Part III automatically, without reference to the investigating authority, to persons suspected to have been "concerned in revolutionary crime" and who are under restriction under the Defence of India Act, Regulation 3 of 1918, the Ingress into India Ordinance, &c. Part V is ancillary, but is not at all unimportant. It closes all loopholes of escape for the accused and, by section 41 gives complete immunity to all officers concerned in enforcing the bill for anything that they may have done "in good faith."

The Promised Reforms and the Rowlatt Bills.

If the promised reforms be adequate, discontent may be allayed and "the matter of sedition" disappear to a great extent, making the enactment of drastic laws unnecessary. Let us take it for granted that the reforms would be adequate. In that case why do not the bureaucracy allow these a chance to conciliate the country? Are they afraid that should such a chance be allowed and should it produce the effect desired by the people, it would be proved to demonstration that the unrest in the country was due to the inefficiency of the bureaucrats and their arbitrary and wrong ways of governing the country? Is it for this reason that they are eager to pass draconic laws, in order that they may be able to say that it was not the reforms but the repressive laws which kept the country quiet? Whether the people of India consider the proposed reforms adequate or not, certainly the foreign rulers ought to consider them adequate. They should, therefore, give the reforms a fair chance. But their great eagerness to pass coercive measures shows that they are not willing to give this chance.

But it is probable that the foreign bureaucrats know and believe that the proposed reforms would not satisfy the people, and there would consequently be agitation for further reforms. They also know that there would be thorough exploitation of the country by British capitalists and there would be agitation against it. They know further, that the present economic distress is not only not likely to be temporary, but that it may deepen and spread over a wider area and last for years, causing agrarian and labour troubles and intensifying political unrest. Is it for these contingencies that they are arming themselves with arbitrary and irresponsible powers beforehand? If that be so, they are merely sowing the wind, depriving us of the consolation which might have been derived from the words of courage and confidence uttered by the Viceroy in Council.

— 'Do not let it be supposed for one moment that I fear that this country lies in any danger of falling a victim to those disruptive forces best suggested by the name Bolshevism.'

Sir William Vincent said in council "It may be suggested, as it has been suggest-

ed before, that all their [revolutionaries] activities will be reduced by the introduction of the Reforms scheme. My Lord, I should like to say that these men are as much opposed to the Reform scheme as to anything else." In support of this assertion Sir William referred to an anonymous circular. But how is it proved that the circular represented the view of the majority of the "revolutionaries"? Many leading men have seen the letters written from the Andamans by Barindra Ghosh and Savarkar to their relatives in which these transported men have expressed themselves favourably disposed to the reforms. We are not personally acquainted with any man who has been proved to be a revolutionary and cannot pretend to know their views, but from his speech itself it seems to us that Sir William over shot the mark when he said that 'These men [the revolutionaries] are really enemies of civilisation, they are enemies of progress and enemies of any form of organised government, whether European or Indian.' Now who are 'these men'? In the very speech from which we quote these words, Sir William speaks of the detenus as "persons known to have been concerned in revolutionary crime." Now, if these men be really enemies of civilisation, progress and any form of organised Government, how is it that, according to Sir William's speech, "out of 1062 detenus 677 have already been released on guarantees" and "of the rest, 383 are subject to restrictions of domicile only, 125 being domiciled in their own homes"? Are we to believe that Government has let loose on the people so many tiger-like enemies of society?

According to Sir William, "from 1906 up to the date of the [Rowlatt] Report [1918] there were no less than 311 offences and attempts at offences connected with this revolutionary movement, in which 1038 persons were known to be implicated." Taking these figures to be correct, there were 26 such offences per annum on the average, in a country having an area of 1,802,629 square miles and a population of 315,156,396. We have no desire to minimise the gravity of these offences, but surely it is too much to expect people to support most draconian laws, endangering the lives and liberties of individuals, at a time when the country is quiet and at peace, when, for whatever

reason, there is no anarchism or revolutionary crime in the country,—simply because in twelve past years 1038 persons out of 315,156,396 committed 311 offences.

Punjab Soldiers and the Rowlatt Bills

The Rowlatt Bills are professedly based upon the Rowlatt Committee's Report. That Report gives many reasons why 'legislation' of a drastic character resembling martial law, may be "required." One of the reasons is that "there will, especially in the Punjab, be a large number of disbanded soldiers, among whom it may be possible to stir up discontent." And, therefore, there must be draconian laws to put down this possible discontent! Why not provide against such possible discontent by just and generous treatment of the disbanded soldiers? We know there is and has been discontent among demobilised and other British soldiers of the United Kingdom but there has not been and will not be any martial law there for coping with that discontent. On the contrary, effort are being made to remove the grounds of discontent by finding employment for these men improving their housing conditions, making grants of land to them, &c.

India and the New House of Commons

In the present number we print two important articles on India and the new House of Commons. One of these is by the Hon R D Denman—a brother of the Right Hon Lord Denman (lately Governor General of Australia). Mr Denman was in the last Parliament. He is a Liberal and is very sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. The other article is by the reputed Indian journalist Mr St Nihal Singh. It is unnecessary to try to bring home to our readers the lesson of these articles. Political propagandist work on behalf of India was never more urgently needed in England than now. It is no doubt necessary to tell the people of England what exactly we want. But what is, and always has been still more necessary is the removal of Englishmen's colossal ignorance of India, past and present, and their low opinion of Indian capacity, character, achievements and civilisation, due to interested misrepresentation, conscious or unconscious, by Anglo Indians and Christian missionaries, and thereby to make them favor

ably disposed towards India. The task is stupendous and requires efforts and preparations of a colossal character. But the magnitude of the work which lies before us must not paralyse our energies. For just as the work is difficult, so are we a big people with a great past and a greater future. If we could only husband and utilise all our resources we should certainly be able to do what is required of us. We ought to use all available means and persons. We ought not to wait for the Home Rule deputation, the Congress deputation and the Moderates' deputation to reach England before commencing propaganda work there on an adequate scale. No doubt, Mr Baptista has been doing such work for months and latterly Mr Tilak and Mr Karandikar have been making earnest efforts in the same direction. And Mr Sant Nihal Singh has been in England from before the commencement of the war, and has before and during the war written much in the London and provincial periodicals and newspapers to tell Englishmen of our achievements, needs and aspirations. Having been on the spot for years and being an able and skilful journalist of international experience and reputation, he knows just what facts would appeal to the British people in particular and occidentals generally. It is to be regretted that the capacity and willingness of men like Mr Singh have not been utilised as they should be. But there is time yet to bind in an active organisation all capable persons who love the Motherland in the service of her suffering children. Party and personal prejudices must be given up. Every one must make and have the opportunity of making the special kind of contribution which he is capable of.

It is of the greatest importance that when the Congress, the Moslem League and the Moderates' Conference deputations reach England they should be able to arrive at an understanding among themselves. Their self-sacrificing efforts may be to a great extent frustrated if they quarrel among themselves there.

The League of Nations Covenant

A London cablegram, dated February 14, states that the text of the League of Nations Covenant has been published and then proceeds to give full summaries of some of the more important articles.

From these it appears to us that the probable effect of the League may be to establish over the non-white races of the earth a more powerful despotism of the white races than any that the world has yet seen. The future of the non-white races is indeed gloomy. The only non-white nation which has obtained real recognition is Japan, but what can her one vote do against the European and American votes? And it is doubtful whether Japan will care or dare to advocate the cause of the Asiatic and African peoples. There are some Japanese who even deny that the Japanese are an Asiatic or "coloured" people, and the *Globe* newspaper of England once seriously wrote that the Japanese were a white race!

The preamble states that the Powers signatory to this Covenant adopt this constitution of the League of Nations in order to promote international co-operation and secure international peace and security, in part, by the maintenance of just and scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another. *Unorganised peoples* are to be kept in tutelage, professedly for their good, but really, it is to be feared, for being ruthlessly exploited.

Each contracting party at the meeting of delegates shall have one vote but not more than three representatives. The Executive of the Council shall consist of representatives of the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, and four other States who shall be selected by the delegates. States which are not signatories to the Covenant can be admitted to the League only with the assent of not less than two thirds of the States in the body of the delegates, and this admission is limited to fully self-governing countries, including Dominions and Colonies. Thus Ireland, India, Egypt, &c., cannot be members of the League and cannot have its benefits. So the League of Nations would not consist of all nations, not even of all self-governing nations, and practically it would be a League of White Nations.

By Article eight the high contracting parties agree that the private manufacture of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections and they direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant on such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being

had to the necessities of countries which are unable to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety. In Article 10 the high contracting parties undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression, the territorial integrity and the existing political independence of all members of the League. The Executive Council shall advise how this obligation shall be fulfilled where aggression is carried out or threatened. In article seventeen it is laid down that the League is entrusted with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with countries in which control of this traffic is necessary. These agreements and undertakings are calculated to prevent breaches of international peace, but they would also prevent the independence or liberation of subject races, except with the consent of those who hold them in subjection. We are as anxious as anybody else that wars, including wars of independence and liberation, should not break out in future. But as the League of Nations Covenant has tried to adopt means for the prevention of war, it should also have taken steps to see that all nations, organized or unorganized, white or coloured, dependent or partly self governing, should, by fulfilling certain definite conditions, be able to avail themselves of the principle of self-determination without fighting. It was trumpeted all over the world for more than four years that the recent war was a war for world-freedom and world-democracy and many other high sounding things. Are all these fine phrases to end in making provision for rivetting for ever, if that were humanly possible, the chains of slavery on all those who are not now free?

The permanent court of international justice for the establishment of which provision shall be made, shall be competent to determine any matter submitted for arbitration. But the court will obviously deal only with disputes arising between the members of the League, who must all be independent or fully self-governing nations. Therefore the establishment of such a court does not inspire a single ray of hope in the minds of enslaved and oppressed peoples.

Article 19 deals with 'colonies and territories which in consequence of the late war ceased to be under the

sovereignty of State formerly governing them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world. The principle should be applied that the well being and development of such peoples should form a sacred trust of civilization and securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the League's Constitution. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, experience or geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatory powers on behalf of the League. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of development of each people, the geographical situation of its territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

That this paragraph refers to the quondam German colonies and the former Turkish provinces is evident from their description and from the paragraph which follows.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to conditions which guarantee freedom of conscience or religion and subject to rendering administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory Power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory. Other peoples, especially those in Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of territory subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals and the prohibition of abuses such as slave trade, arms and liquor traffic, the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military or naval bases, and military training of natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory and will also secure equal opportunities for trade and commerce of other members of the League. There are territories such as South-West Africa and certain Pacific Islands which owing to the sparseness of population or small size or remoteness from centres of civilisation or geographical contiguity to a Mandatory State or other circumstances, can best be administered under the laws of the Mandatory State as integral portions of it subject to the safeguards above-mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. The Mandatory State shall render to the League an annual report with reference to the territory committed to its charge. The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory State shall if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties in each case be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special act or charter. The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the League a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual reports of Mandatory Powers and assist the League in ensuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

It was not very long ago that President Wilson vigorously denounced the theory of national trusteeship and guardianship. His

he really been a sincere convert to it now? or is he deceiving himself? We do not know how to explain the following passage from his speech at the Peace Conference explaining the covenant:

We are done with the annexations of helpless people. In all cases of this sort it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations assigned as tutors, advisers and directors of those peoples shall look to the interest and development before the latter's and material desires of the Mandatory Nation itself. There has been no greater advance than this. The great Power which has happily just been defeated put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies it annexed, its interest being rather their extermination than their development and its desire being to possess their land for European purposes and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in those places to a higher level. Now the world says: There is an end to that. Under the tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and a new hope. I think, I can say of this document that it is practical and humane and that there is a pulse of sympathy in it. The conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in such a way. In the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here the humane impulse has already expressed itself in dealings with their colonies whose people were yet at a low state of civilisation. We have had many instances of colonies being lifted into the sphere of complete self-government.

Unctuous sentiments and eloquent speeches cannot alter the facts of contemporary and past history. History does not say that it is only the one great defeated power which abused its "trust." How have the "civilised", the organised, the Christian, the white, and the powerful races hitherto generally, but not of course in all cases or always, treated their wards, the uncivilised, the unorganised, the "heathen", the coloured, and the weak peoples? Speaking generally, the history of the contact of these races and peoples may be summed up in one or more of the words (total or partial) extermination, enslavement, emasculation, degradation, exploitation, and impoverishment, of the weaker party. Incidentally and in a subsidiary way, certain advantages have accrued to some peoples who have not been exterminated, but in their case, too, one or more of the descriptive words mentioned above hold good. One is both astounded and amused at the self-righteousness, the hypocrisy and the arrogance of the powerful nations which coolly ask the world to believe that they are all fit by their previous history and present character to be the guardians, benefactors and de-

velopers of backward peoples. They have no doubt the might to do what they like. But what *right* have they to reduce other peoples to "tutelage," which really means the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water? Many an uncivilised race would prefer to be left alone. Why are they not to be allowed to find the right way after blundering on for as long as may be necessary? Why compel them to accept the position of the under dog?

Article 10 says that "certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire," like the Arabs, "have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised, subject to conditions which guarantee freedom of conscience or religion and subject to rendering administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone." It is easy to understand what this administrative advice and assistance would really mean. It would really amount to dictation. Still there is a ray of hope in the words, "*until such time as they are able to stand alone.*" Until that time, however, the mandatory Power would practically be the lord and master of these communities. And, therefore, what the Nation of London wrote in connection with General Smuts's scheme of the league of nations, seems, to us, very apposite here, and perfectly just.

We realise that the actual state of the world, the Allies will certainly have to take over as "mandatories" and "trustees" the administration of some disturbed, derelict or immature areas. They will do well, however, to make as much as possible of American co-operation and we think that some neutrals, like Sweden or Norway, might also perform some of these tasks. The conditions which ensure disinterested trusteeship require more drastic definition. Some of these areas, like the mine-fields of Siberia and the oil-wells of Mesopotamia, are fabulously profitable. The profits ought not to go to British concessionaires. They ought to go to repair the world's havoc. There will be a big "unearned increment" from all the blood and bravery that have gone to make international Government possible. It ought to go to pay for the restoration of which the world stands in need, and not to the companies which extract the ore and sink the wells. An international super-tax might well be imposed in "trustee" areas on these ventures.

There is fine unconscious irony in the admission that certain communities, formerly "misgoverned" by the Turks, "have reached a stage of development

where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised," "until such time as they are able to stand alone." Evidently Turkish misrule has produced results which British, French, Dutch or other good rule has not produced in any of their dependencies; for the Covenant does not recognise the fitness of any of them for provisional independence, leading to perfect independence when they are able to stand alone. The dependent peoples are left to their fate.

As regards Germany's quondam colonies, the Covenant practically votes for their annexation by the neighbouring British and Boer colonies. These South African Colonials are not in the least fit to be the teachers and guardians of any African or Asiatic race. They are too unjust, grasping and heartless for such a high trust.

A people possessed of arms and military training can exert at least moral pressure against oppression by their rulers. But the natives of Central Africa and South-West Africa would be helpless in this respect. For according to the Covenant, whoever may rule them must prevent arms traffic and "military training of natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory."

Commenting on General Smuts's scheme the *Nation* observed:—

There is thus no body, provided which could at need say in the name of populations to the dominating Great Powers, "you are over-doing this 'mandate' business. You are governing the world by your majority of six Governments (two or three of them it may be such States as Turkey, Portugal, or Panama, incapable of real independence) You have made a close oligarchy, and you are using your trust for a camouflaged imperialism a modern capitalist variation of the old Holy Alliance." To say anything like that Switzerland or Holland or Norway might have to wait twenty years till by rotation their turn came to sit on the Executive. Or imagine a case in which America and Britain were always in a minority on the Council against the other five, who might all chance to be Land Powers or possibly all Powers with a Socialist Government in office. Take the cleavage alternately either way, and it is to our thinking, clear that some body there must be more representative of all civilization, and much more free to debate, question suggest, and initiate than General Smuts's Conference of all the Governments. With food and raw materials, as well as peace and war, dependent on the Executive Council, there must be a body which can speak for consumers and producers, for conscripts and their parents, as well as for Great Powers.

The Covenant no doubt says that a

mandatory commission shall be established to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatory Powers and assist the league in ensuring the observance of the terms of all mandates. But these reports would be pictures of the lion painted by himself for the admiring gaze of his kinsfolk. There is no provision for receiving and considering complaints from the people placed under the mandatories. And supposing by some means the mandatory commission is convinced that a mandatory power has neglected its duty or has turned oppressor, what provision is there for bringing it to book, and deposing and replacing it, or, failing any such course, setting the people under it free?

The final Article 26 provides for the effectiveness of amendments to the Covenant when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of Delegates.

When the world has outgrown its present stage of predatory nationalism and cannibalistic civilisation, this article may enable the representatives of the then highest civilisation to try to ameliorate the lot of the dependent peoples and of those placed under mandatory powers.

Article 20 states that the high contracting parties shall endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children in their own and all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and agree to establish as part of the organisation of the League a permanent Labour Bureau.

The League is appointed the instrument to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all its members.

All international bureaux henceforth constituted shall be placed under the League's control; also existing bureaux if the parties to it agree.

It is to be hoped that in the name of humanity this article will not be used to hamper the growth of or destroy indigenous industries in dependent countries. Apart from this apprehension the object of this article is highly commendable, as explained by Dr. Wilson:—

It is not contemplated that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a League which can be used for co-operation in any international matter. That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning Labour. There are many ameliorations in Labour conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be very great usefulness in the League's Bureau of Labour. While men, women and children who work, have been in the background through long ages

and sometimes seemed forgotten, now there comes into the foreground a great body of labouring people of the world upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation. There is a very great step in advance in the mere conception of that.

That "no treaty or international agreement hereafter entered into by a member of the League shall be binding until registered with the Secretaries of the League who shall publish it as soon as possible," is a very wise and necessary provision. Secret treaties have worked great mischief in the past.

The Peace Conference.

Sir Frederick Smith, a member of the Lloyd George ministry, said in the course of a speech before the recent general election :—

"I will tell you perfectly plainly, and with responsibility as a member of the Government, that it is our intention if we are returned to power, that not one yard of the former colonies shall go back to the Germans (Cheers) Why, for instance, should we give up Mesopotamia? That is so rich a country that it might almost pay for the war."

That Germany is not to have back her former colonies in Africa or elsewhere may be taken for granted. But may it be hoped that the spirit which breathed through the last two sentences would not be the spirit in which the mandatories of the League of Nations would act?

Dr. Nilratan Dhar and Physical Chemistry.

In the January issue of the *Modern Review* we gave an account of the remarkable contribution in the domain of Physical Chemistry by Mr. Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh, M.Sc. The credit of being the initiator of the systematic study of Physical Chemistry in India must be assigned to Dr. Nilratan Dhar. To quote from the published "Essays and Discourses" of Sir P. C. Ray (p. 43):

"Physical Chemistry is yet in its infancy, but thanks to the labours of Ostwald, Arrhenius and others it is beginning to assert itself. To Mr. Nilratan Dhar, one of the most brilliant amongst our late pupils, belongs the credit of initiating work in this branch in our country, and it is gratifying to note that a monograph on complexions recently published in England quotes him as an authority."

It gives us sincere satisfaction to learn from the issue of *Nature* to hand that at a special meeting of the Faraday Society under the presidency of Sir J. J. Thomson



Dr. Nilratan Dhar.

held to discuss "the present theory of Ionisation" Dr. Dhar has been asked to take part in the proceedings along with other eminent specialists including Arrhenius, the father of the dissociation theory.

We understand that Dr. Dhar besides being a D. Sc. of the London University has recently become a State Doctor of the University of Paris, on the presentation of an elaborate thesis which will entitle him to be a Professor of French Universities. Dr. Dhar has been studying at the University of Paris, as a State scholar.

In the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (p. 255) under the heading "Chemical Research," there is a recommendation for engaging the services of 8 chemists of the superior staff including two physical chemists. Elsewhere, in Sir P. C. Ray's article (pp. 225-6) will be found his authoritative opinion on the supreme necessity of engaging none but Indians for these posts. It is sincerely to be hoped that whenever the occasion arises Dr. Nilratan Dhar and Mr. Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh, both of whom have won laurels in this field, will be the first occupants of the two posts ear-marked for physical chemistry.

While going to the press we are gratified to learn from papers received by this week's mail that Mr Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh's contribution on the 'dilation law' naturally formed the subject of discussion at the meeting of the Faraday Society referred to above. Professor Partington, a well known authority on the subject, devotes six pages to a consideration of the various conclusions deducible from Ghosh's Law. We can only make room for the introductory remarks.

Whilst the present communication was in course of preparation, a series of very interesting papers on the dilation law [by J C Ghosh] appeared, in which the problem is treated from a novel standpoint.

It must be a source of supreme gratification to Sir P C Ray that the researches of two of his brilliant pupils should figure conspicuously and simultaneously at the Faraday Society's special session. Indeed the highest compliment that may fall to the lot of a teacher is that paid by Nature (Nov 21, 1918), namely 'Dr Ray's most important work has been the foundation of the Indian Chemical School and the establishment of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works now a flourishing concern.'

Bengali Lecturer of Philosophy at Oxford

Sometime ago Reuter announced that Mr Kuran Chandra Mukherjee had been elected Lecturer in Bengali at Oxford. We learn from the same source now that he has been appointed Lecturer in Philosophy also at that University. Mr Mukherjee passed the Entrance and F A examinations of Calcutta University from the Dacca College with scholarships and graduated from the Presidency College, Calcutta in 1908, with triple honours, in English, Sanskrit and Philosophy, standing first in English. In 1910 he took his M.A. degree from the same College standing second in English and soon after left for England where he joined the London University and studied Medieval English for sometime. Thence he migrated to Oxford, where he passed the 'Greats' (final Honours) Examination in classics (Literæ Humaniores) standing second in order of merit. In 1917 he finished his academic career most brilliantly by carrying off the John Locke scholarship and thereby earning a fellowship, which however he declined,

as the terms did not suit him. He scored highest in all the papers, which consisted of such subjects as classical scholarship, philosophy, political sciences



Mr Kuran Chandra Mukherjee

anthropology, &c. The Board of Examiners reported of him as follows: 'Mr Mukherjee is an acute thinker with very considerable powers of expression and an extraordinary capacity for mastering the thought and language of European authors in various languages of both ancient and modern times. His papers showed specially his knowledge of Plato, Plotinus and Bergsson. He is a real scholar who should some day produce original work of real value.' &c.

Mr Mukherjee has been called to the Bar. In a letter to a relation dated December 20, 1917, he wrote that he had been offered a professorship in Philosophy in the Indian Educational Service, but that he had refused the offer as he wanted to enter public life. 'My intention,' he wrote, 'is to do some work however humble, to raise the political status of my country.' Mr Mukherjee is said to be engaged on a work on Greek philosophy. Having regard to his mastery of Sanskrit, Latin and Greek, and of various modern European languages, his work is expected

to be an original contribution to the subject, in which, for the first time, perhaps, Indian philosophy will receive the consideration which is its due from one with real first-hand knowledge of both Eastern and Western philosophy.

Mr. Mukerjee's education began in the village *pathsala* of Birtara, parganah Vikrampur, in the district of Dacca, where he secured a scholarship in the Middle Vernacular Examination. His father, Pandit Saradakanta Vidyaratna, was Head Pandit (since retired) of the Dacca Collegiate school. Mr. Mukherjee is at present about thirty years of age.

A "Boat-Bride"

It is only in very recent years that in East Bengal, particularly in pargana Vikrampur Brahmins of some sub-castes have ceased to marry "boat-brides" belonging to non-Brahmin castes and sometimes even to Musalman families. Some "boat-brides" are still alive as housewives. *Kulin* Brahmins used to marry dozens and scores of wives from Bangsaj Brahmin families who felt honoured thereby. The result was a scarcity of brides for Bangsaj Brahmin bridegrooms. They had often to pay as much as a thousand or 1,200 Rupees for a bride. So many could not marry at all. Hence there sprang up a clandestine traffic in brides. Young low caste widows, Musalman young women, girls born of illicit unions, fallen women—all were induced by various means to pass themselves off as Brahmin maidens in distant villages, to which they were conveyed in boats, because these parts had not yet become accessible by railway and steamer. They were known as *Bharar Meve*, or "boat-brides." Arrived at a village, they were offered for marriage to Bangsaj Brahmin bridegrooms for comparatively small amounts. The men who married them did not pry into the secrets of their personal or family history;—they could guess what it was. Persons who married these boat-brides were often subjected to social obloquy and persecution, but none of them ceased to be Brahmins. The frontispiece in the present number is an imaginary portrait of such a boat-bride. It is reminiscent of the kind of inter-caste Hindu Marriages which were current in East Bengal until very recent years. Some say that a few such marriages still take place occa-

sionally. There are many amusing anecdotes told of such brides, and there is a well-known humorous song current in Bengal relating to them, composed by that well-known reformer, the late Bahu Kish Bihari Mukhopadhyaya, who did his best to strike at the root of *Kulin* Polygamy and succeeded to a great extent.

Have We Enough Doctors?

In the course of the speech which the Viceroy made in opening the Delhi session of the Indian Legislative Council, His Excellency referred to the influenza epidemic and observed:

Two lessons we may learn if indeed they have not already been sufficiently impressed upon us by the ravages of plague and other diseases. The defects of sanitation in India are fully recognised, and in June last we addressed Local Governments on this subject, and especially on the necessity for sanitary organisation in rural tracts, and we placed before them the recommendations made by an informal conference of Sanitary Commissioners which had been held here. In the second place, it is incumbent on us to increase our facilities for research. The Medical services in India have a proud record in this respect, a record which should encourage us and give us confidence in making a bold advance in the establishment of research institutes to investigate those ailments which are particularly prevalent in India.

It is surprising that the Viceroy should have spoken of only two lessons, and not of three. Is he unaware that the number of trained doctors in the country is woefully small? There can be no sanitary organisation without a sufficient number of men and women trained in medical schools and colleges; and however much the facilities for medical research may be increased and whatever the value and number of researches carried on, unless there be an adequate number of physicians to treat patients according to the results of these researches, they would be fruitless. Therefore the first thing to do is to increase the accommodation in all the existing medical institutions and to establish a large number of medical schools and colleges all over the country. There is no sense in shirking this duty.

"Place of the Services in the Future Scheme of Things."

The way in which the Viceroy discoursed on "the place of the services in the future scheme of things" ought to satisfy the members thereof, particularly the ex-nanted civilians. They are to continue to-

be the real rulers of the country, and the Indian ministers are to a great extent to play the second fiddle to them and be ornamental figure-heads. But let us quote the Viceroy's exact words, "My first proposition," as he calls it, is enunciated in the following words: "If we set up ministers, ministers must administer, and the permanent services must execute. That is so well accepted a maxim of our British polity that no one will dispute it." This is quite an unexceptionable proposition. Not so the second proposition, which runs thus:

"But to suppose as has been alleged that we propose to place the services as a whole in helpless subordination to inexperienced and possibly hostile ministers; that we intend not merely to deprive them of power, but to require them blindly to execute policies which they cannot reconcile with their self-respect is very seriously to misconceive our purpose. Let me explain at once why that is impossible. Progress to further constitutional growth in India is to come not by a process of drift, not by the English Departments or Governments throwing up the sponge out of weariness or a sense that they are fighting a losing game, not by our taking back our hand from the plough, but by the response made by Indians to the great opportunity now offered them—by the measured verdict of the highest outside impartial authority upon their performance. It is recognised at the present moment that the time is not ripe for Indians to take over the entire management of the country. Every moderate and thoughtful Indian admits that truth himself. And government believe me, is not the simple thing it may sometimes seem. The help of the services, trained efficient impartial, with their high standards of duty, of character of the public interest, is absolutely essential if this vast experiment is to succeed. We cannot afford and we do not mean to lose them until India acquires what she has not got at present something approximately as good to put in their place. That is my second proposition."

We do not at all admit that the services cannot almost entirely be manned by competent Indians in the course of a decade or so, nor that even at present they cannot be largely manned by our own men quite successfully. As for the impartiality of the services, as between British and Indian interests, the less said the better. The Viceroy thinks that from the indigenous human material India may in course of time acquire only something approximately as good as the British members of the services! The high standard of the latter is so unapproachable.

British rulers always manage to ignore the economic aspect of the very highly paid foreign personnel of the British administration in India. India cannot afford

to have such unapproachably efficient men, and their salaries are all going to be increased very appreciably.

The Viceroy went on to say in very authoritative tones:

"The Secretary of State and I have declared our intention to protect the services in the defence of their rights and the discharge of their duties. I see that apprehensions have been aroused by the general character of his phraseology. Let me now, speaking for myself and my Government endeavour to give precision to the undertaking. In the first place as regards the pay and pensions I propose that the pay, pensions, leave and conditions of service generally of the services recruited from England shall be guaranteed at least by statutory order of the Secretary of State, which no authority in India will have power to disregard or vary. My idea is that the all India services are to be retained as in a mould cast by Parliament and the Secretary of State as an exemplar to all the services drawn exclusively from India. In this respect therefore I see no cause for dissent."

It is perfectly true that no authority in India will be able to reduce the pay, pensions and allowances of the British-managed services. Indians will only protest ineffectually by dying prematurely in large numbers of malnutrition, famines and pestilences.

In the last place, His Excellency tackled the "difficult question" of "the position of the services who are under Indian Ministers." It is not quite clear why it should have been deemed a difficult question, for the Montagu Chelmsford scheme of diarchy has been so devised as to place as few Englishmen under Indian ministers as possible,—in any case in most provinces at least for the first ten years of "responsible government." However, the Viceroy's solution of this difficult question is very simple. "Responsible men," that is to say, men who have the good sense to know their place and understand who is master and who are consequently not possessed of backbone and a stiff neck, must be got as ministers. Secondly,—but let us quote His Excellency

In the first place we hope to get as ministers responsible men who will realize how greatly the services can help them. There is more in this than a pious hope. We may look to what has happened elsewhere. It has often been the case that men going in fresh to office full of prejudice against the public services have found them their best ally and protector against the critics which every administrator encounters and have ended by gaining the full confidence of the service and giving the service the reins. Secondly we do not intend to leave that handling of the services wholly to the minister. We propose to instruct the Governor,

in a published instrument that we lay on him a personal responsibility for securing the welfare of the services. He will disallow proposals that aim or tend towards the disintegration. The head of every department under ministers will have access to the Governor. He will be in a position to represent difficulties to him before they become acute and it will be for the Governor to deal with them by influence and persuasion, and finally by tactful exercise of authority. Lastly we propose to secure all existing rights of appeal to the Government of India and the Secretary of State whenever an officer is prejudicially affected as regards emoluments or pension by a minister's order.

It may be that even more provisions will be required. I will merely add that the Government of India will always regard this question of the fair treatment of the services as one of the cardinal tests by which our great experiment will be judged.

The Viceroy's words are so explicit that no elucidation is necessary. He has only stated explicitly what could have been guessed by intelligent men. The British officers will have the ear of the British Governor, as the Indian ministers cannot; and full advantage will be taken of this natural advantage, increased by all requisite artificial aids. And if the Indian ministers cannot keep the British services in good humour, why, it would be proved to demonstration that Indians are unfit for "responsible government." What would be Indian minister will not feel his stature grow by two feet or more at the prospect of the great dignity awaiting him?

British Commercial Interests and the Reform Scheme

Having placated the British manued services, the Viceroy addressed himself to the task of soothing the ruffled temper of British capitalists and men of business. He only made explicit what we understood and explained to our readers at the first opportunity on a perusal of the Montagu Chelmsford Report. It is that all essential legislation necessary to preserve the practical British monopoly in the administration and exploitation of India has been reserved, as at present, in the hands of the Government of India, and the Government of India is to continue to have power to carry any legislation in the teeth of even solid opposition on the part of the people's representatives. His Excellency began by observing "It would distress me profoundly if I thought that we could with justice be accused of under-rating either the colossal financial interests at stake, or the enormous part which British non official energy, character and

brains have played in the task of making India what she is." The Viceroy here refers only to the bright side of the shield. But critics of the British "development" and exploitation of India, including some men of British race, believe that there is a dark side, too. The words which we have italicised will serve their purpose as well as they have served their purpose of the Viceroy. His Excellency explained the position as he saw it, in the following words:

The legislation on which British commerce in the main depends is mainly in India in character. Some of it is embodied in the great commercial codes some of it deals with matters of peculiar interest to industry like railways, factories, Petroleum, explosives or mines. Now inasmuch as these will remain with the Government of India, who will, as I have laid down more than once, retain indisputable authority, there is surely no reasonable ground for apprehension. Commerce can make its voice heard just as effectively as heretofore. It may be said however that, in the future, Provincial Councils will exercise more freely the power of amending all India Acts. But that they can only do with the previous sanction of the Governor-General. In any case there is the safeguard of the triple veto of the Governor, the Governor General and the Crown and this applies to all provincial legislation.

'It seems to me indeed that the control of the matters of peculiar interest to European commerce is to a great extent concentrated in the hands of the Government of India. I am thinking of the tariff and the currency, of banking, railways, shipping, posts and telegraphs. In these respects no existing measure of security is being diminished, and therefore apprehension is surely groundless.

'But evidently it is in the minds of some people that in the provincial sphere it will be possible injuriously to affect the commercial community. Say, for instance by special interests being singled out to bear the burden of provincial taxation or by rival interests being artificially stimulated by bounties. What protection will there be in such cases? Well the Secretary of State and I have pledged ourselves in paragraph 344 to reserve to Government power to protect any industry from prejudiced attack or privileged competition. To speak for myself, I believe this can be secured by embodying this undertaking in the instrument of instructions given to the Governor on appointment wherein he will be informed that His Majesty's Government lay on him a responsibility for seeing that the pledge is made good. With such a public document in his hands the Governor, with the Government of India and Secretary of State behind him would be in a very strong position to resist all proposals of his ministers which appeared to him to be acts of hostility to British commerce. There will moreover be representatives of that interest sitting in the provincial chamber and I cannot do them the injustice of supposing that they will fail to bring any just grievance effectively to the Governor's notice, or if need be to remind him of his responsibility.

These paragraphs ought to satisfy all

British merchants and industrialists in India that they will not lose any of the fair and unfair advantages which they at present enjoy, when India comes to have "responsible government." There is no doubt that national governments have in all countries, and particularly in industrially backward countries, given and still give more encouragement, protection and advantages to indigenous capitalists and merchants industrialists and entrepreneurs than to foreign men of these classes. But in India "responsible government" is not going even approximately to mean a national government. Therefore, for the satisfaction of foreign administrators and foreign exploiters, prospective Indian ministers have been sought in advance to be brought to a suitably timid frame of mind, so that they may not even dream of doing for their country's commerce and industries what the ministers of self ruling countries have done and still do for theirs.

But are we down hearted at the prospect? NO Our soul is not conquered or killed. We should firmly resolve to find a way to be in our country for its good what any other men are in theirs.

The Source of India's "good sense"

In the concluding paragraph of his speech the Viceroy said -

"Nor would I have you suppose that I have anxieties in regard to the Indian masses for each year I have spent here has strengthened my confidence in the solid good sense of India as a whole. The bulk of the Indian masses may live the lives remote from affairs lacking in education still wanting in most of the paraphernalia of progress. They may perhaps in some sense be voiceless masses. But the good sense of India springs from a deep political instinct from lessons learnt in a harsh school perhaps learnt in ill-rewarded labour, in pestilence and famine and under the drums and trampings of many a stern conqueror but still learnt and not to be easily unlearnt. In that instinct lies a solid foundation for our public life. There lies our ultimate source of strength."

It may be that the Viceroy wanted to pay India a compliment.

But is that "good sense" really worth much which is, in plain language, synonymous with ingrained timidity due to the repeated and age long thrashing and cruel treatment which the people have received at the hands of "many a stern conqueror"? Or is that "good sense" either really worth much which is synonymous with the stolid insensibility and despondency born of ill rewarded toil and of

sufferings from famine and pestilence? That good sense alone is worth the name which teaches the courageous, hopeful, healthy, capable and educated person to be honorably peace loving and sober. The kind of good sense which the Viceroy spoke of cannot be a solid foundation for public life of any sort, though it may be a solid foundation for the stillness of public lifelessness. When the Viceroy said "There lies our ultimate source of strength," what did he mean by 'our'? Did he mean the strength of the foreign bureaucracy? If so he was right. For the greater the lifelessness of the Indian public born of timidity, indifference to worldly affairs and despondency the stronger would the bureaucracy remain. But if he meant the strength of the Indian people, he was wrong. For a people who are timid, indifferent and despondent owing to causes mentioned above can never be strong in any sense or in any direction.

A Queer "Test of Capacity"

There is a very amusing passage, a passage which takes it for granted that the Indian people and the Indian members of council are fools, in the speech which Sir William Vincent made in introducing the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill, known as Rowlatt Bill No 2. He said

I ask the Council very earnestly to realise their own responsibility in this matter. There are many here who claim responsible government for the country, some sooner some later are they willing to accept the responsibility which responsible government inevitably connotes are they willing to face the hostile criticism which must frequently be expected when action is taken in the public interest? My Lord there are many who are watching the conduct of this Council on this occasion with great interest it will be regarded by many as a test of capacity—whether the Members of the Council have the courage to do what is right in assisting the Government in its first duty the maintenance of the public tranquility. Will the Members be found wanting and give a right to anyone to say that their attitude on this question indicates their unfitness for responsible government? I earnestly hope that no such occasion and no such material will be furnished to those who are opposed to political progress in this country.

One may ask the Government of which Sir William is a member a plain question. If all the Indian members vote for the two Rowlatt Bills will Government and British officials admit in practice our fitness for responsible government? Will the non official British community in India, which

on this matter as in most others view things from the same angle as the officials admit in practice our fitness for responsible government? That is to say will Government and the official and non official European communities, cease to put obstacles in the way of our getting responsible government, and try their best to help us in getting it as early as practicable? Certainly not. They will find out a thousand and one other excuses for delaying the grant of responsible government. What Sir William said was a trick, a dodge, a trap. No one is so foolish as to be taken in and fall into the trap.

Sir William spoke of the Indian Members responsibility in the matter. It must be a very curious kind of responsibility which does not enable the Members to promote the welfare of their countrymen even by complete unanimity, but which enables them only to injure their countrymen by weakly siding with the bureaucracy. Responsibility implies Right. It implies controlling power. Those who have no controlling power have no Responsibility in the sense in which Sir William used the word. That is to say the Indian Members are not responsible to a greater extent than any ordinary citizen for the maintenance of law and order in the country. It is the bureaucrats who are responsible. Our representatives will be responsible when there is Home Rule.

Sir William asked those Members who claim responsible government for the country are they willing to accept the responsibility which responsible Government inevitably connotes? Are they willing to face the hostile criticism which must frequently be expected when action is taken in the public interest? Every advocate of self government will certainly reply in the affirmative. But what is the responsibility which responsible government inevitably connotes? It is the responsibility which comes *simultaneously* with or *after* the acquisition of responsible government. It cannot be connoted where there is yet no responsible government. Those who do not possess and exercise the right of responsible government cannot be asked to make themselves responsible in the same way as those who possess this right.

The responsibility then which responsible government connotes rests with

those who are actually in possession of the right and power of responsible government. Having made this position clear, let us see what this responsibility means. And first let us see what it does not mean. It does not mean the surrender of one's own judgment to the foreign bureaucracy or oligarchy in power. On the contrary it implies the possession of the power to judge for oneself and to firmly act according to that judgment. The next thing which this responsibility implies is that the responsible man is to have perfect freedom to consider all possible means and measures for the attainment of a certain object and to choose the best of these. Suppose the object is to prevent the growth of sedition, anarchism and revolutionary tendencies in India. A responsible Indian, we mean one who has the power which responsibility implies would consider all the circumstances which in different countries have given rise to these evils and he would first of all try to remove the social, political and economic causes thereof. If necessary, he may also think of and have recourse to repressive measures. In any case his hands would not be tied to the adoption of only one course and that at the dictation of outsiders. Sir William's idea of responsibility is quite ludicrous. He seems to say in effect. I say you must coerce, because that is my decision if you don't agree you are unfit for responsible government. Or, in other words the only person who is fit for responsible government is one who is such a fool that he cannot think and judge and devise means for himself but agrees slavishly to acquiesce in the judgment of others.

Sir William's second question was 'are they willing to face the hostile criticism which must frequently be expected when action is taken in the public interest?' Considering the powers and position of the Indian Members and the present constitution of the Government of India this was a supremely puerile and ludicrous question. Any Indian Member might well reply. Why do you expect me to face the hostile criticism which is expected because of the action which you SAY you are going to take in the public interest? I shall certainly be prepared to face hostile criticism when being in a position and having the power *freely* to do both what is pleasant and what is unpleasant to the public,

machinery in your hands, can the Government complain that the people have not loyally co-operated in dealing with this sort of grave crime? It is not the fault of the people that they have not succeeded in enabling the Government to secure a larger number of convictions. It is the fault of the administrative machinery. Therefore, if you ask for a remedy, the remedy is to make the police in general, and the Bengal police in particular, more efficient.

Another argument advanced by the Rowlatt Committee, namely, that the convictions have not been able to repress crime, was subjected to criticism by Mr. Sarma. He asked:

Have they repressed crime in the case of murder? Have they repressed crime in the case of dacoity? We find that the number of crimes has been increasing year after year throughout India. This state of things is not confined to the case of sedition alone; it is to be found in the case of all grave crime. 3,340 reported murders in 1903 and 4,770 in 1915 with 1,103 and 1,401 convictions and 2,339 and 3,738 dacoities with 443 and 733 convictions. I shall not weary the Council with further figures, but that is the state of things.

His practical suggestion was:

Just as you stamped out the Thugs by a special department, if need be create a special department and stamp out this crime. If a province is so beggarly as not to be able to find money for it, take the money from the other provinces, if necessary, in order to be able to finance that province but in the name of common sense do not deprive the people of other provinces of their rights and liberties, or at any rate do not subject them to the risk of losing their rights and liberties simply because you find one administration unable to cope with crime of a particular character.

"Well, therefore my first position is that the statements upon which the Rowlatt Committee has based its recommendations that the forces of law and order have been found not to be equal to the occasion and that convictions have not been able to repress crime are only partially true, and that if we are to follow up the logic of the proposals, we shall have to discard judicial administration in the case of all grave crimes also in order to be able to attain the ends we have in view."

Higher Pay for the I. M. S.

A Reuter's telegram reads thus:—

LONDON, FEB. 12
The Secretary of State for India informed a deputation from the British Medical Association that improvements in pay for permanent officers of the Indian Medical Service, both military and civil, approximating to thirty three per cent. on the present rates of military pay, had been approved of from December 1st last. "The object of this measure was to attract European candidates of the highest qualifications. Mr. Montagu said he was of opinion that it was desirable that medical men should enjoy as fully as

possible opportunities for private practice. No further restriction in this connection was contemplated. The deputation expressed satisfaction, and promised cordial co-operation in securing recruits."

Money can always be found for increasing the pay and emoluments of British officials. But for the spread of education, improvement of sanitation, &c., we must pay fresh taxes.

Every British-manned service is going to have its salaries so increased that there is sure to be no monies left for adequate expenditure on education, sanitation, &c., without fresh taxation!

Case of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh.

The reader remembers the case of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, M. A., State prisoner, who has been lying in a state of stupor since 1917 in the Lunatic Asylum at Berhampore. His mother petitioned the Bengal Government praying that her son might be brought to Calcutta, placed under proper medical treatment, and she and other members of her family allowed to live with him. She received the following reply from Government on February 1st:—

Srimati Dakshayani Dassi is informed that Government are now in a position to make special arrangements for the accommodation of her son, State Prisoner Jyotish Chandra Ghosh and herself within the Berhampore Lunatic Asylum. The quarters provided would consist of 2 rooms, 3 outhouses and a courtyard fitted with a water-pump and latrine, all surrounded by a high wall and affording privacy.

Srimati Dakshayani Dassi is invited to say whether she is prepared to accept this offer and if so, which if any, of her immediate relatives or domestics she would wish to accompany her. It should be understood that if the offer is accepted, the rules of the Asylum must be strictly complied with, and also that no visitors of any kind from outside can be received within the Asylum except under orders of the Superintendent or of Government, and in accordance with such conditions as may be imposed. Her son will continue to receive from the authorities of the Asylum the same medical attention as he is at present receiving.

The official reply is heartless, and unnecessarily so. The prisoner has been lying in a senseless condition and is incapable of any mischief. Government would lose nothing by even setting him unconditionally free. Under the circumstances, why ask the poor mother also to reduce herself to the condition of an imprisoned lunatic for her son's sake. She has again petitioned Government, praying



Titled or Title-hunter?
MR. TINDRANAR SEN,

By the courtesy of the artist

(a) that he may be brought down to Calcutta with proper arrangements as to nursing and feeding etc., where to my mind he may be properly treated and nowhere else,

and (b) to place him under the necessary supervision of the Government but in a condition in which he may feel that he is in familiar environment under constant attendance and care of his near and dear ones and not under the present restraint.

It is a very reasonable prayer and ought to be granted.

We understand that at a public meeting held on Feb. 16 in the Hooghly town hall, under the chairmanship of the Hon Rai Bahadur Mahendrachandra Mitra, M.A., B.L., the following resolution was carried—

"That this meeting places on record its deep sense of regret at the manner in which the Government have treated the unfortunate Jyotishchandra Ghose state prisoner lying in a state of absolute stupor and insanity in the Berhampore Lunatic Asylum for about two years, and for the sake of justice and humanity urges upon the Government to accede to the prayer of his mother for his transfer to Calcutta for medical treatment.

It was moved by Babu Jatindranath Banerji, a respectable merchant of the place, and seconded by Babu Mihir Lal Das, a local senior pleader.

It would be an act of justice and humanity if some member of the Bengal legislative council moved some such resolution as the following—

"That in consideration of the long period for which Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghose has been lying in a state of absolute stupor and insanity and of the shattered state of his health and mind this council requests the Government to recommend to the Government of India that he be released from detention, or allowed to live with his mother with necessary arrangements as to feeding and nursing under Government supervision."

We also think that, with reference to the provisions of Regulation 3 of 1818, questions like the following ought to be asked by some Hon Member of Council—

(i) Have the Govt received regularly "periodical reports on the conduct health and the comfort" of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, under sec. 3 of Reg III of 1818, "from the officer in whose custody" he has been placed?

(ii) If so will the Govt be pleased to state whether "the grounds of the order for his detention came under revision from time to time," particularly during the period of insanity and stupor?

(iii) If so, will the Govt be pleased to state if the grounds of continuing in force the order for his detention after he became insane and stuporous were made known in writing to the state prisoner or to his mother or to any of his relatives, so that any of them might "bring to the notice of the Govt all circumstances relating to those grounds?"

In the above draft of questions, the words within inverted commas are taken from Regulation 3 of 1818.

Mr. Aurobindo Ghose on Mr Patel's Bill.

Mr Ranchordas Lotwalla, the managing director of the *Hindustan*, has received the following letter from Mr Aurobindo Ghose containing his opinion on Mr. Patel's bill for validating Hindu intercaste marriages

In answer to your request for a statement of my opinion on the intermarriage question, I can only say that every thing will have my full approval which helps to liberate and strengthen the life of the individual in the frame of a vigorous society and restore the freedom and energy which India had in her heroic times of greatness and expansion. Many of our present social forms were shaped many of our customs originated in a time of contraction and decline. They had the utility for self defence and survival within narrow limits but are a drag upon our progress in the present hour when we are called upon once again to enter upon a free and courageous self-adaptation and expansion. I believe in an aggressive and expanding not in a narrowly defensive and self-contracting, Hinduism.

Whether Mr Patel's bill is the best way to bring about the object intended, is a question on which I can pronounce no decided opinion. I should have preferred a change from within the society rather than one brought about by legislation. But I recognise the difficulty created by the imposition of the rigid and mechanical notions of European Jurisprudence on the old Hindu Law which was that of a society living and developing by an organic evolution. It is no longer easy or perhaps in this case possible to develop a new custom or revert to an old—for the change proposed amounts to no more than such a reversion. It would appear that the difficulty created by the legislature can only be removed by a resort to legislation. In that case the bill has my approval.

The Budget.

Sir James Meston presents the Finance Statement to-day (1st March) and discussion thereon, in the Imperial Legislative Council, comes off from the 7th to the 12th instant. The Budget for 1919-20, in its final form, will be presented to the Council on the 21st idem. Reserving our comments thereon, till then, it will be in the meantime interesting to know what the word "Budget" signifies and how it came to be first used in Great Britain. "Budget" is derived from the old Irish word "bolge" or "bole"—a sack; but it has come to its place in the English language in a rather a tortuous way. It was adopted into the Latin tongue in the form of "bulga," meaning a leathern bag or wallet. On

its entry into the French language "bulga" became "bouge," and it is from "bougette," the diminutive of "bouge," that we get the English word "budget." Six hundred years ago "bulga" was used in England to denote a saddle bag. Then the French form replaced the Latin. Lord Berners, about 1530, writes of a "boget" "with leteers hangyng at his sadel bow," and Udall, in 1542, of a "pourse or a bougette." In his French-English Dictionary, published in 1650, Randle Cotgrave gives as the meaning of "bougette" "a little coffer or trunke of wood covered with leather," and adds, "Now gentleman calls so both any such trunke and the box or till in their cabinets wherein they keep their money." Later on "budget" came by a natural process to mean not the leather covered trunk but its contents, and when the Chancellor of the Exchequer took from his leather-covered despatch box the papers relating to his financial proposals he was said to "open his Budget." This usage had become firmly established in 1733, for in a pamphlet entitled "The Budget Opened" Sir Robert Walpole was compared, *apropos* of his forthcoming Excise Bill, to a mountebank opening his wallet of quack medicines and conjuring tricks. "At length," says the writer, "the Mountain is delivered. What is revealed? Nothing but what has been known, confuted and exploded long ago.

The Budget is opened, and our State Emperick hath dispensed his packets by his many couriers through all parts of the kingdom." Thus the word "Budget" gained its first footing in the political vocabulary in England as a term of abuse. In the "Gentleman's Magazine" in 1764 there occurs the following passage referring to the financial statement for the year:—"The Administration has condescended...to explain the Budget to the meanest capacity," and in the *Annual Register* for 1785 we have—"on the 30th June Mr. Pitt opened the national accounts for the present year, on what is generally termed 'The Budget.'"

To Intending Subscribers.

We printed 5,000 copies each of the January and February numbers. As these have been exhausted, and there will not be a second edition, these two numbers will no longer be available. We have printed 5250 copies of the present March number. New subscriptions may begin from March or any subsequent number. The March number, too, is expected to be exhausted during the month. Owing to the high price of paper we are not making any provision for supplying back numbers of the current year.



LIGHTNING

By the courtesy of the artist Mr M. D. Natesan

tate to say "we differ", when, after a careful and respectful consideration, we do differ from her. I am certain that she does not want us to follow her blindly. She lays no claim to infallibility.

Indian publicists have a duty to perform. They are planning the future of their nation, which is at the present moment in a state of transition and is undergoing a process of transformation. So much depends on education.

Education is the most vital question for us. It is the most important of all our problems. In a way it is the *fundamental problem*. We cannot afford to have loose and confused ideas about education, the aims and ends of education, and the methods of education. Our whole future hinges on it. It behoves us, therefore, to devote all the mental energy, which we possess, to the right understanding and the right solution thereof. It would not do to be carried away by prejudices and mere sentimentality. The decision must be arrived at by deep, careful and critical consideration of the whole question. A hastily arrived at decision or one that is founded on prejudice and sentimentality, may materially hinder our progress or, at any rate, slow down the rate of progress.

The national mind is just now in a fluid condition. It needs wise and thoughtful guidance. Like wax, it will take such impressions as those whom the people love and respect, and in whose wise leadership they have confidence, decide to give. Tendencies created, prejudices reared, sentiments disseminated, when they go deep into the psychology of the nation are difficult to uproot. To create national tendencies, sentiments, prejudices, impressions and preferences in haste, under the idea that they can be corrected, later, when found to be wrong, involves so much waste of energy and opportunity that no wise leader ought to do it lightly or heartily. This essay is only a plea for careful critical consideration, as well as broad, thoughtful planning. There is no intention to indulge in petty or destructive criticism, nor to pose as an oracle.

III

Firstly, we should come to a clear understanding of what our national ideals are. Do we want to be an integral part of the "civilized world", making our con-

tribution to its progress, by thought and action, or do we want to be an isolated national unit, happy in our retirement and isolation? Of course, we want political liberty, economic independence, social solidarity and religious freedom, but for what ends? Are these things ends in themselves or only means to some other and higher end? If so, what is that end?

Some will say that salvation is the ultimate end we desire. But what is meant by "salvation"? Is it the *Nirvāna* of Buddhism, the merging of the individual soul in the supreme soul of the *vedānta*, the temporary bliss of the Arya Samaj, the *mukti* of the Christian, or the paradise of the orthodox Moslem? Or are these after all only delusions? The real salvation lies in freedom from misery, poverty, disease, ignorance and slavery of every kind, in this life, now and here for ourselves, and hereafter for our successors. There are religions which enjoin on their followers the duty of suffering all the pangs of misery, poverty, disease, ignorance and slavery, in order to have the certainty of bliss and happiness hereafter in the life to come. In fact, this is more or less the tendency of all religions which have been systematised.

From the earnestness, which all classes of Indians are displaying in fighting out misery, poverty, disease, ignorance and slavery, it appears that they have made up their minds on one question at least, whatever be the ultimate salvation, *mukti* or *nyat* or *nirvāna*. Our people do not want misery, poverty, disease, ignorance and slavery either for themselves or for their children. Hindus (*Santanists*, *Arya Samajists*, *Brahmo Samajists*, *Vedantists* and others), Moslems, Christians, all are agreed on this point. Everyone is trying to explain his own dogma or creed, in such a way as to make a pursuit of happiness in this world by the righteous acquisition of wealth and health and knowledge, a desirable end. The natural bent of the human mind is also in the same direction. But priests, prophets and reformers are not dead, nor do they show any signs of death. They are just hiding their heads and biding their time. With the least encouragement and stimulus they come out into the open and start their poisonous propaganda.

Vairagya, a life of renunciation and poverty, is still the ostensible goal of every

religion *Sannyasis* *Dervishes* and Monks, are still our ideals among men. Even the most rational and liberal minded reformer respects and reveres them. Men of religion we call them, and hence our instinctive, impulsive deep rooted sentiment in their favour. What is worse is that some modern educated men, who are neither priests nor monks, and who in most cases do not themselves lead a life of asceticism are holding up the same ideal for their younger countrymen.

Every religion contains some beautiful and sublime principles which save its followers from utter annihilation in the struggle for life. be it individual or social, but the bulk of every religion's teaching and its literature as ordinarily understood, lays emphasis on the negation of life, as distinguished from its assertion and intensification.

Higher Hindu religion teaches that salvation lies in *gyan* (knowledge) —not mere knowledge, but realised knowledge. It insists that those who aspire to this kind of knowledge, must live a full life albeit a controlled life before they can acquire that kind of *gyan*. They must do their full duty to society and learn all that has to be learnt by social amenities, relations and sensations. Then they can renounce certain phases of life in favour of certain others. A vow of poverty did not in ancient times involve an exaltation of poverty over wealth but only freedom from the obligations of property at a certain stage of one's life. In fact the most ancient literature of the Hindus makes no mention except by far fetched implication of *Sannyasis*. All the great *Rishis* and *Munis* of the past had property, as well as families. They preferred to live away from crowds only for purposes of research, for *Yoga Samadhi*, and concentration of mind on the problems of life. That condition was not an end in itself, but a social means for a social end.

It was not a desire of *Mukti* alone that led them to do it, but the very social and admirable desire of helping humanity by a rational solution of the problems of life. Look how this ideal was degraded in later times until we came to exalt a life of mere *tyag* (renunciation) as such, and to place it at the top of life's edifice — as a goal an end and a lighthouse. It is true the whole nation never practised it, but that was because it was impossible to do so. As

many people as wished to adopt it, did adopt it, until we find that to day a good part of the nation having abandoned all productive economic work, engages itself in preaching the virtues of *Sadhuism*, and in making the people believe that next to becoming a *Sadhu* himself, the best thing for a man to do to avoid damnation is to feed and maintain *Sadhus*.

I am afraid what I have said of Hinduism is also more or less true of Mahamadanism and Christianity. So deep rooted is the sentiment, that even iconoclastic reforming agencies like the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj and the Vivekananda Mission among the Hindus so often drift in the same direction. Their hymns and songs and prayers are still brimful of that spirit. At the time when English education began to be imparted in India, this fatal tendency towards the negation of life was a substantial part of our national character. We may defend our respective religions against the charge of having actively taught this negation as an ideal but we cannot with any honesty deny the fact of the prevalence of this spirit to an alarming extent among our people. Nor can we conceal, that more or less the whole of our literature breathes this tendency. We may call it an addition of degenerate times but there it is. No one reading that literature can evade the subtle influence of this tendency which pervades it. Our Epics are the most human documents we possess. Yet, even they are full of that spirit.

Now it must be owned that the present awakening the protest against this tendency, owes its birth to foreign education, however godless it may have been. Sometimes I feel thankful for its being godless. But for this education there may have been no awakening or, to be more accurate, the awakening might have been indefinitely delayed. To my mind the first need of India is the absolute destruction of this tendency. This tendency is the fundamental basis of all our national weakness. Christianity, too has that tendency and if the Christian nations had stuck to true Christianity, they would have made no progress at all. It is not Christianity that has produced the modern improvements in life. Progress in Europe has been made in spite of Christianity. The most important work before us, then, is to change the general psychology of

our people in this respect, to create in them an interest, a zest in real life

The general prevailing idea of life in India is that of a necessary evil. That life itself is a misery, and a misfortune from which it is desirable to escape is so deeply written on the souls of our people, that it is not easy to efface it. What India needs is an earnest, widely spread, persistent effort to teach and preach the gospel of life. That life is real, precious, earnest, invaluable, to be prized, preserved, prolonged and enjoyed, is not so obvious to our people as it should be. Not that the Indians do not value living, not that they have no respect for life as such, nay in fact some of them care for mere life, so much as to preserve inferior lives even at the sacrifice or the detriment of human life. The vast bulk of them prefer mere living to honourable living.

The ancient Hindus seem to have had a clear idea of the amount of energy that had been expended by the race in the evolution of man. The idea is so deep-rooted that every Hindu rustic will tell you what a privilege it is to be born a human being. So far he is all right. The trouble begins when he starts to consider the aim of life. As to that, he is being told, day in and day out that supreme merit lies in killing desire, in escaping from the life of senses so as to escape from the pain of rebirth. This necessarily leads him to shun life, to belittle it, and eventually to escape from it, if he can. I admit that this is a perversion of the original doctrine and that there is not sufficient sanction for it in the ancient scripture, but then that is the prevailing belief which finds ample support and justification from the language of the sacred books. The first aim of a national system of education should be to destroy this belief. This cannot be achieved by a promulgation and perpetuation of that literature in its present form which is overfull of this false view of life's aim. Personally I have a great affection for the Sanskrit language and the literature contained in it, but in my judgment any attempt to make it a medium of general education and uplift is bound to fail and deserves to fail.

Its value for the purposes of historic research is obvious. Its aid to enrich the vocabulary of our vernaculars is indispensable. Its cultivation for purposes of

scholarship may be assured, but its use for the practical purposes of life to the ordinary citizen is more than problematic.

Arabic and Persian are more advantageously placed in this respect than Sanskrit. Both of them are living languages still spoken by whole populations of men, though, of course, their modern forms are considerably different from the ancient ones. Sanskrit occupies the same position in India, which Greek and Latin occupy in Europe. Sensible Europe is dropping the study of the latter, except for the limited few who aspire to a career of literature, and India will have to do the same if she wants her children to employ their time and energy in the solution of the practical problems of life.

The attempt to live in the past is not only futile but even foolish, what we need to take care of is the future. If India of the future is to live a full, healthy and vigorous life commensurate with the importance which belongs to it, by virtue of its human and other resources, it must come into more close touch with the rest of the world. If it is to occupy its rightful place among the nations of the globe, it must make the most profitable and the most effective use of its intellectual, mental and general human potentialities.

Sanskrit is a perfect language, having a great record of valuable literature, and so are Latin and Greek. They are all sisters. Just as Europe and America are discovering that for the ordinary boy, not aiming to devote his life to literary or historical research, the study of Greek and Latin may be profitably displaced by the study of the other modern languages, so will the Hindus have to do.

That, intelligent Hindus already realize that, is proved by their conduct. My personal experience (of the last 36 years in connection with the D A V College) justify my saying that of all those who founded the D A V College and afterwards nursed it with energy and devotion, there were and are only a few who ever wanted their own children to follow the courses of Sanskrit which they prescribed for others. Of these perhaps there are still fewer, whose sons are using their knowledge of Sanskrit for any effective purpose. Some of them have given up all study of Sanskrit and consider the time spent in acquiring it as lost. Of all those pious donors, who make endowments for

popularising the study of Sanskrit or for imparting religious instruction in creeds and forms, there are very few who make their own sons and nephews devote much of their time to either

Personally I yield to none in my respect for the ancient Aryans. I am as proud as any one else of their achievements. They advanced human knowledge to an extent that has made it possible for the moderns to advance. I am proud of their wisdom, their spirituality, their ethics and their literary achievements, but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that in knowledge the world has since then advanced much further. And if knowledge is wisdom then we must presume also that the world is wiser to-day than it was 3 000 years ago.

That advanced knowledge and its resultant wisdom is at present embodied in foreign languages. Every year, every month, nay, every day in the year it is making further progress. So much so that a book dealing with sciences becomes almost out of date within a year, unless a new edition is produced with up to date improvements. No one who does not want to fall behind can afford to neglect these sciences, which can only be studied effectively for a number of years, at least in these foreign languages.

Besides, it should not be forgotten that modern scientific inventions including the use of steam and electricity for transportation purposes have destroyed the barriers of space and distance. No nation however ideal in its desires and ambitions, however spiritually inclined in its standards and values of life can live a life of isolation, even if she desired to do so. Interchange with other nations for purposes of trade and commerce is no longer optional. It is compulsory. If India's trade and commerce is to be carried on by Indians, and not by foreigners, and if the Indian people are to profit therefrom, it is necessary that our traders and commercial men should know as many modern languages as may be possible for them to acquire first in school, and then out of it. The bulk of the nation must be engaged in agriculture, or manufacture or business. For all these purposes a knowledge of the modern languages is almost a necessity. Under these circumstances to compel boys to devote a greater part of their school time preparatory to entering life, in study

ing a complicated difficult ancient language like Sanskrit is such a flagrant misuse of energy that it is bound to harm the general efficiency of the nation if we persist in that course. So, it is high time that the nation should make up its mind that like other luxuries the study of Sanskrit is for the few and not for the many. Sanskrit must be studied by the few for the purpose of research and culture and for helping the nation in enriching the vocabulary of the vernaculars. For the many the study of foreign modern languages must be insisted on, accompanied by a good knowledge of the modern languages of India. I intend to say something more on this subject later. At present I am making these remarks only to clear the ground for the consideration of what would be the aim and scope of any national system of education for India.

Descending from national literature to national methods of education I must say at once that it will be a folly to revive the latter. They are out of date, and antiquated. To adopt them will be a step backward and not forward.

The present school system is atrocious, and there is no doubt that the ancient system was in certain respects (mark in certain respects only) much better. The system actually followed at the time of the introduction of British rule had lost the best features of the more ancient one. We are mighty glad that the system then prevalent was rejected in favour of the Western school system. The emasculation which has resulted from the latter, would have been greater and much worse, if the former had received the sanction of the State and been adopted.

The subject is so vast and complicated, that it is impossible to discuss it at any length here but one cannot make himself fully intelligible without making some more observations on the point.

The ancient system which emphasised the personal relationship of the *Guru* and the *Chela* was good in certain respects and harmful in others. The personal relationship supplied the human element which is now missing. This was a guarantee of greater attention being paid to the formation of habits which compose character. On the other hand it had a tendency of enslaving the pupils' mind. The aim of education should be to qualify

the educated to think and act for himself with a due sense of responsibility toward society. Did the *Gurukula* system achieve this? In my judgment, it could not. The very oath administered to the *Brahmchari* and the benediction administered by the *Guru*, if properly analysed, will show that the ideal was to reproduce the *Guru* in the person of the *Chela*. The aim of every parent and every teacher should be to enable their children and pupils, to be greater and better persons, than mere copies of themselves. I shall be glad to be corrected if I am mistaken in this belief. The discipline enforced was too strict; too mechanical and too empirical. The religion taught was too formal, rigid and narrow. A disproportionate amount of time was devoted to the memorizing of rules of grammar and texts. It seems that the relations between the teacher and pupil were possibly freer in the time of the *Upanishads* than in the period or the codes. The system inculcated in the codes is a system of iron and fire.

It was not peculiar to India. The Arabs, the Greeks, and the Latins also had similar systems.

The fact that in spite of these drawbacks, the Hindus, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs and the Catholic Christian institutions of medieval Europe produced so many eminent scholars, philosophers and jurists is in no way proof of their excellence. It only establishes the capacity of the human mind to transcend its environments and to rise above the limitations imposed on it by authority, be the authority that of the parent, the *Guru*, or the State.

The *Gurukula* academy at Hardwar has attempted to remove some of these defects, but I am not quite sure that the segregation insisted on in that institution, was ever so complete in the ancient times as it is represented to be. The name implies, that the pupil lived with his *Guru* as an adopted member of the latter's family. In every way he was treated as a child of the family. In that case, the number that each *Guru* could take must have been extremely limited. There must have been larger *Ashrams* and *Parishads* too, where a number of *Gurus* co-operated in teaching and training large numbers of pupils, but whether these ⁵⁰⁰ and *Parishads* insisted on the

pupils being so completely cut away from society in general is problematic. At any rate the pupils had daily opportunities to see and talk to women, when they went for *Bhiksha* (alms).

I am extremely doubtful if the system of education advocated in the Codes, was ever followed universally. I have reason to think, that it was mainly devised for the children of the Brahmins. However, be that as it may, I have no doubt that it is impossible to be re-introduced as a part of the general scheme of education in India of to-day. I am also positive that it is detrimental to the sort of character we want to develop, nay we must develop, in our boys and girls, if we are to keep pace with the rest of the world, in their march onward. Our boys and girls must not be brought up in hot-houses. They should be brought up in the midst of the society of which they are to be members. They should form habits and learn manners which will enable them to rise to every emergency. They should learn to rise above temptations and not shun them. The world is a "temptation." It is a place to enjoy, so long as by doing so, one does not injure oneself and others. So long as one is loyal to the society in which his lot has been cast and towards which he has social obligations, one commits no sin, by taking to the pleasures of life in a moderate degree.

Boys and girls must learn their social obligations, when in their teens. To segregate them at such a time is to deprive them of the greatest and the best opportunity of their lives. The idea of having schools and colleges and Universities in localities far away from the bustle of city life and from the temptations incidental to it, is an old idea which is being abandoned by the best educational thinkers of the world. The new idea is to let the boys and girls be surrounded by the conditions of life in which they have to move and which they have to meet in after life. To let boys and girls grow in isolation, ignorant of the conditions of actual life, innocent of the social amenities of life, with no experience of the sudden demands and emergencies of group life is to deprive them of the most valuable element in their education. The aim of education is to fit men and women for the battle of life. We do not want to convert them into archerites and ascetics.

The boys and girls of to-day are the citizens of to-morrow. From among them must come our statesmen, administrators, generals, inventors, captains of industry and manufacturers, as much as, our philosophers and thinkers and teachers. Even sound thinking to be useful for practical purposes of life must be based on a full knowledge of the different phases of social life. All life is social. We are beginning to realize, that the best social thinkers of the world have been those who were brought up in the full blaze of the social conditions of the time and who had personal experience of how men in general lived and how they acted and reacted on each other.

In my judgment, it is not a sound idea to make an anchorite of a boy or a girl. Boys and girls should have every opportunity of seeing life, moving in life, experiencing the shocks and reactions of life. Boys brought up in isolation and girls brought up in *Purdah* make very poor men and women. Often they have been seen succumbing to the first temptation they came across. They wreck their lives from want of experience and want of nerve. I am speaking from actual experience. Not that men educated in ordinary schools and colleges are always better, but that at least the former have not shown any superiority in handling situations which arise of being thrown into social conditions to which they were strangers before. My experience justifies me in saying that the former go to greater extremes in laxity of character and looseness of behaviour than the former. They lack the power of adjustment. It is my desire to impress upon my countrymen with all the earnestness I possess and with all the emphasis I can lay, the absolute desirability of giving up the antiquated idea of bringing up boys and girls in an atmosphere of isolation. Boys and girls should be treated more as comrades rather than dependents and inferiors and slaves. We should extend to them our fullest confidence and encourage absolute frankness in them. Instead of keeping the sexes away we should bring them together. In my judgment greater harm is done by keeping them apart than by bringing them together. I know I am treading on delicate ground. Prejudice and sentiment accumulated by centuries of restricted life is all against it. The

thing will come by degrees. But come it must and come it will.

It will be so much waste of energy not to profit by the experience of other peoples. Our ideas of morality and decency must undergo change. Our boys and girls must grow in an atmosphere of frankness, freedom and mutual confidence. Away with suspicion and distrust. It breeds hypocrisy, sycophancy and disease. The future teachers and *Gurus* of India must learn to set aside the tone of command and authority to which they have hitherto been accustomed. The boys and girls are *not* clay in their hands to be moulded into patterns of their choice. That was a stupid idea if ever it existed. They are living beings, products of nature, heredity and environments. They throb with the same impulses and desires and ideas as we do. These impulses and desires require sane guidance. They cannot be regulated by mere authority, or mainly by authority without inflicting awful injury on their manhood and womanhood. We command them to do things, of the righteousness and value of which they have not been convinced. The result is a habit of slavish submission to authority. I recognize that we cannot perhaps eliminate the element of command altogether from the education and bringing up of boys and girls. They must, *sometimes* be protected from themselves. But the command should be the last step, taken with reluctance and out of a sense of unavoidableness which comes by having otherwise failed to arouse an intelligent understanding in the child.

Parents and teachers must learn to respect the child and to have a feeling of reverence for it. No Japanese ever strikes a child yet the Japanese children are models of reasonableness. The Japanese maintain an attitude of respect towards their children. They treat the children as their equals and always address them as such. They never criticise them. The use of the rod is absolutely unknown in Japanese homes. Harsh language towards children or an expression of anger is very rare. The Japanese code of life is very strict in certain respects. It exacts strict obedience and strict discipline from every citizen. Japanese soldiers have earned a name for their high sense of duty and for strict discipline, but that comes more out of a traditional love for the country and

its sovereign, than by enforcing authority and penalties in childhood. In short the system that stresses the authority of the teacher or the parent, which is based on a suspicion of human nature and human tendencies, which is distrustful of childhood and youth, which is openly out for control and discipline and subordination, which favours empirical methods of pedagogy, which has no respect for the instincts of the boy and the girl is not an ideal system to produce self-reliant, aggressive (in order to be progressive), men and women that new India wants. I come to the conclusion, therefore, that any widespread revival of the ancient or medieval systems of education is unthinkable. It will take us centuries backward and I am certain that the country will not adopt it. Mrs. Besant of course does not advocate it. But I know that there are groups of people in India who are in love with that system. They are sometimes carried away by a partial praise of certain features of their system, by eminent foreigners and educationists. A system may be "fasci-

nating", without being sound. It may be highly interesting as an experiment. It may be good for Governmental purposes, yet harmful from the citizens' point of view. It may be good for producing certain types but harmful if adopted for the nation as a whole. I would beg of my countrymen not to be carried off their feet, by the praises which the foreigner, sometimes, bestows on our literature and on our system. Some of them do so, out of sheer disgust with their own systems of life. They do not wait to make proper comparisons, but rush from one extreme to another; others only mean to pay a generous compliment. Some perhaps mean mischief. We should not be affected either by their praise or by their condemnation. We are in a critical period of our life, and it behoves us to weigh things in their true perspective, before laying down policies and making plans for constructive upbuilding of the nation. What is required is a sober study of the situation before making plans.

LALPAT RAI.

THE REAL POEMS

Surely all this world is a fair garden,
With poems springing up as plentiful
As leaves in summer, or stars in winter time.
For when I overhear poor people's tales,
Or children chatting, or schoolboys' eager shouts,
It seems to me they who forget themselves
Talk poetry.

But if I told them so
They would but laugh; for poetry, they think,
Is a great mystery.

And so it is,
And good it is that all the world is full
Of this mysterious beauty life creates
Unknowingly, as flowers that bloom and pass
Beyond their prime ungathered; good it is
That common things should be this mystery.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

THE EYES OF THE BLIND

YESTERDAY, at Shantiniketan Asram, we received a welcome visit from four young Russian pilgrims, who had come to see the poet and the poet's school. Three of these had, quite recently, successfully attempted a long journey from Petrograd and Moscow, through Persia and Mesopotamia, to the Persian Gulf. They had met with great hardships on the way and described the state of Russia as very bad indeed, but not so full of horrors as the papers made out. One of these three had been secretary to Mr Kerensky, who, for a time, had been the leader of the Russian Revolution. His wife was accompanying him,—a pale silent lady, who seemed to have passed through great suffering. But the one who interested us most of all was a blind Russian, whom the three travellers had met in Calcutta, on his way from Burma. He was quite young, with a childlike face and wavy, flowing, flaxen hair. From his infancy he had been quite blind, but he seemed blithe and gay, the brightest of all the company. As we walked round, he showed a wonderful instinct for free movement and he rarely stumbled. He was most keenly interested in everything that I described, and, in the evening, he listened most eagerly of all to the poet, when the latter talked with all his guests, and he asked the most intelligent questions. On leaving Bolpur, late in the night the blind Russian put into my hand at the station, a paper which he had written and asked me to make what use of it I chose. As it appeared to me to be a document of great human interest, I felt certain that I might offer it with acceptance to the readers of the "Modern Review." The paper runs as follows:

"What does blindness mean to a blind man? In what way does it affect his psychological faculties? These questions are always before society, and many able

writers have attempted to answer them. I knew a good worker for the Blind in Russia. She gave all her life to the work and with bitter feeling she wrote in an article on the 'Psychology of the Blind,' that they are more selfish and more cruel than the sighted.

"Some writers speak of the immorality of the blind as one of their characteristic features. In western Europe complaints are always made of the weakness and helplessness of the blind. In order to eradicate this evil swimming, cycling, skating rowing and other sports are taught at many schools in the West. All this of course, should make the blind physically strong but very often the workers go much further. In the compounds of many schools, the paths are arranged in such a way, that the blind may easily know where there is a turning, where there are steps where there is an entrance and so on. A sighted person is sent with the blind when travelling on a railway or by tramcar. In a new and well known home for blind soldiers in London, it appears that mat paths are arranged, even indoors, so that the blind may walk freely from one room to another. I should not wonder, if, after living in such a well accommodated dwelling, the blind were unable to walk alone not only in the streets of London, but even in their own compound.

"But if the blind of Western Europe are helpless, we cannot say the same of those in the East. The Japanese blind person, from his childhood, has to earn his living by *massage*. He goes about here and there among the people in the pursuit of his profession. The greater number of the blind are obliged to attend ordinary schools, in the same way as sighted students do, and they walk in the streets of Tokyo as freely as in their compounds.

"If the Russian blind are selfish and immoral, we cannot say the same of the English blind. Moreover, if it is true to say that the blind of Europe look dull, it would be quite wrong to say this of the

blind in the East There are writers who think that blindness, by putting a man in a peculiar position towards the outside world, strengthens his psychical faculties, develops the senses more intensely, and enables him to create for himself new and original worlds full of beauty and splendor I remember a story of a blind man in Switzerland From his childhood, he used to hear about the beauties of the Alps, their fantastic valleys full of wonderful flowers and glorious lakes surrounded by majestic rocks He enjoyed all these things as much as the sighted did At length one of his friends, a doctor, restored his sight by means of an operation The first thing which the man wanted to see was the mountains and their beautiful scenery, but, as he gazed he grew sad and finally, throwing himself on the ground, he cried out 'Give me back my mountains! Give me back my valleys! The reality was nothing in comparison with that which he had imagined'

'What, then, does blindness actually mean to the blind man himself? Does it mean that we are put in a dark place, where we know nothing of the things around us, or which way to go? Or does it mean that we are placed in a dream land, without any limits to our imagination? Does blindness by isolating a man from the outside world, make him somewhat like an idiot, as is commonly supposed? Or, on the contrary, does blindness, by the very fact that it separates him from his surroundings thereby strengthen the inner side of the blind man's nature? And does his imagination consequently attain a miraculous power and flexibility?'

'I do not consider that personally I have enough experience to answer these questions But whatever blindness may mean to the blind man, in whatever way it may affect his capabilities we must emphatically maintain that education, or instruction of some kind is more essential for the blind than for the sighted This fact cannot be denied by any one, it is self-evident But how many people fail to realize this! How many Governments fail to recognize the necessity of education for the blind! Is it not a pity and shame that this should be the case in our enlightened Twentieth Century?'

'Now I shall speak a little about myself I left Russia more than 3 years ago, in order to study a few subjects in

the East, one of these being the state of the blind in Asia I stayed in Japan for two years, and then I went to Siam, with the intention of starting work for the blind there I stayed in Siam for 6 months, but I was unable to do anything for the blind in that country, the chief reason perhaps being, that a richer and more energetic and capable man than myself was needed for this work The Siamese Government, however, as well as the Christian missionaries, promised to think over the matter carefully, when they had more time

'From Siam I came to Burma The first thing which struck me, in the Moulmein Blind School, was the poverty of the students There are thirty three boys, of whom about ten are orphans and about ten have only one parent the remainder belong to the very poorest class, hence none of the boys receive any assistance whatever from their homes, but depend entirely upon the School for food and clothing If they were even sighted children, they would have the right to ask society to help them Nevertheless the whole work of the Blind School is carried on by a few noble persons, who are left to their own devices Society is quite indifferent to their work Society, it seems, forgets the blind Even women, who take such a great interest in the blind of Europe, forget their existence here in Burma Perhaps it is not the business of Society to enquire how many fatherless or motherless children there are in the School, or how many boys have nobody in the world to help them But this attitude does not do credit to European Society in Burma and it is a great shame that the Burmese people themselves should leave their blind to the care of a few persons If the Buddhist people have no confidence in the School let them take up the matter themselves There are thousands of Pongyi schools all over the country supported by the people Could not a few schools for the blind be arranged on the same lines as these? I mean that schools might be instituted, where the blind would be under the control of good sighted Pongyi teachers, who would instruct them in the Buddhist Scriptures, the method of treating various diseases, and other useful occupations The Burmese people should supply them with food, clothing and other necessities of life,

n the same way that they do for sighted Pongyis. If this were done, there is no doubt that blind Pongyis would be as useful to Society as the sighted ones. There is a considerable number of blind Christian Preachers in the West, and I do not see any reason why the Buddhist people should not also have their blind Preachers. The first thing to be done is to accept the Braille system, so that the blind may be able to read and write for themselves.

"Another thing, which I would like to suggest, is that a Colony for the blind should be instituted. This could easily be done in Burma. My idea is that a piece of land should be set apart for the blind, and they should be taught to cultivate paddy fields, vegetable gardens, coconut trees, rubber trees, sugarcane and fruits of various kinds. They could also keep cattle and fowls. They could learn how to row, how to catch fish, how to make or repair boats and nets. They might learn how to preserve fruits, vegetables, fish. Blind girls should learn weaving, spinning, sewing and knitting, as well as cooking, washing clothes, rearing of domestic animals and other household duties. There is no doubt that such a Colony, under the control of sighted teachers, would flourish, if it were well managed. In a few years, it would gain the confidence of the Government and the sympathy and love of all people. Such a Colony would be a brilliant example also for the West. Every year millions of pounds are spent for the blind in Western countries and as a result the blind are helpless, they are continually asking for assistance. This helplessness is due not to the blind themselves, but to the blind leaders of the blind who hitherto have not realised their fatal mistake. But I will not speak of them here. In the Colony which I have suggested, the sciences and arts would also be taught to the blind, their bodily and spiritual hygiene would receive proper attention, and the blind man would become a useful citizen. Who knows but that he might take a great part in arousing the jungle people to rid themselves of their old prejudices and their enormous superstitions? Who will dare to say that the blind man may not become a leading light in the dark night of the forest, a blessed guiding star on the path of jungle people

leading them from the darkness of their ignorance to the true lights of civilization?

"How much could be accomplished, and yet how little is actually done! And all this because Society is quite indifferent to the matter. But the less attention Society pays to the blind, the greater are the admiration and gratitude due to those who, in spite of being overburdened with other work, endeavour to promote their education. I hope that, in the future, more interest will be taken in the blind, and that before long not the blind of Burma only, but the blind of neighbouring countries such as the Malay States, Malay Archipelago, Siam and Annam, so that these will also enjoy the privilege of education and become useful to their fellow countrymen. I hope that the blind will no longer be regarded as people who are punished for their sins in a former existence or for the sins of their parents. I hope that the blind will be recognised as people by whom, as Christ said of a blindman, the 'works of God may be made manifest'.

With this quotation from St John's Gospel the paper ends. It is signed "V. FROSHENKO Russian blind man".

The opinions of the young Russian, when I read them, gave me much to think about. The time has surely come for a united Indian effort,—claiming in the name of common humanity the sympathy and support of all sects and creeds,—which may help to work out, on the best and soundest lines the problem of giving eyes to the blind. Each province, through its own education department and through voluntary effort, (liberally aided by the authorities) should try to cover the whole ground of blind child life. Mr V. Froshenko's words should be carefully remembered,—*"We must emphatically maintain that education is more essential for the blind man than for the sighted."*

Speaking generally the faculty of touch, in India and the Far East, is so much more delicate than in Europe, that it may be possible to do without many of the aids and props which European Institutes for

the Blind have used, at the cost (as Mr Eroshenko asserts) of making the blind more blind than before. It will be quite feasible to avoid many of the mistakes of the training of the past.

It should be possible also in time, to do away with that disgraceful exploitation of blind people which now goes on in many cities—the blind being used, as were tools by the sighted in order to excite the pity of the charitable and bring money to themselves. This is frequently done by parents who have blind children and it is to be feared that sometimes the children's blindness remains unhealed because of the cupidity of the parents.

The cases of individual blind beggars are well known to the police, and if a sympathetic inspecting officer were appointed, who would work in conjunction with a voluntary citizen's Committee, it might be possible to rescue at an early age many blind boys and girls from a life of sordid beggary.

I do not wish, however, in this brief article, to do more than ventilate the whole subject for the careful consideration of the *Modern Review* readers, in the light of the statements made by my Russian blind friend, Mr V. Eroshenko.

Shantimketan C. F. ANDREWS

AUGUSTE BARTH

By PROFESSOR A. FOUCHER, TRANSLATED WITH THE AUTHOR'S PERMISSION
BY PANDIT RAM CHANDRA KAK, B.A., M.R.A.S.

FEW lives have been more calm and more simple than that of the solitary scholar, who spending his last years without any company except that of his old housekeeper, conjured for us the living counterpart of the pensive 'Philosopher' of Rembrandt. Perhaps even after having passed his whole life bending over his books he would never have written any—our opinion is based on the authority of his own statement—if an unique but terrible catastrophe had not overthrown with a single stroke all the habits of his life. We refer to the Franco-German War of 1870-1871 which, in tearing him away from the joy of living in his native town of Strasbourg, reverted to him his gifts of a critic and an author and ended by making him the universal and uncontested arbiter of Indian studies. Without this profound convulsion his intellect and knowledge would at the best, have been of use to himself and to those friends of his infancy, whom he met at the 'brasserie' and whom his deafness did not

discourage from conversation with him. How many talents, which would have left their mark on the world, has our old provincial life of France through an over-wise absence of ambition combined with the nonchalance of easy circumstances kept entirely within its own confines!

We have been allowed to have a look in the family register which was begun by his father and which he continued carefully keeping up to date, noting down, with the invitation cards attached, the births, marriages and deaths, which he happened to hear of, in all the branches of his family. There we read that Marie Etienne Auguste Barth was born at Strasbourg on the 22nd of March 1834, in the Bader Cafe house, at the corner of the Rue de l'Ancre, that he was the son of Etienne Barth and of Marie Wilhelmine Stoeber, that he was baptised on the 15th June in the church of St. Thomas by the pastor Brunwald and that his godfather was Jean Michel Stoeber, his maternal grandfather, and his godmother was Anne Marie Strohl, his maternal grandmother. His father was a Catholic and his mother a Protestant brought up in the religion of his mother, he always evinced the highest respect for that of his

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* A brasserie is a public beerhouse where people meet, drink beer and spend their time in chitchat.

father. No one was ever more exempt from intolerance and more hostile to all forms of persecution. It was on the occasion of a public letter, which came straight from his conscience and in which, while declaring himself a Protestant, he raised his voice against the shutting up of some convents in Brittany that we learnt to which Christian persuasion he belonged, and it was only after his death that an old Alsacian friend of his revealed to us the fact that in politics he adhered to the most traditional ideas. We, certainly, knew that in conversation he was not always tender to the Republican Government of France, but such was the innate liberalism of this faithful reader of the *Debats* that we have been able to visit him constantly during nearly thirty years without his having ever felt in our long conversations the need of making or asking for a profession of political faith.

Of his education, which he obtained first at the Protestant Gymnasium and then at the "*Faculté des Lettres*" of Strasbourg we find only the results recorded: Bachelor of Arts, the 15th July 1852; Bachelor of Sciences, the 3rd August 1853; Master of Arts, the 29th July 1856 and Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the College at Bouxwiller, the 13th May 1857. As such he obtained leave of absence for the college term of 1861-62, which he passed at Paris, *rue Jacob*, No 25. This leave he extended for the term of 1862-63 and again, passed three months there, for preparing his theses for Litt D. He was admitted a member of the Asiatic Society of Paris on the 12th December 1862.

Two years later, 'A Study on the Bhagavadgita', very accurate in matter and highly finished in style, was published by the *Revue Germanique et Française* (1864) and revealed that he had definitely found his way 'towards this light which sprang up from a remote corner of Asia to throw light on the origins of the West.' What was it that led his steps to Sanskrit and made the man who eventually became the patriarch of Indian studies? This question, which was throbbing on our lips for a long time was so interesting that we could not but take the liberty, one day of putting it to him. Doubtless our readers will be glad to hear the notes which we jotted down, the same day on the conclusion of this improvised 'interview'.

'What did I do during the time that elapsed between the conclusion of my studies in 1856 and the commencement of my collaboration with the *Revue Critique* in 1872? Nothing more simple to explain. You must only keep in mind that I have the temperament of a poodle always docile and ready to follow him who cares to lead me. After obtaining my degree I had not the least inclination to devote myself to teaching but I allowed myself to be wheedled by the then rector M. Delavassio my old professor of Latin Literature at the Faculty and found myself suddenly posted to the college of Bouxwiller where I stayed five years. I was in charge of the two upper classes of logic and rhetoric (and in the first year I had an extra class also the one next below). I taught a little of everything: philosophy, Greek Literature etc., but as a compensation for this I was excused from all tutelage over the classes which was not the case with my colleagues. These latter were not very interesting. They did their duty honestly and knew their textbooks well but were not possessed of any general culture. All their leisure hours were spent at card parties or in playing billiards. This could not satisfy me. I deemed it necessary to take up a study to which I could devote my leisure time. I was for a moment thinking of taking up Mathematics but on second thoughts I decided for Sanskrit simply out of curiosity because it was new. Of course there could be no question of carving out a career for myself in it and as for the Academy I no more thought of setting my foot in it than of visiting the North Pole. Moreover it was the last thing that would ever have occurred to me and when Breal proposed it for me I was thunderstruck.

Thus I took up Sanskrit. It was then more difficult to learn than it is now. In the absence of textbooks now available the only course left was to struggle on as best as one might especially in a hole like Bouxwiller. In the Faculty of Strasbourg there was a good man M. Bergmann by name who was a professor of foreign literature and who knew a little Sanskrit but it was of no use to him except in enabling him to indulge in etymological speculations not much help could be expected from him. However if this study then presented difficulties which have today disappeared it possessed on the other hand an attraction which it has since lost. It was limited in scope and one could hope to grasp it in its entirety. Now a days it has become much too vast. It is an ocean which the stomach of Agastya alone could swallow.

Years laborious and pleasant. How resolutely I struggled on! Moreover the case with me was not so bad then as it is now. I found time for every thing. First of all I had to take the classes (twenty-five to thirty pupils in all) and to correct their copies. Then three times in a week I met a student of theology who had been sent to the college as an usher and who really possessed some knowledge. He however did not turn out well. We read together all Aristophanes and three-fourths of Plato. Furthermore one evening in the week and not without the complement of a big pot of beer the turn came of a teacher in the High School my friend Z... whom I coached for the Baccalaureate and who has since become a professor in Brest. Together we studied English and read the whole of Shakespeare up to the sonnets. And a book read a book learnt no taking down of any notes. In addition to this we made long excursions on Thursdays and Sundays which enabled us into the bargain to have the pleasure of making drawings.

We may refer in this connexion to the unobtrusive personal remembrance which crept into the pathetic notice, dedicated in 1873, by Auguste Barth to the memory of Eugene Ensfielder, one of his fellow students, who was two years his junior. The latter was a born artist but his family insisted on making him a clergyman. In 1870 he became the Vicar of Bouxwiller, where he found his friend already established. He had not renounced his art, which was to become his sole occupation, and he spent his leisure time in executing drawings direct from Alsatian life. "These rural studies," wrote Auguste Barth,* "led him naturally to landscape drawing which, as a true townsman, he had, hitherto, totally neglected. I have had the good fortune to be his humble companion in this new apprenticeship. Many Thursdays were thus employed in trudging on hill and plain, from Lichtenberg to Saverne. We left early in the morning and did not return till late in the night, I, bringing back with me, some frightful daubs and he, some beautiful and judicious studies." The writer is, indeed, too modest, he was far from being without artistic talent and till lately, as long as his sight permitted him, he continued in his holidays to paint landscapes.

Presumably his growing deafness induced him to leave the University and take this "renewable" leave which was to be extended indefinitely. Better equipped, thanks to the libraries, first at Paris, and then again at Strasbourg, which he had no idea of ever leaving, he continued the study of Sanskrit for the mere pleasure of mastering it, without any idea of making a show before the public of what he had learnt. The article in the *Revue Germanique*, which we have just mentioned, had been 'drawn out of him,' he said, by a family friend. These studious leisure hours mixed with intervals spent at the 'braserie' and varied by some journeys, glided away peaceably in the midst of his relatives. His father, formerly a tradesman's clerk became in 1897 cashier of the 'Canal du Rhone au Rhin' and, submitting his resignation in 1867 at the age of sixty, finally retired from business. No thing seemed likely to disturb the easy life of a family so well united. But the time of the great ordeals approached. On the 3rd

November 1869 his mother's long illness culminated in her death. The following year took place the war and the year after, the exile.

The siege of Strasbourg quite naturally found him there, in his native town, for the defence of which he readily took up arms. He once told us, how on the days the besieged made a sortie, his father waited for him on the threshold of his door to have a glimpse of him from a longer distance, in case he ever came back. In an encounter of patrols on one of the isles of the Rhine, he killed in single combat a Pomeranian fusilier, who had first fired at him and who, he wrote to us on the 7th of August 1914, "had never weighed heavily upon his conscience." As early as the month of August 1871, Etienne Barth left Strasbourg with his two sons and all three, unwilling to submit to the German occupation, went to settle together at Geneva. Their father had two old friends there, but the elder son found time hang somewhat heavily upon his hands. There was then at Geneva a reading room, which still exists and where we know his memory is faithfully preserved up to the present day. It was there that he had the occasion of reading the *Revue Critique*, founded four years before the war. One day when he had just completed the perusal of *Bhramini vilasa* of A. Bergaigue, it occurred to him to note down his thoughts on it and the account, which was the outcome of this idea, he forwarded to the *Revue* which published it on the 4th May 1872. Such was the commencement of a collaboration which was to be so fruitful in its results. Geneva was, however, nothing but a stage on the route to Paris, but here, it is much better to let Auguste Barth speak for himself.

'Meanwhile my father my brother and myself went on a journey to England and returned via Paris. On leaving the P. L. M. station my father suddenly addressed me saying 'After all we might as well be here as at Geneva.' Always obedient I assented and thought no more of it. But my father, kept on nursing his idea. And so on the death of one of his old Geneva friends and soon after, of my brother Edmond we came to settle ourselves in Paris. For a long time we searched for a lodging. My father insisted on having a house not more than two stories high. He was still very vigorous and active and I believed it was only a hobby as old people occasionally have. We used to run up the ascent of Mt. Saleve and at Geneva we lived in the top storey of a big house which commanded a superb view. But my father had taken a violent dislike for the staircase. I understand his reasons better now. We eventually installed ourselves at No. 6 of the

* *Revue d'Alsace* April-June pp 153-56

me du vieux-Colombier and I would still be there if the books which kept on accumulating had not chased me away.

It was at the commencement of July 1877 that they were, thus, fixed up at Paris. Against this date, we read in his family register, "My father lived there two and a half years longer, showing signs of weakness but without any of those infirmities which usually accompany old age. In the rigorous winter of 1879, he contracted pleuresy which, much to my sorrow, carried him off, after two weeks of illness, on Tuesday, the 20th January 1880, at half past six in the morning, two days before his 73rd birthday." Auguste Barth was left alone, he continued to live so to the end, more perhaps through the will of destiny than by any desire of his own "Vae soli!" (woe to loneliness) he exclaimed again and again in his old age.

The rest of his life story should properly speaking be sought for in his bibliography. It is above all illustrated by the contributions which he kept on furnishing to the *Revue Critique*, *Melusine*, the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* and later to the *Journal des Savants*, the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres*, the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*. These numerous articles bore witness to such an extent of impartiality, erudition and insight as to speedily establish his paramount authority. They are, moreover, written in a language which was as vigorous as it was sober. But, when we have said that their style is excellent and their list considerable, we find we have nothing else to add. He who had read and criticised many books did not properly speaking, write a single one. Even his *Religions de l'Inde* was no more than an article in an encyclopædia and his *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge* only a collection of essays. The circumstance is curious, and it is perhaps still more curious to hear him argue on his own case. The funeral panegyric of the dead often affords a pretext for the living to examine their own conscience or even to plead for their own shortcomings. If we refer to the obituary notice that Auguste Barth dedicated to the memory of Gustave Garrez (*Revue Critique*, the 28th January 1889), we cannot but observe that he has there replied beforehand to the reproach which he knew very well

would be levelled at him with equal force. Immediately after giving the list of the few works published by his friend, either with his signature or anonymously, he at once adds, not without a suggestion of self-examination—"All these papers, as is quite evident, have been written as reviews of the works of others. Several are of large dimensions almost as big as memoirs, some of them are papers that Garrez alone, in all Europe was, perhaps, capable of writing, all of them are replete with the justest and the freshest views exhibiting the most profound knowledge without any show of pedantry. And, how, one feels that all this is drawn out of full wells, and that on each point the author has done no more than pushed forward the heads of the columns, which he could, in case of need, support with large reserves! All the same, they were nothing but single articles, only modest reviews. Abroad, however, there was no mistake about their worth. From the very beginning, Garrez was given a place in the front rank, amongst the masters, and his authority was in several matters largely recognised. But things did not appear quite in the same light amongst us, for we feel much more than we think, a superstitious awe for a book, especially if it is a big one, as if one could not be profound, original and useful except in a volume and under a special cover. We must, here, confess that Garrez was not appreciated, amongst us, at his high value and that only by the masses who are out of the consideration in such a matter, but even by the learned public.

"He was not appreciated and, plainly speaking, he was not even recognised except by his friends and a small number of specialists, particularly the faithful adherents of our *Société Asiatique* to which he was for a long time so devotedly attached. There, at least, justice was always rendered to him thoroughly and well."

Death, more merciful to Auguste Barth, stayed its hand until his fame emerged from the small circle of the initiates; but the universal reputation that he enjoyed, he never owed, to use his own expression, to anything but to the "simple articles," when it entirely rested with him to yield to the pressing entreaties of the editors who were only too eager to publish any book from his pen. But to him, as he speaks of Garrez, truth alone was of prime

importance and not the advertisement of the fact that he was the first to discover it. As for writing a book simply to prove that he was capable of doing so, it was the very last idea that would ever have entered his head.

Here, we must specially refer to his magisterial *Histoire des Religions de l'Inde* written for the *Encyclopedie des Science Religieuses* (1879) and continued by his famous *Bulletins des Religions de l'Inde* (1880-1902) which threw such a flood of light on the problems connected with the religions of ancient India. He also took a considerable part in the foundation of the Sanskrit Epigraphy of Indo-China. To him we owe the first fasciculus of the *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge* (1885) and it was, again, he who after the death by accident, of A. Bergaigne assured, with the assistance of Messrs. Emile Senart and Sylvain Lévi the publication of the *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge* (1893). He took upon himself the task of deciphering the Sanskrit and Pali inscriptions collected in Siam by Lucien Fournerau (*Le Siam ancien* t. I, 1895) and to complete the second volume left unfinished of the same work (1908). When the archaeological commission of Indo-China undertook its first great publication, that of the photographs brought back from the Bayon d'Angkor Thom by the mission of H. Dufour and Ch. Carpeaux, it was again, he who was entrusted with its direction. Finally he hailed with joy the establishment in 1898 by M. P. Doumer of l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient. Not content to collaborate with Messrs. Bréal and Senart in drawing up the chart of its foundation, he traced, in a letter to its first director M. L. Finot, a programme of work which was at the same time both ideal and practical. For, of all of qualities of his intellect that which perhaps is the most astounding, is the extraordinary penetration with which this sedentary scholar could imagine at a distance and without having actually seen them the minutest details of the Asiatic life. On this point, the testimony of all competent persons is unanimous. "One day," writes M. P. Oltremare, "in a conversation which I had with Mr. Aurel Stein the illustrious traveller told me that, in his opinion, no one had the right to speak of things Indian

who had never set his foot in India. I thought of invalidating this judgment by citing the example of Barth. 'M. Barth,' he rejoined, 'but this is just the exception which confirms the rule.'"

Meanwhile the titles and honours which he never courted, came to seek Auguste Barth in his studious retreat. Member of the *Société Asiatique* since 1862, of the *Société de Linguistique* since 1873 he was successively nominated and elected honorary member of the *Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* of Batavia, on the 8th June 1886, titular member of l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres on the 3rd February 1893, Grand Officer of the Royal Order of the Cambodge on the 10th March 1894, honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society of London on the 7th May 1895, member of the committee of the *Journal des Savants* on the 19th December 1895, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour on the 31st December 1895, foreign member of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal, Land, en Volken Kunde van Nederlandsch Indie associate member of l'Académie Royale des Sciences of Amsterdam (section of literature and historical sciences) on the 13th April 1896, honorary member of the American Oriental Society on the 14th August 1898, Commander of the Order of the Dragon of Annam, on the 10th February 1899, corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Petrograd on the 29th December 1902, member of the *Commission archéologique de l'Inde-Chine* on the 18th January 1908, doctor *honoris causa* of the University of Louvain on the 10th May 1909. When his eightieth birthday drew near, his friends could not think of a better way of serving at once and the same time, the well merited renown of the scholar as well as the interests of science except by bringing together in one comprehensive publication his works which were scattered about in many reviews. At their instance, he consented to draw up the list of his works himself, but on the condition of making drastic suppressions. In spite of these dreadful loppings off the works of Auguste Barth do not fill less than five volumes in octavo. In the course of a very

* *Quarante ans d'indianisme. Œuvres de Auguste Barth* recueillies à l'occasion de son quatre-vingt-euxième anniversaire. Paris E. Leroux 1914. The first four

simple and very touching ceremony the first and second volumes containing the reprint of the *Religions de l'Inde* and the *Bulletins de Religions de l'Inde* were in the name of the subscribers presented to him at his house by M. E. Snart on the 22nd March 1914.

In a noble and affecting speech his "old comrade" brought to the scholar and to the man the tribute of admiration of his conferees throughout the world and gently pointed out how the chronological order of this collection, while furnishing the best picture of the scientific activity of its author, retraced the whole history of Indianism during nearly half a century. Very much touched Auguste Barth replied with his usual bonhomie and modesty, standing on the very spot where two years later, the last prayers were to be pronounced before his coffin.

It is there, in his spacious working room on the first storey of No 10 rue Garanciere where he received visitors from all quarters of the world that our imaginations continue to conjure up the broad shouldered grand old man wearing the moustache and beard on the chin after the fashion of the second Empire who was always ready, with great good humour to allow himself to be disturbed from his constant reading. It was also from there that he maintained a considerable correspondence with his numerous friends and with the greater number of his conferees in Indianism. It is devoutly to be wished that this correspondence were collected and some extracts at least, of it published, for he wrote his private letters with the same alert pen that he wrote his articles with and we find him there as in his familiar conversations always full of inspiration and competency handling every subject with out a shadow of pedantry but with an incisive reasoning power which is the heritage of the best traditions of French intellect. Each summer regularly, he passed his vacations in the little port of Audierne the only shelter in the whole expanse of the wild sandy shores between

the rocks of Penmarc'h and the granite cliffs to the Raz de Sein, which is accessible to boats. He always occupied the same little fisherman's cottage, at the end of the jetty not far from the light house. He wore a sailor's cap and passed the greater part of his sojourn there, on the beach lounging reading printing and bathing. He was in his youth an excellent swimmer and remained so in his old age. Side by side with the entries regarding his University degrees we have found noted carefully, in his own handwriting, that he had been awarded a medal by the Humane Society on the 20th December 1855 and again a diploma on the 7th May 1876, and he himself has shown us the distant buoy in the roads of Audierne which was the ordinary goal he aimed to reach each time he took his bath. Of these swimming excursions he—always a methodical man—carefully noted the number in pencil, year after year on the walls of his cabin. The country people, comparatively ignorant, could not easily guess what the old hermit of the jetty as he was pleased to call himself might be by profession. As he had been decorated on the centenary of the French Academy they wrongly supposed him to have retired from some mysterious office in the navy. But their simple souls were not mistaken in their estimate of the kindness of his heart and the beauty of his character and he was as universally loved and respected amongst the fishermen of the Breton Coast as amongst his colleagues of the Palais Mazarin.

Meanwhile the years passed and little by little dug many gaps around him. He saw disappear, one after another his friends of infancy. When the last companion of his youth had passed away he sighed to think that he was left alone to recollect how joyous and gay some sixty or sixty-five years earlier, had been such and such a particular round of marbles or of top this or that swimming party adrift on the waters of the Rhine. In vain his eyes searched around him for some one with whom to rake up these old memories. 'People often speak', he said, 'of the egotism of old age, but is not the major part of this egotism due to loneliness?' The younger generations of Indianists intimidated by his prestige and perhaps kept at an arm's length by his extreme deafness did not know him well or knew him scarcely at all. After Michel Bral who

volumes are out. The fifth contains after the index a complete bibliography which will serve at the same time as the general table of contents to all the five volumes. The first volume has as a frontispiece a portrait of the author which is worth seeing and as preface a letter of Michel Bral and a speech of M. Snart which are worth reading.

was two years older than him and who died a few months earlier and after Messrs. Senart and Sylvain Lévi, we have been nearly the last—Finot for whom he had a special predilection and ourselves—to profit by his intellectual intercourse. In his case, however, the mental powers were preserved intact to the last, though he whimsically complained of "having no more memory left than a rabbit and no more brain than a chicken." But already his hitherto excellent health was giving him cause for complaint and in 1903 it was at such a low ebb that on bidding him farewell before our departure for Indo-China, we did not expect to see him again. He appeared to recover, but—a sign of the changed times—his scientific output, hitherto so regularly plentiful, began henceforth to slacken until it definitely ceased in 1911.

His constitution, however, was so strong that he would, undoubtedly, have been preserved to us if the war—his second Franco-German war—had not broken out. It took him by surprise as it did us all though perhaps a little less than it did most of us. As early as July, he had, as usual, gone back to Audierne. When, on the 14th August, he came to know of the entry of our troops in Mulhouse he wrote to us: "What a momentous occurrence this! How quickly hearts must have beat in Alsace! The bones of my father must have stirred in his grave, and for myself, I never before regretted so much that I am not some 40 or 50 years younger that I might be over there, in the ranks with my knapsack on my back....." Let it not for an instant be supposed that he abandoned himself to a blind optimism: his critical sense is always wakeful and he immediately adds, "But to ensure that the moral effect may be lasting it is necessary that the operation also should be lasting. It should be a really strategic move, striking across the passes of the High-Vosges mountains, menacing the rear of the Germans in Lorraine and obstructing their communications with southern Germany. Otherwise, it would be only a repetition on a grander scale of the attack of Saarbruck in 1870." But if his intellect sees clearly, his heart is fluttering with excitement to the breaking point. "The immobilisation," he adds, "is being carried on without any fuss or ado. The parents weep and acquiesce when their sons leave them for the front;

but the latter prepare themselves joyously to face all dangers. When I see this or read of this, it makes my blood literally boil to feel that I am so useless and incapable even for mounting guard somewhere or serving in an ambulance which I could enter only as an invalid and not as an attendant. This thought makes my bones ache and perceptibly tells on my health." These outbursts of his were rare. Such was the reticent diffidence, of his feelings that, even on so exciting a day as this, he felt, in concluding his letter, the need of apologising, "Pardon me, my dear friend, for this long epistle. I have nobody here but you to whom I can unburden myself." After all these terrible sensations of the first months the trying prolongation of the war eventually exhausted the remnants of his strength. During the summer of 1915 he gave up for the first time in his life his cherished country holiday at Audierne. The disease he incessantly suffered from went on constantly increasing. He had already been obliged to have himself carried, several times before, to the private hospital of St. Jean-de-Dieu. It was there that he breathed his last on the 15th April 1916 at about five o'clock in the afternoon. Two days before he had requested us to make enquiries about the timetable of the trains to Brittany. His body rests in a vault in the cemetery of Pere-Lachaise till—in obedience to his will which we found written on the first leaf of his address book—it may be carried over to Strasbourg for final burial in the family sepulchre. May it be, as was his ardent desire, that it may repose there in French soil.

No one should seek in this notice anything but the truthful narrative of a witness who knew Auguste Barth well during the last thirty years of his life but who does not flatter himself that he knew all about him. This will be our excuse for being obliged to have mixed, up some personal reminiscences with the informations which we have endeavoured to collect for the sake of the future historians of Indianism. As to some consideration of his role as a scientist and his moral portrait as a man, the question cannot be taken up here. The judgment of masters is not the business of pupils; and moreover, we lack at the present moment the breadth of margin and the distance of horizon which is necessary for making a just estimate and conveying a definite appre-

ciation of the work as well as the work man. We loved him for his little faults, as for his great qualities for his occasional fits of obstinacy as for his habitual breadth of wisdom, for his causticity of wit as for his benevolence, for his carping criticisms of the Government as for his profound attachment to his country. Above all we admired, unreservedly, his marvellous lucidity of intellect which in all matters went straight to the core, his universal mastery of knowledge which was an inexhaustible fountainhead open to all other seekers his height of disinterestedness and impartiality where the independence of his modest fortune had placed him from the first and where the thorough honesty of his nature maintained him to the last. Such were the most marked features of his physiognomy so complex and so richly modelled these are also apparently those which the forgetful future will remember. But how many delightful traits and delicate tints,

how many details of light and shade are destined to be lost when the few memoirs wherein he still survives will have in their turn disappeared. M. Senart has admirably expressed it in his farewell address—gushing straight from his heart—which he delivered on behalf of the *Société Asiatique* in the meeting held on the 12th May 1916. There we can read, formulated by the voice of a peer, the judgment here missing.

For a long time doubtless in surveying this precious gallery of the scattered essays of Barth the new generation of workers will find something of that strengthening joy which we inhale in the serene atmosphere of a science so vast and so precise so solid and so alert. But we alas who knew him and loved him we shall carry within us the greatest part of his secret. We alone shall have been able to measure how much the nobleness of an antique character the amplitude of an intellect equal to the accomplishment of all tasks the soundness of an incorruptible judgment the active and prompt sensibility of a heart of gold, combined with the qualities of a scholar in achieving a figure truly rare. It has vanished and in vanishing has bequeathed to us a melancholy which nothing will console.

THE WEDDING DRESS

'Rangadidi!'

"What is it Ranu?"

"Don't you know that to-day is Sushy's birthday? So they are going to hold a fancy dress party at their place. I intend to go dressed as the goddess Lakshmi. But I have not got a red sari. So mother has sent me to you. She said that you had got lots of beautiful saris of Benares silk."

"My dear, we are old fashioned people, our things would not be to your taste, you are very modern and have taken to going to the Mem-Sahib's school."

"There now Rangadi! how you talk to be sure! What if you are old fashioned? Pray, is not Lakshmi even more old fashioned than yourself? Now please do open your trunk and let me see what you have got."

"I had to sit up at the urgency of my little granddaughter's manner. I unlocked my trunk and took out nearly twenty or twenty-five saris. Waves of red blue green and pink rolled along the

floor of my room, with glittering golden and silver flowers and leaves but none found favour with the critical little girl. As soon as I took out one she turned up her nose and exclaimed, 'This won't do Rangadidi! Lakshmi won't look right in it!'

I gave it up in despair and said, 'Then darling, I am afraid I shall not be able to suit you. You must try elsewhere.'

My little darling stood there with a sulky expression on her pretty face and showed not the faintest sign of moving. Suddenly she exclaimed, 'But Rangadi, what do you keep in that box of white stone, there by the side of the big iron safe? Something like gold is glittering between the fretwork.'

That marble box! I had quite forgotten it. It must be about forty years since that day, when I first put my foot within the threshold of this room, dressed in the red silk of a bride with tinkling anklets on and anointed with sandal paste. That little box stood then

in that very place. Its colour was then like the fresh sea-foam, that crests the waves of the blue ocean: now it has taken on a yellowish tinge with the passage of time. I have gone on seeing it nearly every day of my life, but somehow it has escaped out of my memory.

I turned to Ranu and said, "Ranu, that was a fortunate reminder of yours. You might get the very thing you wanted in this marble box. It contains my wedding dress. I put it there the day I first made my appearance in this house and I have not touched it ever since. So long as your aunt Kalyani was alive, she used to take it out frequently, shake and fold it and make no end of it. But after her death nobody paid any attention to it any more. I will take it out for you, if the worms have left anything."

The box was secured by a small old-fashioned brass lock. I picked out its key after a good search among my large bunch of keys. I was doubtful whether the lock would yield to this rusty little key, but my fears proved to be false. I pulled up the lid.

Ranu cried out aloud in her delight, "Oh what a beauty! Rangadi, I have never seen the like of you! What do you mean by neglecting such a fine thing? It is a mercy that the worms have spared it. I see only two or three small holes. But it is still quite wearable. But how is it, that the box smells so beautifully of camphor?"

"Your aunt Kalyani used to keep chains of camphor beads in it."

"But what kind of an ornament is this, Rangadi? It looks like a chain of golden jasmynes. Such a thing, too, you have left uncared for in this old box? You do neglect your things, I must say that. I have a good mind to run away with it, but I know mother would give me a good slap if I took away such a costly thing. Do you know, ever since I lost that ugly old brooch of mine, mother does not let me touch a single thing. So Lakshmi will have to be content with tinsel ornaments this evening. But I must hurry, else I should be late for the party."

My granddaughter danced off the room, with the red sari. I remained seated on the floor, in front of the open box. Somehow I felt a great disinclination to get up.

Do not scorn it because it is an old

woman's life history. I too was young once. And do you know, my beautiful lady readers, that I too had a time, when peoples' eyes clung only to me, even if I stood among a thousand pretty girls?

(2)

I was born in an ancient aristocratic family. Looked at from the outside, we wanted nothing. We had unbounded wealth, a great ancestral house, retainers and servants innumerable. I was born after four brothers, so the usual want of notice and care, which a girl gets as her birth portion, never fell to my lot. For long time I enjoyed all the wealth of affection which an only baby among a family of grown ups had a right to expect. When my little nephews and nieces made their appearances, I assumed the role of aunt with due dignity and importance. My grandmother had named me Vidyut (Lightning). Many people give the name 'Lotus-eyed' to their blind children, but everybody with one accord declared that I had fully justified my name. You may be sure that I was quite conscious of the fact. I was as proud as anything of my brilliant complexion and beautiful face. My mother had a large mirror in her bedroom, and whenever I found her absent from her room, I went and stood before that mirror, admiring myself. I used to lean back my head and make the mass of my dark wavy hair touch the ground or dress it in as many fashions as I possibly could. Sometimes I held up my beautiful arms, white as alabaster and rounded as the stalk of a lotus to the golden morning light and gaze at them with eyes of wonder. From my very childhood I refused to put on any colours except red or dark blue—I was quite aware of the fact that these two colours enhanced the beauty of my fine complexion. My grandfather was alive then. He used to be greatly amused at my pride and say, "My dear, it will be a hard job to find out a suitable bridegroom for you, great beauty that you are. To my knowledge, there is only one person worthy of that honour, that being, my own humble self."

Though the scion of an old conservative family, my father cherished many modern theories and ideas. But as my grandfather was alive, he was unable to carry most of his theories into practice.

A great agitation was then going on in Bengal about the education of women. My father sided with the modern party, who stood in favour of it, but not daring to send any girls of his family to the new girls' school, he himself began to teach me and my two sisters-in-law. But the last mentioned young ladies favoured card playing and gossiping much more than they did their studies. They had to make a show of studying so as not to fail in proper respect to their father-in-law, but they could never keep to it for more than half an hour. There never was any want of excuses—either their babies began to cry or some household duty required their prompt attention. But I took to my studies from the beginning. I finished all the books my father had brought into the inner apartments, then began to make inroads at night upon my father's library which was situated in the outer apartments.

It was the custom of our family to marry the girls very early. My sisters-in-law too had been married in their childhood. But the old order changed in my case. As I was the only daughter of our house, neither my mother, nor my grandmother could live without me a single day. If anybody asked any questions about my age, they always gave me out to be three or four years younger than I really was and never failed to remark, "We give our girls in marriage early, not because we must but because we will. Nobody would dare to object if we did otherwise. We are a great Kulin family, many daughters of our house had remained unmarried their whole lives and nobody had anything to say."

So I was growing up, without any thought of my marriage. My grandmother sometimes reminded others that it was high time to think of my marriage, but she received but scant hearing. I used to hear that a suitable bridegroom was being sought for, but nobody seemed to be very energetic about it. As the people around us were mostly our tenants, they never said anything to our faces and if they said anything behind our backs, nobody brought it to our notice.

My eldest brother's marriage had taken place even before my birth, my second brother too had been married when I

was quite small. My third brother was considerably younger than the elder ones and now his marriage was about to be solemnised. My grandfather wished it to be a very grand affair, as he was doubtful whether he would live to see any other festive ceremony of the family.

The bride-elect was the daughter of a poor house, but as she was reported to be supremely beautiful, my grandfather consented to the match. After the bride had been formally seen and chosen, he came to me and said with a smile, "My dear, you think that your beauty stands unrivalled so you do not condescend even to look at this old fellow. As I am quite tired of your imperiousness, I am bringing home a greater beauty than even you."

I laughed at his words but somehow I felt a little uneasy in my mind. Was she really more beautiful? Well, let her come then I shall be able to judge.

The wedding itself was to be a very simple affair as the bride's father was a poor man. But the preparations that were being made for the reception of the bride in our house were meant to make up for all want of magnificence in the wedding. A great feast was to be given in our house then all the family together with an enormous number of friends, relations and guests, was to go out to a villa situated on the banks of the Ganges, and spend a festive week there. Ample provisions had been made for entertaining the guests with dance, music and theatrical performances.

The day of the home-coming of the bride arrived. The festal clamour in our house was great enough to be almost deafening. A band had struck up near the outer gate, and all the children had assembled there to listen to the music. My mother and my eldest sister-in-law were busy taking counsel together over the proper management of the various rites and ceremonies. Nobody seemed to have any time to spare and those who really did the least went about with the most anxious faces.

But what was I doing all this time? You would laugh if you knew. I was in my own room, taking out all the pretty saris I had and trying on every one of them to find out which suited me most. I was determined not to own defeat to another woman. At last I decided upon

a silk, whose colour was that of the clear autumnal sky and it was embroidered all over with golden stars. I let down my hair, which reached down to my ankles and kept it from blowing over my face, with a chain of sapphires tied across my brow. I did not put on many jewels as I was quite confident that my beauty needed but few aids. It took me a long time to finish dressing. Then coming out of the room, I mingled with all the girls and young women assembled near the entrance to the inner apartments.

Suddenly the sound of loud music broke upon our ears. The procession must be quite near. What a deafening uproar! The huge procession came on slowly and stopped before the outer gate. The silver palanquin, which bore the newly wedded pair, entered the inner court. I pushed my way to the front of my companions, as I was determined to have a good look at the bride. My mother advanced to receive the bride. I still see her in my mental vision, as she then appeared. She looked like the veritable queen of Kailasa, Parvatee herself, with the child Lakshmi in her arms. The girl bride was indeed beautiful! Her face seemed to be moulded out of fresh churned butter, her eyes were those of a startled fawn.

I was gazing at the bride in open-mouthed wonder and had forgotten even to be envious. One of my numerous cousins, named Kamalini, had been standing by me. All of a sudden, she remarked aloud "Well, I admit that the bride's face is beautiful, but as to complexion, she cannot hold a candle to our Vidyut. How grandfather exaggerates!"

Why, so it was! I came back to myself with a jerk. However pretty the face of the bride might be, I stood far superior to her in brilliance of complexion and wealth of hair. I now joined in the festive ceremonies with a tranquil mind. As I bowed down to the new bride, she looked at me with her big eyes full of wonder.

The old people of that district still talk about the magnificence of my third brother's wedding. It was truly unsurpassed there. After the great feast in the ancestral house, we started for the riverside villa in great state. A number of bullock carts started with the luggage, for my brother and his friends elephants ere procured, and last of all the ladies

came in their closed carriages. A crowd of servants brought up the rear.

It was already dark, when we reached our destination. We were unable to have any of the good outdoor walks, we had planned beforehand, as my mother insisted upon our having supper and retiring early. I and Kamalini shared one room, my sisters-in-law occupied the adjacent rooms.

"Quite early in the next morning, I was suddenly roused by a good shake from my second sister-in-law. As I opened my eyes, she cried out, "Now dear, do get up. Have you come here to sleep and eat? I heard that the garden had been much added to, many new beds have been planted and many fountains and marble seats have been made. Let us go and have a look at them."

Kamalini, who was already sitting up in her bed, now put in, while rubbing her still sleep-laden eyes: "But do you intend to start in the night? Why not go during the day? The garden won't run away you know."

My sister-in-law gave me a good tug as she replied, "My dear madam, do you think the men would vacate the garden in the daytime for your good pleasure and go and sit out in the fields? Not if I know them. If you want to see the garden, you must come now, while they are still asleep."

Kamalini gave way, and we got out for our walk. It was still chilly, so I wrapt myself in a green shawl and went out.

The garden was a very large one, and in no way resembled the small enclosure heavily laden with flowering plants in earthen jars, which we used to call a garden in our town house. This garden extended far and wide and I felt a bit afraid at first when I stepped into it. A wealth of flower appeared on every side, the pearly dew drops of the early dawn still fresh upon them. As we passed under the avenue of trees, our hairs faces and mantles became profusely sprinkled as from the wet skirts of the wood nymphs, who had just left their baths.

We had not advanced far, when Kamalini suddenly threw herself down upon a bank of green grass by the side of a fountain of coloured water and said in a decided manner, "I cannot walk any more, you may go on, but I shall return

to the house from this place, after I have rested a bit."

Our pleadings were in vain, so we two left her and moved on

A small hillock of jet black stones stood near by. It was covered all over with flowering creepers and shrubs, and a tiny stream of sparkling water had sprung out of its heart and was flowing down its side. It had formed into a little rivulet at the base of the hillock and had at last merged itself into a miniature lake, all aglow with a host of red lotuses.

We went and stood by the side of the hillock. My sister in law sat down upon a rustic bench which stood close by and said, 'Kamala was right after all. We should have gone back with her. My feet are aching all over and I am very tired. But look there sister, what glorious lotuses! Of all flowers, I think, they are the most beautiful.'

I had run into the habit of expressing an opinion upon every earthly subject so I at once put in, "Whatever you may say sister, I think *jesamine* the most beautiful. The lotus is, of course, superior in outward beauty, but as to sweetness of smell it must give way to the *jesamine*."

'Oh indeed! so outward beauty is no match for the inward one? That is some thing new from you. Up to now you were the greatest advocate for outward beauty, but now it seems "

My sister in law left off in the middle of a sentence, and looking round at her I saw her veil her face with the end of her sari and rise from her seat as in a hurry. Astonished at her behaviour I turned my eyes to the spot whence the surprise seemed to have come. Oh dear, some one had been sitting on the other side of the hillock, now he had risen up at the sound of our voices.

As I was the daughter of the house, I was quite unaccustomed to veil myself, as my sister in law at once did. And to tell the truth, even if I had been, it would never have entered my mind then. The moment, which stands as the One Moment of my life, was not to be wasted in that manner.

So long the word beauty denoted to me but my own beauty, but now I looked at the beauty of another. What a wonderful face it was! To me it seemed to

be even more beautiful than the face of the Greek statue which stood in the garden. To you it would be surprising that an ordinary Bengalee youth can possess such beauty. But remember that it was the first time that I looked at a man with the eyes of a woman. The rosy colour of the maiden's own heart lends the man a beauty which no man ever really possessed. So long I had been the petted and spoilt child of a wealthy house, and the men I had looked upon were but my brothers, uncles and other relations. But now had come the first Young Unknown, and as I gazed at him my childhood seemed to drop from me and was lost for ever.

He looked at me with no less wonder than I suppose I did. I thought of it later on, but not then. It was but for a moment, that we looked at each other. An almost imperceptible pressure of the hand from my sister in law, made me recover myself and I turned away with a start. He too at the same moment vanished behind the dark deodar avenue. Just then the eastern sky heralded the approach of the sun with its rosy blush. There was also another sunrise, in the sky of my young life, and I returned home steeped in the glory of its wonderful effulgence.

Entering my room, I went and stood before the mirror, almost unconscious of what I was doing. Vague and indistinct thoughts kept rushing into my mind, but I was unable to put them into shape. Suddenly a voice cried from behind me, "My dear young lady, you need not study your appearance so anxiously. It was stunning enough for that poor fellow. He is sure to fall down in a swoon after he reaches his room."

With a start I drew back from the mirror. Was it really for that purpose, which my sister in law so clearly defined that I had been standing before it? I cannot wholly deny it.

The great rejoicings and festivities of our house were unable to claim my attention. I did not fail to notice that Kamala and my second sister in law were having a good laugh at my expense, but in spite of many efforts I was quite unable to compose myself and appear like every one else. It is certain that none except those two above-mentioned ladies had any attention to spare for my unusual

behaviour, but I continually dreaded exposure before everybody.

A great feast had been arranged for that evening. The friends of my newly married brother sat down to it with him, along a long corridor in front of the kitchen. The elders took themselves away, so that the mirth of the young people might be unrestrained. Suddenly they proposed that the new bride must serve some food to them, otherwise they would decline to touch anything. Were the family preceptor and priest alone to have that privilege and were the friends of the bridegroom of no importance whatever? My mother and grandmother laughed at their clamour and said, "Very well, let the new bride serve a bit. It is quite proper for a new bride to appear before menfolk."

The bride was brought in, she was glittering all over with jewels and silks. A large silver ladle was handed to her, which she at once dropped in her nervousness. She was all a-tremble. My mother became anxious and said, "It would never do to send her alone before so many people. She will drop down of sheer nervousness, somebody must go along with her."

But who was to go? All the daughters-in-law of the house drew back, veiling themselves copiously. Kamalini, on being requested, cried out in dismay, "Oh dear, I could not do that for anything!"

Nobody moved. The clamour among the guests became uproarious. My grandmother jestingly said to mother, "Why not send me along with the new bride? The two brides of Bengal may very well serve together."

My mother laughed and answered, "That would be the best arrangement, if it only could be done. But we are getting late." Suddenly her eyes fell upon me and she called to me, "Come here dear, you go with the bride. Take firm hold of her, do not let her fall down."

"And take firm hold of yourself too, dear, see that you do not fall down yourself!" whispered Kamalini from behind.

I had been feeling nervous, but I pulled myself together in anger at her sarcasm and went out with the bride. The young men were seated in a long row, talking and laughing aloud. A sudden silence fell upon them as we appeared. The new bride served with the silver ladle and

I moved along with her. My legs were trembling with nervousness, and my face seemed to be on fire. But yet, in the midst of that overwhelming sense of shyness, I could not help looking up once. Another person, too, just looked up at that very moment.

My mother signed to us to come back as soon as we had passed along the whole row once.

The joyous festive week went on, but it had very little attention from me. Kamalini and my sister-in-law went on making jokes for a day or two, then they forgot everything about it.

A great musical performance was held on the last day of the week. A famous band of professional singers had been engaged for that purpose. The ladies took their seats behind silken curtains, while the friends of my brother sat down in front of them, so as to keep a bit apart from the older folk.

The ladies went on feeding their babies and taking stock of one another's dresses and ornaments as they listened to the singing. I too did not pay undivided attention to the music, but neither to the small talk around me.

A great shout of approval went up as a song came to an end. My grandfather threw his own shawl on the singer and others followed suit with many rich gifts.

Such unexpected good luck made that man greedy. He turned round to the ladies in an expectant attitude with joined palms. My mother gave me two golden 'moburs' and requested me to throw it out to him. I tied the two coins in my silk handkerchief, so that they might not get lost in the crowd and putting out my hand from behind the curtains, I threw it out in the direction of the singer.

But as good or bad luck would have it, the handkerchief, instead of falling before the singer, fell down among that crowd of young men, who had been sitting in front of us. One of them picked it up, and untying the coins presented it to the singer. But somehow the handkerchief remained in his own hands. Need I tell you, who it was? People grieve over lost property, but the joy I felt at losing that handkerchief, still remains unparalleled in my life. How long I had been gazing at that appropriator of other's

goods I cannot now tell but I came back to myself as the singing began again

The party broke up the next day The guests and relations departed to their homes and we too came back to our usual residence

But one marriage seemed to have reminded the whole family about the urgency of another Everybody became quite energetic all of a sudden to arrange a good match for me Professional match makers went in and out all the day long As I had arranged a match for myself I felt disgusted at their presence I did not know anything about that secret bridegroom of mine who he was where he lived or what he did but somehow a conviction had sprung up in my heart that to him and to none but him would I be given in marriage My knowledge amounted to this alone that his name was Manindra and this much too I had to wrest from Kamalini at the expense of a whole day's teasing

One evening I was seated before the window of my room and a single star was shining above the large neem tree which stood in front Suddenly my sister in law rushed laughing into the room and cried out, I have brought a piece of great good news What are you going to give me as a reward? You need not remain staring at the skies any longer a time is coming when the earth will have sufficient attraction for you

I understood quite well what she meant but as she was many years my senior I did not give any answer to her repartee and she went off laughing A feeling of mingled joy and fear arose in my heart causing a tremor in my whole body

A scene of immense bustle and noise began once more Jewellers goldsmiths carpenters and clothes merchants poured into our house from all quarters Mother one day remarked while talking to the ladies of the house This is my only daughter I will send her to her father in law's house with such a trousseau that the mother in law however clever she be would have a hard job of it trying to find out defects

Day after day passed on and the auspicious day approached But did not I have any fear or doubt? To whom was I going to trust myself? But as the first streak of light in the sky dispels a world of darkness so a single line which came to my

ears from the next room drove away all my doubts and fears An aunt of mine was talking to my mother Suddenly she asked But sister have they seen the bride? My mother laughed and said No sister we won't have to show the bride formally The bridegroom himself has seen her and chosen her while he was here as a guest in the wedding party of Bimal Need I tell you any more why my mind was free from any doubts?

A silk merchant came to our house to take orders for my wedding dress My mother called all my sisters in law to talk over things with We are old fashioned folks our tastes might not suit young people The young ladies gathered round the man in great enthusiasm I too was hauled along by them to be a member of their committee After a great deal of talking my eldest sister in law decided upon a deep crimson silk covered all over with gold embroidery which flashed as streaks of lightning It was specially to their liking as it matched my name I too liked the thing immensely and escaping to my room sat down hugging the thought to my bosom that the grievance I had of appearing in an ordinary dress before a certain person was likely to be soon remedied

On the day of the maidens feast in our house a large number of presents arrived from the bridegroom's house My sister in law while praising their taste and liberality remarked aside to me, You are lucky my dear your husband's family does not seem to be any poorer than your father's family

A large number of friends and relations soon arrived and I was scarcely left to myself even for a moment Then too I had to go about every day as I was constantly being invited by others

The day arrived at last A woman never loses the memory of her wedding day however old she might be neither have I

From the morning I had been sitting on a seat of sandal wood which was covered all over with leaves and flowers of *alpana* * Of that numerous gathering I alone was silent that day Now and then one of my sisters in law or cousins would peep in and go off smiling Nearly all the relations we had in every part of

* Ceremonial drawings on auspicious occasions on the floor wooden seats &c

the world, had arrived, but fresh ones still poured in. At the sound of approaching footsteps I looked up and saw my mother entering accompanied by an old lady. Mother came near and said, "Vidyut, this is my aunt, bow down to her." I did as I was bid; the old lady blessed me fervently, then turning to my mother, asked her, "The bride is truly called Vidyut, my dear, but how is the bridegroom? I hope they will be a well-matched pair?" I laughed in my heart how should that old lady know how supremely handsome the bridegroom was?

My mother answered, "What does outward beauty matter, dear aunt? My son-in-law Prasanna is not much to look at, but I tell you my daughter is lucky to get such a husband."

Prasanna! And not much to look at! What is this? The daylight suddenly became pitch dark in my eyes and the furniture of the room began to swirl round and round. The old lady shrieked out in alarm. I suppose I must have looked rather strange. My mother threw her arms about me and said, "She has been fasting all the day, she is feeling weak I think; come along with me dear and lie down, you need not sit here any longer." She went away after putting me to bed.

The joyous clamour around me sounded in my ears like the shrieks of the damned. I wished to cry out, but no tears came, instead something heavy as iron settled down upon my heart. It was a drama, worth seeing. The flash of lightning was seen admired by all but who knew where the thunderbolt struck? Truly, a woman's heart is hard, otherwise how did I bear, what I had to bear? A Hindu woman has at times to suffer in silence torments that would beat records of hell.

It was already evening, when a crowd of young girls burst into the room, and pulled me up from the bed. The bride must begin her toilette now. They went on dressing and adorning me to their hearts' content, while I sat like a statue. After chattering and toiling for nearly two hours, they finished their work. My eldest sister-in-law dragged me before a large mirror and cried out, "Now have a good look, see whether you like your own appearance, never mind about another's likings."

I looked up at my own image, reflected in the mirror. Yes, I was fittingly adorned. I seemed to be wrapt about in flames, and flames too raged in my heart. My dress shone and sparkled as if steeped in liquid fire, my wristlets, and necklet of diamond shot sparks of fire. I wished that the fiery borders of my silken cloth would truly become a flame and wrap me in its fatal embrace. I moved away from before the mirror. "Don't fall in love with your own image," mocked Kamalini. Fine indeed was my image! A great pang shot through my heart, as I remembered with what joyous hopes I had looked forward to this bridal toilette.

The bridegroom arrived. The women's rites, the reception of the bridegroom, all danced before my eyes like so many shadowy pictures. At the time of the "Auspicious Look," a large red silken cloth was thrown over our head. All requested us to look at each other and impelled by a sudden curiosity I looked up. A dark face was before me and eyes full of entreaty and love looked into mine. I dropped my eyes at once.

The marriage was over at last. We then took our seats in a large room, lighted up with great hanging lamps and chandeliers and crowded to the full with girls and women. Their laughter and jokes knew no bounds. A flood of joyousness seemed to have swept over the assembly. The friends of the bridegroom were waiting outside and constantly sending to ask permission to come in and have a look at their friend's bride. At last they got the required permission. The ladies for the most part drew back with veiled faces behind the giant bedstead and a few escaped out of the room and peeped through the windows. A large number of young men burst into the room with joyous shouts. They had their fill of jests and jokes, then began slowly to retire one by one, as the wedding supper was about to commence. When nearly all had departed, some one suddenly pushed into the room and came and stood before us. I looked up. I felt as if I would drop down from my seat in a swoon and my hands and feet turned cold as ice. Somehow I recovered myself. My third brother came forward and addressing my husband said, "Prasanna, Manindra has come to see you." My husband looked at the visitor with a

smile of welcome Manindra came nearer and taking out of his pocket a parcel wrapped in flimsy blue paper, said, 'Friend, I have brought a little present for your wife I did not put it down with the other presents, as it would be quite lost in that magnificent array.' Saying this he took off the wrapping and taking out a chain of gold put it into my trembling hands. It was a garland of jesamines, some cunning work man had copied nature very faithfully in gold. My husband answered back laughingly, but I did not hear what he said. I looked up once more. He too, spoke his farewell in a long look, then disappeared in the rapidly thinning crowd. The traveller who had first stepped into my young life in the rosy blushing dawn, now went out of it for ever in the red glare of festive lamps and through a noisy festal crowd.

The ladies again thronged into the room. Kamalini took the golden chain off my hands and put it round my neck remarking, "It is certainly of Cuttack workmanship. Our goldsmiths are not up to such work."

It was already midnight, when we at last found ourselves alone. My husband tried to make me speak but in vain, and at last laid himself down to sleep. The hanging lamps went out one by one flickering and spluttering. I sat still on my bed throughout that long night. Sleep refused to come to the aid of my tortured heart.

The next day I left the home of my childhood and stepped out with a stranger for a strange home. The most auspicious and joyous day in a woman's life ended for me in a flood of tears.

A warm welcome was waiting for me in the new home. But I seemed to have become an unfeeling automaton, I moved about as others made me move, and heard without answer the thousand remarks and questions which flew about me. The gladness and joy which I witnessed in others served only to petrify my heart more and more.

The bustle and noise subsided a little in the evening. Two or three girls of the house then conducted me to my bedroom and kindly left me there to rest. As soon as they were out of the room, I tore off my wedding finery and putting out the single lamp which was burning in a corner I

flung myself down on the bare cold floor of the room.

How long I had been lying there I have no idea, but somebody's sudden entrance into my room made me sit up. It was a young girl of about eighteen dressed in the white garb of a widow. Her face was beautiful though she was dark in complexion. Her loose curly hair blew about her face, her eyes looked like veritable springs of sadness. It seemed as if this young maiden had just stepped out of the arms of the goddess of evening with her calm and sad beauty.

She bowed down to me and then sat down by me. She took my hand in hers and said, 'I am one of your numerous nieces, my dear aunt. I am named Kalyani. You did not see me till now, because I have lost the right to show my face at auspicious events. Your husband sent me to you thinking you must be feeling lonely. But why are you sitting in the dark and on the floor. Please get up and sit on the bed.'

The laughter and light all around had been only increasing the burning pain in my heart. The sad face of this girl some what comforted me. The tears now came, I wept and wept and could not restrain myself at all.

Kalyani put her arms about me and began to comfort me. 'Don't cry dear,' she said, 'the pangs of separation from one's parents are keen indeed, but you will get accustomed to it. Women have to suffer far harder things I, too, thought once that I shall not be able to rise up from the earth any more, but see I am going about now like everybody else.' Then suddenly she stood up and cried, 'But let such things go. We must not talk about them on this auspicious day. Let me arrange your room. Why have you put out the light.'

Kalyani lighted the lamp again and moved about the room putting every thing in its place. Suddenly she came upon my wedding sari, thrown upon the floor. She picked it up and cried 'Why have you flung it here dear? Well, I will put it up for you. The old women here say that one must not wear one's wedding dress twice. It is to be kept in a box and when torn, should be thrown into water.'

She folded the thing carefully and then pointing out a box of marble to me, said, 'Do you see that box over there, by the

side of the big iron safe? I put it there in the morning. It is my present to you. I have got nothing else. That one was given to me by my husband. Will you keep your wedding dress in it? It will then remain apart from your other things."

I assented. Kalyani put the dress there and went out. After a few minutes, she re-entered with a few chains of camphor beads in her hand. These she arranged about the rich crimson silk. Suddenly I got up and snatching that garland of jesamines from my neck, flung it into the box.

"Why do you put it there?" asked Kalyani in astonishment. "It should go into the jewel box, you will have to take it out frequently."

"No," I said, "let it remain there, I will never take it out again. When I fling the wedding dress into water, this too shall accompany the dress."

Kalyani looked at me for a minute, with her wonderful eyes, then said, "Very well, let it remain there."

(3)

"Rangadi!"

Young Vidyut, with her slender graceful figure and wristlets and necklet of diamond, vanished into air. Oh dear, it

was already dark and the lamps have not yet been lighted. I have been dreaming with my eyes open. I have forgotten too about the children's supper. Ranu too has come back from her friend's house.

I got up from the floor and asked with a smile, "Now darling, how many persons lost their senses over the entrancing beauty of Lakshmi?"

"There now Rangadi, you have begun again. Who is to faint at my sight pray? I don't think there is any one idiotic enough for that purpose. Now take back your sari, I have folded it so carefully that not the faintest sign appears of its having been worn. Let us go and put it back in that box."

We went and stood before the box. "See here Rangadi," cried Ranu, while putting back the sari, "the smell of camphor has nearly disappeared. It was but a little while ago, that we opened the box. How fast it went! The camphor beads have gone long ago, the fragrance too now follows in their wake, but see, the box of marble is still the same."

"My darling," I answered, "fragrance stays with us only for a brief while, then it becomes one with the air. But the stone knows no change, it remains for ever."

SEETA DEVI.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Problem of the Indian States.

The article recently contributed by Mr K. M. Panikkar to the 'Modern Review' is a very opportune one and draws the attention of the public towards a very important question. For one reason or another, political bodies like the Congress and the League have treated the States with a sort of studied indifference or neglect; nor has the Press, except when it means to read a sermon to the British Government by trotting out the administrative efficiency of certain States, been more generous.

This is not as it should be. The destinies of British India are indissolubly bound up with those of the States and whatever happens in one part of the country cannot but profoundly affect the other. Hence, if the people of what is at present called British India mean to make any considerable political advancement, they cannot afford to let the States lag behind.

The people of the States are generally extremely

anxious for political rapprochement with British India. But they cannot voice their wishes. As has been aptly remarked, there is no Arms Act in the States but at the same time there is no liberty of the Press. As was recently remarked by the Viceroy at the installation of the H. H. The Maharaja of Bharatpore, the fact of their protection by the British Government gives the rulers of these States an immense power over their subjects. This naturally makes them very autocratic and experience shows that so long as a Ruling Prince can manage to retain the good will of British political officers, he can do pretty much as he likes. Thus the subjects of a State, if they mean to make their voices heard, have to deal not only with their own immediate ruler but the British Government as well. This is why Indian India presents the appearance of a politically inert mass. There is plenty of seething, surging life beneath this dead calm. Let the political leaders of British India, experienced in the ways of public life, turn their attention to this as yet

untapped reservoir of potential energy and they will be doing an immense service to the whole country, Indian and British.

I shall now consider the solution which in Mr Panikkar's opinion will probably commend itself to the National Executive when British India finally gets Home Rule. Obviously, we cannot afford to retain all the seven hundred and odd States in their present status, at the same time, Mr Panikkar considers any attempt to follow the Italian policy of 'political dispossession' impolitic. He, therefore, proposes to mete out differential treatment as regards the bigger and the smaller states. He does not exactly define what he means by the former, nor is such definition easy. Mysore, for instance, notwithstanding its obvious importance, is in some respects far below many States which are inferior to it in area, population revenue etc. Since the Rendition of Mysore, the British Government has expressly retained for itself the right of intervention in internal administration which it has equally expressly denied to itself in the treaties which regulate its political relations with most other States. Again States whose treaties were negotiated previous to 1813 have generally a higher status than those whose treaties were negotiated after that date. The former class of treaties approximate somewhat to international rules and the word 'protection' does not enter into them.

But when the final re-adjustment is taken in hand such distinctions will have to be ignored and all Treaty States—their numbers not large—will have to be placed in the same class. Mysore, though properly only a Sannad State, will go with them. Some of the other Sannad States, for instance, those whose rulers are at present entitled to a salute of 11 guns or more and consequently styled Their Highnesses, will also form members of the same group. These will have absolute internal autonomy, as Mr Panikkar suggests, it being understood that sovereignty will in every case be taken to be vested in the people who may, on the principle of self-determination, elect to retain the Ruling Houses as essential parts of their constitutions.

Now we come to the smaller or Non Treaty States. Mr Panikkar suggests that they should be 'mediatized'. His use of this term is unfortunate and calculated to cause some confusion. As a matter of fact, the smaller States include among their number Sannad States, mediatized States, guaranteed chief ships and so on. Technically, a mediatized State is one whose immediate Suzerain is not the British Government but some other State with which all the political relations of the former are carried on through the British Government. For instance, Narasinghgarh in Central India is a mediatized State. It pays a tribute of about Rs 80,000 to Indore but all political relations between the two States are carried on through British political officers. There are several States of this kind, specially in Central India and Gujarat. Many of them are fairly big and important so far as area, population and revenue go. The only peaceful and practical solution seems to be to put them in the same class as the former and get the questions of suzerainty and tribute waived aside on terms which, while honourable to the smaller States, should be equitable as well and somehow or other recompense the bigger States for the financial losses they will have to undergo.

Guaranteed estates are simply jagirs whose owners have been guaranteed by the British Government against alienation by the States under which

the jagirs are. This is clearly an unjust arrangement. They should all be made over to the States concerned the healthier public life and public control over State acts introduced by the new arrangements will be guarantee enough against improper alienation and confiscation.

Even when all this is done, there will be left a fairly large number of small Sannad States, estates, jagirs, which have no direct suzerain but the British Government which guarantees them the exercise of such sovereign powers as it thinks compatible with their Laltiputan territories. In essence such territories, which are, for political reasons, treated as foreign dominions are nothing but glorified Zemindaries and the sooner this fact is realized and acted upon, the better it will be for all concerned. The potentates of those minor chiefships should be bought off, if I may say so. Let them retain their hereditary titles and personal property; let them moreover be acknowledged as the Zemindar proprietors of their re-called States but let them be divested of all ruling powers except such honorary ones as the supreme Government may choose to delegate to them in virtue of their social position and local influence.

If this plan were adopted our problem would be much simplified and I think further simplification would come of itself when once the ball is set rolling. It is quite possible that in the near future the people of some States with counterpoised frontiers and great affinities religious racial or historical may evince a desire to unite under a common government. Under the new scheme of things we are contemplating they would be quite free to do so. Similarly the people of certain States might not improbably wish to be joined to what are now British provinces. We may confidently anticipate such adjustments in Rajasthan, Central India, Kathiawar and Gujarat if anywhere else.

But in any case we shall, so far as we can see be left in the end with a number of large autonomous provinces and larger number of comparatively smaller but fairly important autonomous States. Who is to adjust their mutual relations and carry on business of national importance in the name of the country as a whole?

The most reasonable plan seems to be that the Supreme council, no matter what name it has should consist of members chosen by a system of direct election from all parts of the country. The details can be worked out very easily. The States will have to contribute towards Imperial or National funds just like the provinces and, naturally, should be in a position to make their weight felt in the council of the country. The Supreme Executive will also then be representative of and responsible to, the country as a whole and have the right, in its dealings with other countries, for instance the Imperial Government of Great Britain to speak in the name of the whole country.

Much spade work will no doubt have to be done before we can arrive at anything like the peaceful solution outlined above. The people of backward States have to be roused from their torpid apathy and those of advanced States taught the principles and practice of constitutional public life. The body of Ruling Princes and Ruling Chiefs has to be convinced that in these days of democratic triumph their best interests lie in falling in with this plan which while it safeguards all their dignities, personal properties and social status and gives them an important place in the body politic, relieves

them of many responsibilities which it is now humanly impossible for them to undertake. All this will have to be done by leaders of public opinion in British India and done soon.

But the task is not so difficult as it seems. The great public leaders, men like Mahatma Gandhi, for example, have a very strong following in the States, though perhaps, they themselves are not aware of this fact. Many of them are respected by prince and peasant alike and a few, if this be any criterion of leadership are apparently as much objects of dislike to certain Princes as they are to certain

Government officers. A good deal of work has been unostentatiously done by newspapers, specially vernacular newspapers, and intercourse with British India for religious, commercial and other non-political purposes is another educative agency. All that is required is the turning of public attention towards this question. If this is done, I have no doubt a statesmanlike solution satisfactory to all parties concerned, will be arrived at in the near future.

SAMUEL NATHAN, B.Sc., L.T.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

POTATO CULTIVATION IN WESTERN INDIA

It is a nice little illustrated brochure issued by the Union Agency in Bombay. This Agency deals in seeds, manures and implements. The brochure contains useful informations about the crop, methods of securing good quality of seeds, their storage difficulties, etc. One gets really puzzled at the long list of the enemies of the crop both in the field as well as in the storehouse. Mr Keatinge, Director of Agriculture Bombay Presidency, has very truly said in his address (Appendix III). Even taking the skilled agricultural practice of the cultivators for granted their welltilled and carefully levelled fields, their energy and industry in the irrigation and treatment of the crop, there still remain a large number of complex problems for the chemist, mycologist and entomologist to solve before the crop can be grown and marketed with success. The aim of the Agency in starting their potato work is to tackle these problems from various standpoints. Though this special business of the Agency was planned sometime ago the immediate cause of its development was due to an order for a very large quantity of seed potatoes which were needed by Government for cultivation in Mesopotamia at the end of the last year. Government have been very liberal in their help in the shape of financial grant as well as of expert advice from an authority like Dr Mann. Mr Keatinge, the Director of Agriculture, did everything that lay in his power for the furtherance of this work. This work comprises fumigating chambers, sorting houses, storage chambers, etc. It has so far cost over Rs 24,000 and a further sum of Rs 25,000 have been spent by the firm on organisation and research. A seed testing Laboratory is shortly to be added to the works. Besides tackling the above problems the authorities are also designing improvements in the implements used in Potato cultivation and are experimenting with various manure mixtures with the assistance of Dr Mann and Government have just provided funds to pay the salary of a chemist to assist the firm for a period with their manure business. It is interesting to know that in course of a few months only 800 tons of seed potatoes and 600 tons of other seeds have passed through this section of the Agency. If such firms spring up in large

numbers in a Province its Agricultural Department is greatly relieved of much of its quasi-commercial work and can thus liberate its energy for research and further propaganda work in new tracts.

Mr Keatinge has paid a high tribute to Mr A. B. Modak, the energetic proprietor of the firm. Mr Modak was a student of the Poona Agricultural College and has happily devoted his education to a new sphere. We wish him and his business all success.

DEBENDRANATH MITRA

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE WANDERING TEACHERS AT THE TIME OF THE BUDDHA, by Bimalacharan Law, M.A.

It is a short paper which originally appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. We were glad to read Mr. Law's article on the six heretic teachers in Buddhist literature, but his present paper is not so good. The subject matter has been treated very lightly or superficially and it does not show that the author has studied the subject adequately. We are not satisfied with what he has given us here. It is said that philosophy was the Brahmins was "a mere Lokayatra (way of life)" and in support of it Kautilya's Arthashastra, p. 6 (Eng. trans.) has been quoted, but it will be evident from both the original text and its translation that the passages referred to have been misunderstood. The only useful portion of the article is the Appendix giving the list of wandering teachers and their topics of discussion. Some light on a few points of the subject may be had from the introduction pp. (49), (55) to the *Bhikkhu* and *Bhikkhuni* Patimokkha by the present reviewer.

SEARCH OF OLD SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS, by K. A. Shastri, Baroda Central Library.

It is an article reprinted from the 'Library Miscellany' of Baroda. The author is possessed of personal experience of twenty-five years throughout India regarding the subject dealt with in it. It furnishes useful informations and gives good suggestions.

V BHATTACHARYA

PRESIDENT WILSON THE MODERN APOSTLE OF FREEDOM. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras. Rupees one.

This collection of some of Dr. Woodrow Wilson's

speeches on world's freedom will be appreciated by all lovers of liberty. Dr Wilson is undoubtedly at present the least nationally selfish statesman in the world. He leads the van of the world's democracy and possesses a moral ascendancy with which no other statesman is blessed. The book is embellished with a portrait of the American president, and contains a foreword by Dr S. Subrahmaniam and a biographical sketch by Mr K. Vyasa Rao.

C.

SAMKHYA SYSTEM, by A. B. Keith D.C.L., D.Litt., Published by Association Press, Calcutta. Pp 199. Price—Paper edition Rs 8, Cloth edition Rs 15.

This book belongs to "the Heritage of India Series" which is being published under the joint editorship of The Right Reverend V. S. Azariah Bishop of Dornakal, and J. N. Farquhar M.A., D.Litt. (Oxon).

We have been given to understand that this series has been planned by a "group of Christian men. Whenever a non-Christian book is edited and published by a 'group of Christian men', our countrymen have reasons to believe that it will be characterised by the rarity of Christian charity. But here there is an exception to the general rule. The book under review is sympathetic as well as scholarly. And this is what we expected from the translator of the *Taittiriya Samhita* and a joint author of the *Svedic Index*.

The book is divided into 8 chapters viz.—(i) Samkhya in the Upanishads (ii) The Samkhya in Buddhism (iii) The Philosophy of the great epic and the origin of Samkhya. (iv) Samkhya and Yoga. (v) The Sāṅkhya tāntres. (vi) Greek Philosophy and the Samkhya. (vii) The Samkhya Sāṅkha (viii) The Later Samkhya.

All the chapters are well written and should be carefully studied. It is a valuable production and is recommended to our countrymen.

EARLY INDIAN THOUGHT: by Dorothea Jane Stephen, S. Th. Published by the Cambridge University Press. Pp 176.

According to our learned authoress "The love of money has been the besetting sin of the Brahmins from time immemorial" (p. 17). *The lady is a keen observer!*

Addressing a rishi she says—"Alas poor chanter of hymns! Like all Indians he is confused by his own metaphors" (p. 30). *The lady is compassionate!*

Commenting on the mantra—Indra said I am Praṇa meditate on me as the conscious Self as Life as Immortality, she remarks—"we cannot help wondering what has come over our old friend Indra whose merry days by Soma rats seem here to have become strangely remote" (pp. 46-47). *The lady is witty!*

Commenting on the quarrels among the senses described in the Upanishads she writes—"We can scarcely suppose that we are not meant to be amused at the dilemma of the quarrelsome senses, their six years of comfort and the final catastrophe when they find themselves on the point of suffocation" (p. 45). *How perfect her understanding!*

She continues—

"This is a sample of playfulness that meets us

continually in the Upanishads and in all Indian writings. *How vast her reading!*

She goes on—

"It is not the attitude of men engaged in a search the end of which is life or death to them; a seeker after truth may be playful and generally is so, over side issues, he may be humorous with a somewhat bitter irony over the main issue and wonderful per verity of things." *How beautifully she moraliseth!*

Then she concludes—But this vein of gentle mockery at the heart of religious speculation is a peculiarly Indian characteristic (p. 49). *How charitable!*

It is a pity that the Cambridge University Press should have undertaken the publication of such trash.

SHRI RUPALA by A. B. N. Sinha. Published by Khadgamis Press, Bankipur. Pp 191. Price. Library edition Rs 1-8, People's edition Rs 1.

It is a short sketch of H. S. Holness Shri Valshya varatna Swami Shri Sitarum Sharan Bhagwan Prasadji Rupala of Ayodhya, written by his disciple Mr Sinha.

The book contains 11 chapters viz.—(1) A devout family (2) The Vidya (3) The Householder (4) The Bhakta (5) The Author (6) The Miracles (7) The Vraṭa (8) A day at Rupala Kany (9) Shri Janki Navami (10) A wonderful personality (11) Some personal Reminiscences and an appendix containing Mr Justice Jwala Prasad a tribute.

A saintly life.

JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY, AMALNER Vol. 3 July 1918. Pp 141-205. Annual Subscription Rs 4, Price per copy Rs 1.

The journal is published by an Editorial Committee of which the President is Mr S. K. Mitra M.A. and members are Pandit Sriyada Sastri, Mr G. R. Mahalan M.A. and Mr N. C. Ghosh.

This number contains the following articles—(1) Nietzsche and Tolstoy concerning Morality and Religion by A. G. Widgery. (2) The Rhythmic Romanticism of Hegeler and the Poetic Romanticism of Dilthey by S. K. Mitra. (3) Mysticism by G. R. Mahalan. (4) Some parallels between Plato and Sankara by N. C. Ghosh. (5) Advaitism and Nihilism by A. R. Mahalan. (6) Thoughts preceding and leading up to Plato by N. C. Ghosh besides reviews, notes and one vernacular essay by Pandit Sriyada Sastri.

We wish the review a long and useful life.

THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW, edited by Professors A. G. Widgery and R. D. Ranade. Published for the Indian Philosophical Association by A. G. Widgery, the College, Baroda. Vol. 11 No. 3 January 1919. Pp 193-233.

This issue contains—(1) Sankhya Philosophy by Dr R. G. Bhandarkar. (2) James Ward's Pluralistic Theism by Professor S. Radha Krishnan. (3) Hindu Esotericism by V. D. Mehta. (4) History of Conservation of values by A. G. Widgery. (5) Conception of the Mahdi by Fazl Shah Ghani followed by critical notices and short reviews.

It contains useful articles and should be patronised. The annual subscription is Rs. 6 (10s. 6d.) and a single copy Rs. 1-8 (2s. 6d.).

MANEVI CH. GHOSH.

SANSKRIT-HINDI

RIGMANTRAYAKHYA by Bhagarat-datta Model Press, Anarkali, Lahore Pp 344 Price Annas 5

Swami Dayananda Sarasvati, the illustrious founder of the Aryasamaj could not complete his commentary on Rigveda, it being written by him only up to the 61st Sakta of the Mandala VII. Some of those remaining Mantras of the Rigveda have been explained here in Hindi by the author strictly following the Swami's and collecting the material chiefly from his commentaries upon both the Rig and Yajurveda. We fully appreciate it but think that it will interest none but the Arya Samajists.

VIHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT.

SANNYASANIERNALA Of Vallabhacharya with Eight Commentaries and Gujarati Translation edited by Mulchandrar T Telivala B A LLB, and Dhirajlal V Sankalia, B A LLB Varkis, High Court Bombay Khakhar Building C P Tank Girgaon, Bombay Pp 8+53+32 Price One Rupee

Of the sixteen sacred books of Vallabhacharya, Sevaphalam and Nirodhalakshanam edited by the present editors have already been noticed by us in this Review. The book lying on our table forms the fourteenth volume of the great teacher's works referred to. The circumstances under which sannyasa (renunciation) may be taken by the aspirant are discussed here, as the very title of the book implies. We heartily thank Messrs Telivala and Sankalia for this publication which should be read by all who are really interested in the Bhaktimarga.

PANDAVAVIJAYAM by Hemachandra Ray, Kavibhushana, M A Professor of Sanskrit, Edward College, Patna (Bengal) Price—Re 1

As regards knowledge of Sanskrit the graduates of the Calcutta University are generally, we believe, inferior to those of the Bombay or Madras University. In this state of things it is very gratifying to see a kavya like the present one from the pen of a graduate of that university. It appears from what we see in it that in writing Sanskrit or in composing kavya in it, Prof Ray has perhaps no equal among his fellow graduates. The book under notice is a Mahakavya of twelve cantos according to the rules laid down by the Sanskrit rhetoricians. The subject matter may be known by the title, i.e., Pandava-

Charitam, the Adventures of the Pandavas. Prof Ray is the author also of other five kavyas. We admire him.

SHRIKRISHNADHAKTI by Gandarao Harumanlarao Talapadator, Kamanakalla, House no 3007, Dharwar Pp 85 Price—Re 1-4

There is a book named 'Nine-fold Devotion' (नवविधा भक्ति) by Lakshmana Ramachandra. The characteristic of devotion as given therein is, according to Pandit Gandarao, not sufficient and that has led him to write the present treatise in refutation of the former. Our author is an acute dualist follower of the Madhva doctrine and from that point of view he has advanced his argument as usual, there being nothing new. The book is written unsystematically and the language is defective as regards grammar.

VIHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

GUJARATI.

(1) **PRANAYA LILA** (प्रणयलीला) by Balkari published by Lakshmishankar Mahashanker Joshi, proprietor of the Lakshman Sahitya Granthalaya, Bombay, printed at the Shujapura Luhana Steam Printing Press, Baroda Paper cover pp 43 Price—Rs 8 (1918) (2) **RAJALTO RAJHANSA** (राजदत्तो राजदत्त), by Do Do Paper cover pp 184 Price—Rs 1-12 (1918)

These are two novelettes of the most ordinary kind, stuffed with impossible and emotional incidents sure to delight the masses, if they care to buy them at these exorbitant prices.

SWAMI RAMTIRTHA NA SADUPDESHA (स्वामी राम तीर्थ ना सदुपदेश), translated by Kripashanker Becharlal Pandit and two others, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Press, Ahmedabad Second Edition, Cloth bound, pp 462 Price—Rs 2 (1919)

This is the second volume of the speeches &c. of Swami Tirtha. The very fact that it has run into a second edition shows the popularity that the publication has attained and the hold it has taken of the people's minds. The translation is well executed.

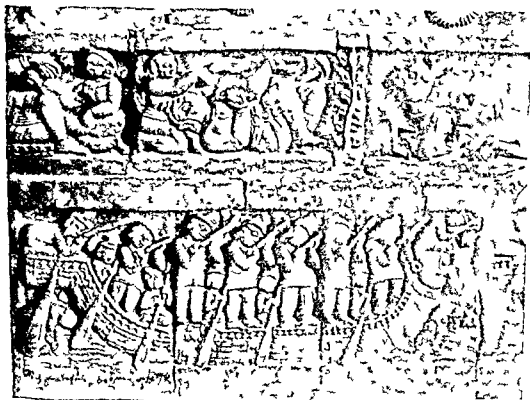
K M J

A NOTE ON THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF BISHNUPUR

(Concluded)

THE late Babu Balindranath Singh of Indas, a scion of the Raj family and a finished scholar, enumerates the following causes of the decay and downfall of the

Bishnupur Raj (1) The Maratha raids, (2) the famine of 1770, (3) the imposition of a crushing land-tax by the British Government, (4) family dissensions. These are the



Boat with armed soldiers for Jagannath Temple Bishnupur

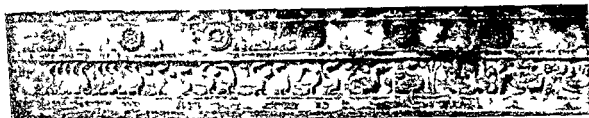
immediate causes of dissolution but the following are according to him the indirect causes which hastened the catastrophe (5) the adoption of the Vaishnav cult and its corollary (6) the construction of costly temples putting a heavy strain on the financial resources of the kingdom. He observes "The adoption of the Vaishnavite creed though it marked a brilliant epoch in the history of Mallabhum did not fail to exercise an enervating influence upon the royal followers. Of all religions the Vaishnavite creed is the most incompatible with sword and sceptre, pagantry and pride, bloody strife and fierce justice. There were indeed monarchs great in arms and in piety. But before long symptoms of imbecility which could be attributed only to a religious frame of mind made themselves manifest. He attempts to prove the truth of this observation by citing instances from the royal family of Bishnupur after their conversion to Vaishnavism. This short account of the Bishnupur

Raj may be fittingly brought to a close by one or two extracts from the accounts of Abbe Raynal and Governor Holwell but it is far to add that Mr Grant in his *Analysis of the Finances of Bengal* written in 1787 doubted the existence of a state which seemed to realise the fable of the golden age.

The singular situation of the country [Bishnupur] has preserved to the inhabitants their primitive happiness and the gentleness of the character by securing them from the danger of being conquered or subjugating their hands in the blood of their fellow creatures. Liberty and property are sacred in Bishnupur. Robbery either public or private is never heard of. As soon as any stranger enters the territory he comes under the protection of the laws which provide for his security. He is furnished with guides at free cost who conduct him from place to place and are answerable for his person and effects. These maxims of probity are so generally received that they direct even the operations of Government. Out of between seven and eight millions (about 330,000£ on an average) it annually receives without injury to agriculture or trade what is not wanted to supply the unavoidable expenses of the State is laid out in improvements. The Raja is en-



Peacock and Creeper outer wall Radha Shyam Temple Bishnupur



Duck poses Madan Mohan Temple Bishnupur

abled to engage in these humane employments as he pays the Moguls only what tribute and at what times he thinks proper (Abbe Raynal translated from the French by J Justamond 1777)

Holwell in his *Interesting Historical Events* printed in 1765 says much to the same effect, and adds

from the happiness of his situation he [the Raja of Bishnupore] is perhaps the most independent Raja of Indostan he can hardly be said to owe any allegiance to the Mogul or Subah he some years deigns to send to the Subah an acknowledgment by way of salaamy (or present) of 15 000 rupees some times 20 000 and some years not anything at all as he happens to be disposed But in truth it would be almost cruelty to molest these happy people for in this district are the only vestiges of the beauty partly regularity equity and strictness of the Indostan Government There are in this

precinct no less than three hundred and sixty considerable Pagodas or places of public worship erected by this Rajah and his ancestors Bishnupore the capital and chief residence of the Rajah and which gives a name to the whole district is also the chief seat of trade the produce of the country consists of Sal timbers (a wood equal in quality to the best of our oak) dammer lacca an inferior sortment of raw silk and coppos and grain sufficient only for their consumption it is from this district that the East India Companies are chiefly supplied with the article of shell lacca

The city was strongly fortified by a long connected line of curtains and bastions measuring seven miles in length, with small circular ravelins connecting many of the curtains Within this outer line of fortifications lies the citadel, and



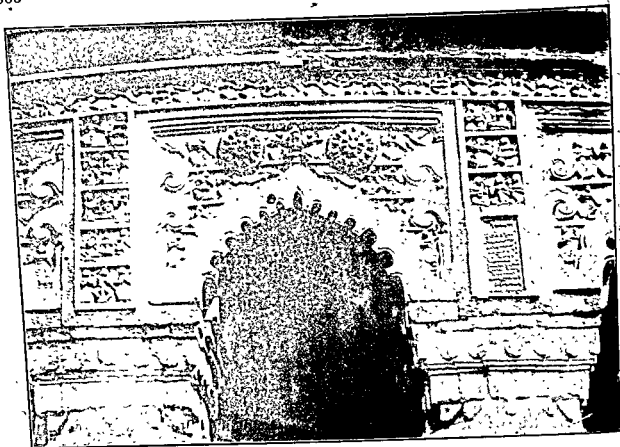
Women paying on Guttars Madan Mohan Temple Bishnupur

with it again the Raja's residence an insignificant pile of brick buildings surrounded by majestic ruins. The following is a list of the twelve dated temples in chronological order —

Date in Malla Year	Date A D	Name of Temple	By whom built
978	1621	Malleswar	B r (Hamb r) S ngh but probably com- pleted by h s son who reigned a th 4 yea
949	1643	Shyam Ra	Ragbunath S ngh son of B r amb r
961	1655	Jor Bangla	— D tto
962	1656	Kala Chand	— D tto
964	1658	La	— B S ngh son of Ragbunath
971	1665	Madan Gopal	S raman Queen of the last Ra a
971	1665	Mural Mohan	D tto (called Chura- man a the mer p- t out)
1000	1694	Madan Mohan	Durjan S ngh
1032	1726	Jor Mans r	Probably Gopal S ngh
1035	1729	Radha Gov nda	Er shna S ngh son of the last Ra a
1043	1737	Radha Madhava	Churaman Queen of the last Raja
1064	1758	Radha Shyam	Ch a tanya S ngh

According to Dr Bloch these temples are the most complete set of specimens of the peculiar Bengali style of temple

architecture. The temple consists of a square building with a covered roof with one tower rising in the centre either alone or surrounded by other smaller corner towers. According to the number the temples are called *pancharatna* *navaratna* (five towered nine towered) &c. The temples face the south and are decorated on the front with carved brick panels and the other walls are also similarly decorated on the front with carved brick panels and the other walls are also similarly decorated in some cases. There are open galleries around and inside the temples is the sanctuary with the altar of the god. Stairs lead up to the towers of the roof. Four distinct types may be distinguished. The first has a single square tower and is represented by the Malleswar temple. The second has a single tower resting on a square building with the curved Bengali roof the best examples of this type in brick are Madan Mohan and in laterite Lalji and Radha Shyam. Of the *pancharatna* type with five towers on the same building the best example in brick is the Shyam Rai temple and in laterite the Madan Gopal temple. The fourth type is the Jor Bangla (Double Bungalow) type so named because two buildings shaped

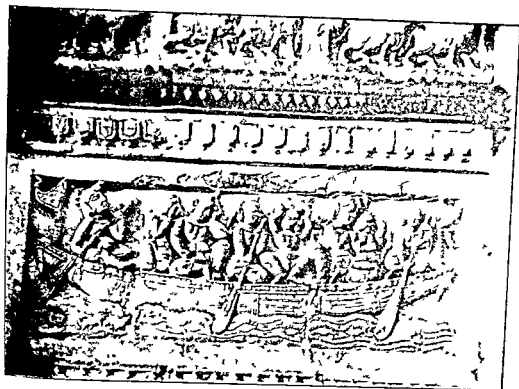


Gateway Sculptures—Radha Madhav Temple, Bishnupur.

like Bengali huts are joined together, surmounted by a small tower. A fine bird's-eye-view of the park-like scenery around, with the lakes and the river Dwarakeswar in the distance, may be had from the roof of this temple. The Shyam Rai is perhaps the oldest specimen of the *pancharatna* type that exists in Bengal. Nowhere outside Bengal has this style of temple architecture been found, and owing to the late date of all the existing specimens, it is difficult to decide whether it existed at all in pre-Muhammadan times. The Shyam Rai and the Jor Bangla have also the finest specimens of carved titles, the walls being richly covered with carvings in brick. Some of the floral designs on the southern front of the temples are exceedingly beautiful, and in the group of temples on the south of the Lal Bandh a few specimens of the Gaudhar style of sculpture are to be met with. The Rash mancha, outside the fort, consists of a square chamber surrounded on each side by three galleries with arched openings and covered by a large pyramidal roof. The tradition is

that all the local deities used to be brought here for the celebration of the Rash carnival of the Vaishnavs. There are, or were, Bhog-mandirs or kitchens attached to all the temples where food for the deity was cooked and distributed among all the Brahmins of the town.

The carvings represent religious scenes taken from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, e.g., episodes from the life of Rama and Krishna and of the eight other Avatars or incarnations of Vishnu, and there are also hunting and wrestling scenes, royal and religious processions, Vaishnav *Sankirtan* parties, warriors, ascetics, women dancing and playing on various musical instruments, Krishna and Radha sailing on pleasure-boats, and all the varied incidents of the social life, sometimes gay, sometimes warlike, more often religious, of a Royal Court in the forest-clad outskirts of mediæval Bengal. Animal life in various life-like poses has been well represented in these carvings—elephants and horses gaily caparisoned, bulls, tigers, mokeys,



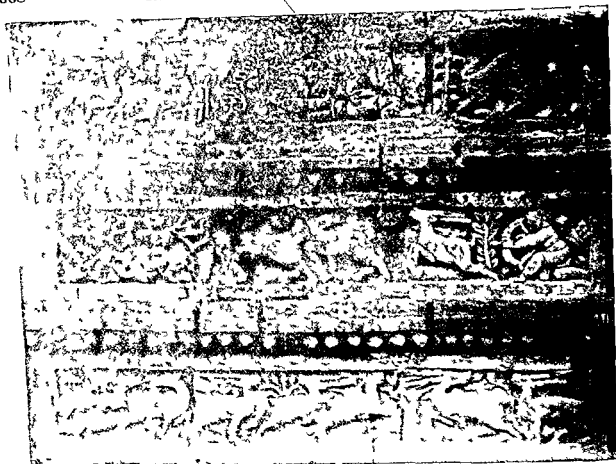
Pleasure Boat—Jor Baigia Bishnupur

wild boars, duck, etc. There are animated scenes portraying animal fights. Chariots drawn by horses and bulls are met with here and there. Battle scenes are not forgotten, and the peculiar armour and weapons used by the soldiers and the trappings of the horses and elephants may be studied on these carved temple walls. The dress worn by men and women, and a variety of other facts of sociological interest, too numerous to mention will be noted by the observant visitor.

The fort is surrounded by a high earthen wall and has a broad moat round it. The approach is through a fine large gateway built of laterite, with arrowslits on either side of the entrance for archers or riflemen. There are a few pieces of cannon lying on the high rampart just outside the front gate, the muzzle of one being shaped like a tiger's head. They are of wrought iron, about five feet long and varying in thickness from six inches at the muzzle to a foot at the breach. But the most remarkable piece of iron ord-

nance is the cannon named Dalamardan popularly called Dalmādal lying half buried by the side of the Lalbandh lake. It is apparently made of sixty three hoops or short cylinders of wrought iron welded together, and overlying another cylinder, also of wrought iron, the whole being well welded and worked together. Though exposed to all weathers it is still free from rust, and has a black polished surface. Its extreme length is 12 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the diameter of the bore being $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the muzzle, and $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches throughout the remainder of its length. It is the same cannon which, tradition relates, was fired by the god Madan Mohan when Bhaskar Pandit attacked Bishnupur at the head of the Marathas. There is a Persian inscription, which has been variously interpreted to mean one lakh or three lakhs, which may be taken to stand for either the cost of the cannon, or its murderous capacity.

Some of the Bandhis or picturesque lakes of which seven can be traced, have



Hunting scenes Jor Bangla Temple Bishnupur

now silted up, either wholly or in part. They were made by taking advantage of the natural hollows and building embankments across them to confine the surface drainage. They served to furnish the city and the fort (on one of the walls of which there is a well preserved square brick built reservoir for the storage of water) with a never failing supply of good fresh water, and also helped to flood the moats round the fort, adding greatly to the strength of the place. The gardens and pleasure grounds of the Rajas were laid out along the Lal Bandh.

It only remains to add that many of the temples at Bishnupur including those that are most famous as well as the Shandeswar temple previously mentioned, have been preserved by the Government under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of Lord Curzon,—a piece of legislative enactment which constitutes one of his best titles to fame.

A pall of darkness has now fallen over the city and its ruins, and

“—far and wide
Temple and tower went down, nor left a
Chaos of ruins' who shall trace the void,
O'er the dim fragments cast a lunar light,
And say, 'Here was, or is,' where all is
The double night of ages, and of her,
Nights' daughter, Ignorance, hath wrapt
and wrap

All around us——”
but under the influence of the modern times this dense veil of ignorance is once more being lifted and the prosperity which left the city with the downfall of the Raj is again showing signs of return. The Railway has connected the town with the capital of the province and the centres of civilisation, and the arts and industries are slowly reviving, and we may be permitted to conclude with the hope that more spacious days are in store for the people of Bishnupur in common with every other part of the province.



Animal Fight (Horse and Elephant) Jor Bangla Temple Bishnupur

The last member and representative of the Bishnupur Raj, Kumar Ramchandra Singh, who used to study in the Bankura School with the help of a pension from the British Government, has breathed his last

from an attack of influenza, on 25th February last at an age of 17 only. With his death thus ended the line of the Bishnupur Raj family

BISHNUPURI

THE 'PERSONAL RULE' OF INDIAN RULERS

I

The characteristic features of all of them (the Native States) including the most advanced are the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice

—Montagu Chelmsford Report

SO much and such frequent emphasis is laid on the principle of 'Personal' Government in connection with the Native States of India that an impression appears to be gaining ground that autocracy is a fundamental characteristic of the indigenous state polity of India. Whatever may be said in support of this view, to those who know Hindu life and

society as they are, not to say anything of the current Hindu traditions and Hindu law this theory seems to be so opposed to facts, that a Hindu is naturally tempted to ask how this strange anomaly has arisen

When the British were founding their empire in India, they probably thought the Rulers of Native States autocratic. And it does not seem to have occurred to the British Indian Historians to enquire whether the revolutions and counter revolutions, the downfall of dynasties and principalities, the wars, plots and bloodshed, which characterised the centuries

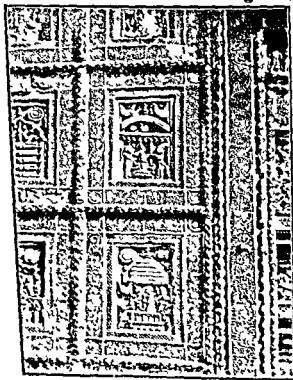


'Hunting scene, Madan Mohan Temple, Bishnupur.

that preceded the assumption of the Indian Government by the British Crown, had any deeper significance than that they were the manifestations of the ambition or rivalry and lust for power of princes and adventurers, which to a great extent they undoubtedly were, and whether these phenomena had any bearing on the changes in the indigenous form of Govern-

ment. To the then British authorities in whose foot-steps their successors have evidently followed, it must have been a political necessity to confine their dealings and attention to the rulers alone, dissociating them from the people. And the rulers, Hindu or non-Hindu, so divorced from the ruled must have naturally appeared despotic, to the European mind.

There appears to be a further reason for this dissociation. It is to be found probably in the dualistic standpoint familiar to the West, where the king and the people are separate factors and where the king is so easily dispensed with or so often put to death by the people themselves. The Hindu or the monistic view of polity could not strike the Western. And inasmuch as *apperception* is a law that every human mind obeys in more ways than one, the European could not but read Indian facts in the light of his previous European experience. He, not infrequently, though unconsciously, read European History into Indian. He probably thought that a king in India must be like a king in Europe, exercising almost the same powers, that the king could do no wrong and that he was above the laws of the people. Enquiry as to whether the relation of the king to the people in India was the same as elsewhere, does not seem to have been seriously made. He was satisfied if the relations of the European with the Indian king were favourable to the European. What was the people's actual political creed in India? For what form of government did the Hindu civilization fit its people? These are questions to which comparatively less



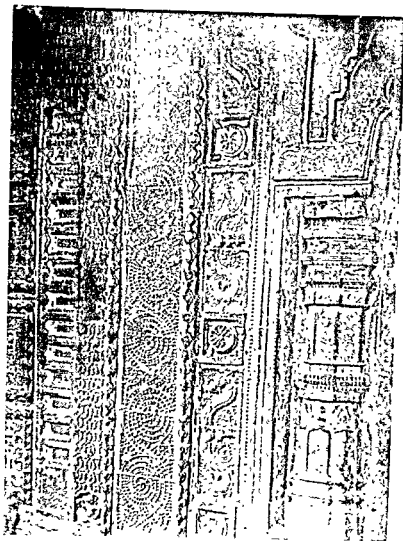
Moulded Brick Panels—Madan Mohan.

attention appears to have been paid in the then political circumstances.

Whatever may have been the European's reading of the Hindu civilization at the time the Western nations first came in contact with the people of India, no calm and dispassionate critic, even of the West, with any authentic knowledge of India's past now believes that despotism or autocracy was the type of government that the Hindu genius developed. But what is urged is that however enlightened the form of Government in the golden age of the past, it has little value for the practical politician.

The practical politician's business is not with the dead curiosities of ancient history, but with the living conditions of the present. He has to look the facts of the present in the face and deal with them as they are. The question therefore is, whether the India found by the European was not or is not autocratic?

Now, in the whole world of Hindu Sanskrit literature, is there a single indigenous word corresponding to 'subject' conveying the idea of 'being thrown under' or 'ruled over' by a despotic or autocratic sovereign? The word 'Prajā,' which is the one used for 'people' from the Vedic times to the present day, means 'wellborn.' It never conveyed the idea of 'subjection.' Slaves are indicated by other terms. But the free people of the



The Pillar Sculptures—Madan Mohan Temple, Bishnupur.

State are always the 'Prajā.' Again, the king is considered the 'father' of his people. But the father is the father in the Hindu sense, not in the European. In Europe the father's will was law and the son's life and death depended on the father's will. But in India the father was and is a shareholder, though a governing shareholder. In the family commonwealth every son has an equal share. In the Hindu polity, the king and the people are coparceners. In fact the Hindu idea is,



Ascetics—Radhamadhap Temple

as has been already said, non-dualistic: the king and his people are *one*. If there is, in this connection, one idea on which almost every Sutrakara and Smritikara has laid special emphasis, it is that the king and the people go shares in their sins and merits.

Again, it has been a hundred times pointed out by competent oriental scholars, that neither the law nor the legislature was under the control of the king. The codes handed down from time immemorial were interpreted and added to not by the king, nor by any individual either, but by a body (*Parishad*) of the wise or the learned. He could not dispose of the revenues of the State as he pleased. He could not levy taxes except in accordance with the laws. The land was but the property of the people. He could only appropriate, without payment, the lands of the heirless and such other citizens. Unlike the European king, the Hindu king, it was said, might do wrong like all other men, and was therefore subject to the law of the land. And the people exercised their right of placing upon the throne a better successor, when necessary. Has all this any place in modern Indian History of the European period?

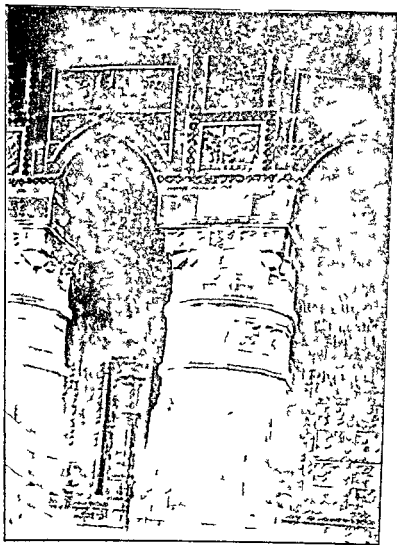
Let us first look at a type of a Hindu

king that has been last influenced by European or Mahomedan civilisation. In Nepal the ruler controls neither the laws nor the legislature. And even the minister who exercises all the powers of the king is not, according to the constitution, autocratic. There is a council which he is bound to consult, though the efficiency of the personnel of this body has not always been all that could be desired. Nepal is certainly not the ideal of Hindu polity. But there is enough there to show that in the indigenous form of government the Hindu king is not constitutionally autocratic. And the Hindu as such has hardly in the history of his race repudiated or deviated from the *basic* principles of his civilisation, whatever the local difference in the application of those principles to suit the variations in local conditions, customs and usages.

Then, leaving for a moment the ruler who is detached and dealt with by Europeans, let us turn to the polity of the great body of the people, as it existed not only in the earliest times but also in the days when the British settled in India and as it has persisted all along up to the present time. I shall not describe here the too often quoted 'village autonomy or the panchayat system,' though it shows that the communal spirit is in the blood of the people even in the *lowest strata* of Hindu society. Suffice it to say that no system of 'Panchayat' recognised the 'Personal' rule or authority of anybody, but that it only followed the laws of the land, the customs and usages of caste. Here and there people did not appeal to a higher authority in addition to the Panchayat, but that they did only to satisfy themselves that the Panchayat was formed and conducted in accordance with the established customs and usages.

This brings us to the most characteristic feature of Hindu Polity, its caste system, which even at this moment binds alike the prince, who also belongs to a caste, and the peasant, however insignificant his caste, and which has bound them, from the earliest times to the present day. Ignoring for a moment the *social aspect* of this institution, let us view it from the standpoint of national polity. Each main caste has had from time immemorial its own Dharma, i.e., its own laws and usages, unlike the social divisions of classes in the West, which have no separate or

special laws, etc. Within the caste there is a characteristic sense of democratic quality. It may be noted that among Brahmins the master of a house on many a ceremonial occasion washes the feet of his very cook, treating him as his superior which even to the enlightened and democratic European or American must still be repugnant. It is the 'Mahajans' or the Panchayats of the caste that are its governors. What preserves the caste is not the personal voice of the ruler but its own written or unwritten laws and its own public opinion. No ruler in the history of India has ever had a place in the caste code or constitution except as the upholder of the caste laws and usages particularly those of the new castes formed. The caste principle has led to the development of powerful republics. The last and the latest as yet known to History appears to have been as a recent article in the *Modern*



Pillar Sculptures—Jo Bangla Bahaupur

Review pointed out the Sengar State of the Kshatriyas or Rajputs which was in existence till very recently. Above all the ruler himself belongs to a caste and he dare not overrule even his own caste customs and laws. *The basic idea of the caste is the subordination of the individual to the community to which doctrine the king himself has had to swear allegiance.*

Each caste viewed by itself is nothing if not a republic or democracy. Viewed from the standpoint of the relation of one

caste to another the system is but a federation of republics or democracies all castes being perfectly equal in their right to manage their own internal affairs. The king is the connecting link. It is the king's duty to maintain not only the caste laws but also caste harmony. Whenever differences arise and whenever new laws have to be made it is laid down in Apastamba that all the castes concerned may even women should be consulted by the king. With the king caste is a democracy,



Horse (with rider) in full gallop, Jor Bangla Temple, Bishnupur.

without the king, it is a republic. It is true that one republic sometimes quarrelled with another. And they paid the penalty for such differences. All the same, the spirit of democracy was and is there in each caste. What writers like Nair, Chesney and others of their persuasion contend is only tantamount to this, that the non-Brahmin castes protest against the possible tyranny of the Brahmin caste. This, in other words, is only a quarrel between republics or democracies. It is the democratic instinct in the non-Brahmin that rebels against the Brahmin democracy, but not the love of 'Personal rule'.

Let us for a moment look at some other aspects of castes. Were not rulers like Rama and Krishna, Non-Brahmins? And were they not and are they not 'deified' and worshipped by the Brahmins forgetting all their caste arrogance? While some non-Brahmins may not hesitate to abjure their faith in their own Rama and Krishna, the Brahmin clings to them as though they were of his own flesh and bone. Coming to modern history, the most audacious and the most powerful of Brahmins were the Peshwas. They exercised the powers of the king, but they dared not style themselves kings. And why? Because it was opposed to the caste Dharma deeply rooted in the people's heart. Scores of such instances could be

cited if only space permitted. And this reveals another important feature of caste. While it permitted of any amount of difference or hostility in matters social, it made the people forget it all in their Democratic world of politics. The rulers Rama and Krishna have been as much the Brahmin's men as they are the Non-Brahmin's. And wherever the social feeling got the better of the political, the democratic federation so divided naturally fell.

This system, as has just been said, is one of the methods of federating republics of communities of different kinds

and levels of culture and thought. Western republics or democracies have no idea of such a federation, for theirs are only federations of peoples of culture and intellectual enlightenment of a *harmonious* character. They cannot tolerate and include in their body politic a republic of the coloured races. The Indian caste polity, on the other hand, readily recognises any community as a sister by treating it as a caste, allowing it to manage its internal affairs as best it can. Even the 'depressed' classes who, in matters social, have been generally treated with great harshness, have their caste rules, which are likewise respected by every other caste. Any new community may come into the body politic and be treated as a part of the whole. So have innumerable new castes formed themselves and forming themselves even to-day. The Parsis came and they were allowed to live as a caste republic. The Mahomedan, the Christian, the European and every fresh community that came into the national body is viewed by the Hindu as a sister democratic community or new caste. In fact, in popular language 'caste' is used to indicate the Mahomedan, the Christian and the European and every other new body of men. Such has been the principle from pre-historic times. The new castes, however, not infrequently resorted to their old practice of appealing

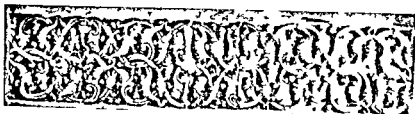
to an individual head. But they also adopted the 'Panchayat' imbibing the democratic spirit of the caste system.

The one principle and that the greatest obeyed by every one who is a Hindu is that the caste rules of an other should on no account be interfered with each caste being bound to respect the autonomy of the other though this is often misinterpreted as apathy and antipathy. In this sense all castes are perfectly equal. And this theory of equality, it will be remembered is upheld by an important school of Ethical and Political philosophers of the advanced West even now.

This is not all the difference between Indian Democracy and the Democracy of Europe and America. In those countries the king loosely hangs by the people. Removing him is a matter of no great consequence. But in Hindu India the king and the people are one like father and sons. Patricide and Regicide are offences so heinous in the eye of the Hindu that there is perhaps only one instance of the people having killed their own king though there have been cases in which the rulers have been changed by them. The sovereign contributes to the well being of the common wealth like every other citizen though he has a higher status like a father in a Hindu family. Hindu democracy is like the English in that it recognises the king as a part of the constitution. But the Hindu king is more, he is one with the people. In a word the Hindu political notion of Democracy is non-dualistic and has a spiritual basis. What is meant by spiritual we shall presently discuss.

It is not the object of this paper to vindicate the vagaries of the caste system or to justify the wickedness and tyranny perpetrated in the name of caste in the social world, individuals or bodies. Untouchableness for instance is no doubt a sore point. But the political disabilities of the untouchables have to be traced to their poverty and to their want of education the birthright of every human being which unfortunately

has been denied to them. Mere touchability cannot improve their economic or political condition.

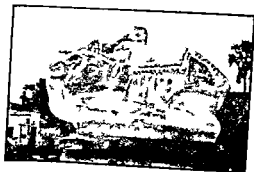


Arabesque Sculpture Madanmohan Temple Rishnapur

It should not however be thought that there exists no recognition of the equality of the untouchables with the Brahmin or other castes. At least a thousand years ago Sankara proclaimed in Benares that his greatest teacher came of the lowest of the untouchable classes and to this day we find no untouchability attaching to any Hindu in the temple of Visvanath and in the ghats. In Southern India Ramanuja canonized many a Panchama who are revered as saints by the Brahmins and to this day the untouchables are free from this disability for some days in the year in the temple at Melkote. The reforms thus initiated would have rapidly proceeded but for the arrest of their progress during the period of foreign invasions.

II

Now if Hindu polity was Democratic was there no autocracy in the country when the British took it in hand? Was it all a misreading of Indian life by the British authorities? No there were then



Bull (couchan) — Malleswar Temple



The Death of Brishaketu (mythological piece).
Gandhar style—for Mandir, Bishnupur.

this notable expedient, most successfully warded off many a revolution and many a possible usurpation. It will suffice here to mention that that State is no other than Travancore.

If the age of the Vedic Brahmanas and of the Dharma Sutras is anterior to that of the Greek democracies, so far as historical evidence goes, India is clearly the birthplace of Democracy. And India is the one country that has preserved not only the democratic instinct but also the democratic life to this day, in its caste polity. The modern democracies of Europe and America are but children of yesterday by the side of the Indian. And now what shall we say to those who tell us that India has yet to be trained to a democratic Government? Is this not an attempt, if a somewhat rude colloquialism would be pardoned, at teaching the grandmother to suck eggs?

Will the critics of Hindu political institutions give us without following the caste plan, a constructive scheme for federating republics of peoples whose levels of thought, life and civilization differ as the poles asunder?

India has sometimes been compared to Russia, and arguments are advanced to show that in the absence of a high percentage of literacy democratic government would be impossible, nay injurious. Per-
version of reason could go no further, though there is great truth in the fact

for comparison?

It is not argued that the Hindu has developed already the most perfect form of Democracy and that no further improvements are needed to adapt his old polity to present needs. All that is claimed is that the material, the spirit, the sense, is there and it has only to be wrought into the shape we require, as in the State of Mysore.

Evidently, then, a mistake was made in reading India by the early Europeans. The kings were detached and dealt with by themselves, a process, which from the Hindu standpoint is similar to decapitating a body and treating the head as the whole man. And in times of confusion and war, this did not matter. With the advent of peaceful times, the truth has again forced itself to the view. The people who form a no mean factor in the constitution are seeking to make themselves heard. And this phenomenon is to some foreign minds, which were accustomed looking only at a part, i.e., the ruler, but not the whole, is an enigma. And this apparent mystery has evoked the most ingenious explanations and fantastic theories from some European writers, even of the level headed Morley school, on Indian affairs.

What a Hindu wonders at here is the strange inconsistency of such European critics. The Hindu admires the scientific spirit of the Western and acknowledges

that for the working of the modern methods of democratic government, literacy is of the utmost value. All the same, was literacy higher in Mysore thirty years ago than it is in India at present? Have not the people of this state adopted themselves to the change readily? Have there been any revolutions, as in Russia? The truth is that democracy does not need the help of 'letters' so much as of the 'spirit'. Do the people possess the democratic sense or spirit in them? That is the point. Russia has had no village panchayat, no democratic caste system, Russian kings and people were not the spiritual unity that the Indian kings and their people have been. Where then is the ground

the greatness of the white man's love of truth and fact in all scientific investigations. But the Hindu cannot understand the European's inability, if not unwillingness, to look at facts and truth in matters *political*. Instead of allowing his mind to be obsessed by the Greco-Roman prejudice that because the Hindu is thought a conquered man, he must be a barbarian, if the critic imbued with true scientific spirit only sifts facts he will find items worthy of his consideration. And of such items, not the least is the 'spiritual' democracy of India.

The European politician usually discards Hindu philosophy and proceeds upon the presumption that all metaphysics is only *speculation* which concerns only dreamers but not those who have to deal with the stern realities of life. It may be mere speculation in Europe but metaphysical belief in India profoundly influences religion, and religion influences life, life includes political conduct. To understand Hindu society, one has, therefore, to go to Hindu philosophy, which is its foundation. That this is deliberately so planned is evident from the Hindu works on law and constitution which invariably declare the ultimate philosophical beliefs upon which they take their stand. The Dharma Sutras and Smritis aver that the basis of all laws and political institutions is in the words of Manu, the aim at realizing in one's own self Supreme (Universal) self (XII 12) i.e., realizing that every one is the divine self. The king is divinity, the people also are divinity. All the same and all are one. This is the conviction of even the Mahomedan Sufi who in spirit is one with his Hindu brother. And this is the meaning of the Hindu 'spiritual' Democracy.

It is not that every Hindu or Moslem has realized the meaning of "All this is Brahman" (*Upanishad*) or of "Wherever thou turn there is the face of Allah" (*Quran*). Nor even that everyone knows it. But whether or not one knows it or believes in it, the fact is there, says the

Hindu Philosopher, that the world is moving towards the realization of oneness, which is the goal of all political life, nay of all life. And this is what is known as 'spiritual force'. The wise, the Hindus say, know it, act according to it and direct people to follow it, as is laid down in their great laws. And they have been actually practising it, by adhering to caste polity these several thousand years. There are no doubt dualistic and other interpretations of this principle. But all Hindus cling to the caste organisation and the democratic Dharma underlying it.

It was only yesterday that President Wilson gave to the world his famous dictum of the equality of all men in the memorable words 'The interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest'. But whence comes this notion of equality and whence the sacredness? The answer is not found in his words. But the Hindu gave it thousands of years ago. He said that the weakest and the strongest are not different. They are *one*. The injury that one causes to another is an injury to one's own self; the harm done by one nation to another recoils upon itself. It is only a question of time. This idea of oneness or non-difference has been the staple not only of the thought but also of the life of the Hindu from time immemorial.

This is the "Dharma" to which the Hindu has been clinging under all vicissitudes of fortune and which is being misinterpreted in various ways by those who do not understand it. And this belief which recognises the oneness of all creatures which recognises the same divinity in all and which has recognised the divine teacher in the very lowest 'untouchable', the divine prince in the 'Non-Brahmin', Rama and Krishna and the divine soul in the Brahmana saint and which therefore holds the interest of the meanest as sacred as the interest of the highest, admits of no division of interests between the king and his people and of no theory of 'Autocracy' or 'Personal Rule'.

THE PROPOSED LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND RIGHT VS. MIGHT

TO prevent future wars, and to ensure stable peace of the world, President Wilson is earnestly engaged in establishing a League of Nations. The idea is, of course, not a new one, and it would not have now captured the imagination of the people so much, were it not for the intense and extensive suffering caused by the terrible world war. There is no good or evil in the economy of Nature that is not accompanied or followed by, its corresponding opposite, either manifest or disguised. The greater the evil, the greater is the resulting good.

It is not at all creditable to the much vaunted modern civilisation that an International High Court for settling international disputes has been so long overdue, and that a devastating world war continuously for four and a half years was necessary to convince the civilised West, that war is really too bad to be further tolerated. Before, however, suffering humanity can congratulate itself on the prospect of an enduring peace, let it not be deluded by catch phrases and commonplaces. The idea, for instance, of substituting *Right* for *Might*, is very captivating indeed; but on examination it will be found that this, as understood by the "Great Powers", is "distinction without a difference." There is a hardly any material difference between what are commonly known as *right* and *might*. The methods of *might* are of course primitive, rude and naked, but they have the advantages of being natural, open, direct and quick in decision. The methods of *right*, on the other hand, are conventional and disguised under civilised or legislative garb, but both are essentially the same in substance; and like *force*, *motion* and *heat* are but the different forms of one and the same thing. Just as currency is the convenient and conventional equivalents of crude commodities, so is *Right* the conventional and convenient equivalent of *Might*. *Right* is the stamped coin, issued from the Legislative Mint of which *Might* is the metal. If a mint cannot turn genu-

ine coins out of base metals, how can a League of Nations be expected to manufacture *rights* out of the existing base materials? The evolution of an International Jurisprudence would no more be an indication of improved international morality, than the evolution of the medical science is an indication of improvement on the primitive rustic health. Courts of law have never been known to have done duties of reformatories. Legal institutions can, at their best, minimise only the outward expressions of primitive warfare and other criminal activities; but so long as the brute in man is not killed or extinct, these old evils are sure to survive, thrive and appear in various other forms disguised in scientific and civilised garbs. We are not quite sure, that in spite of our civilisation, the proportional sum-total of human criminality and immorality is less to-day than it was in the ancient days. Good and evil, as we call them, are both equally subject to the same universal Law of Evolution. In the natural order of things there is no such thing as *evil* in existence. There is evolution of the so-called *evil* going on side by side with the evolution of what is known as *good*. Courts of law more often create than cure crimes. The League of Nations may suppress or minimise visible expressions of militarism, but human nature remaining as it is, the League would be powerless to prevent the natural, open and blunt military form of *might* evolving and appearing in civil, refined and unobtrusive disguises of various kinds, such as bribery and corruption in more or less subtle forms.

If *right* is to replace *might*, what would become of the scientific theory of the "survival of the fittest"? The scientists might have laid down—"Survival of the best", but they used the word "*fittest*" instead of the word *best* for a very good reason; and that is because of the fact that the *best* is not always under present conditions the *fittest* to survive. *Right* of title to a possession may be either acquired or inherited. In either case it is a trans-

mitted and latent form of what was originally gained by *might*. How did the European settlers in America, Africa, Australia and Asia establish their respective rights over the helpless aborigines of those continents? Were the methods employed by them morally justifiable? On what moral principle can a *wrong* be converted into *right* after a certain period? Can a person guilty of, say, murder be converted into an innocent man after a certain number of years arbitrarily fixed by human legislators? In international ethics has any, and if so what, time limit been fixed up to now that can convert *might* into *right*? Let us take for instance, the quarrel over the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. These two provinces must have been in existence since the creation of the world and they had been lying there long before the present disputants were born and they would remain there long after these disputants vanished from the face of the earth. The warring nations do not realise that none of them have any moral right to be the landlord. Before them countless races in prehistoric days, appeared and occupied these two bits of territory in succession and then disappeared. How then is *Right* to be defined and determined? In a word what ought to be the criterion or test of *Right*? Rulers punish their poor subjects when they fail to pay their rents and taxes but these rulers never recognise the fact that they themselves are only 'tenants at will' of the unseen but *Real* Landlord of the Universe. It is not that these rulers do not believe in His existence, as they offer victory prayers, but they do not recognise that rent or obligation in any kind or shape is at all due to Him! Is President Wilson or any of the afflicted nations sure that these dreadful wars are not the Supreme Landlord's punishments for recovery of arrears of rents due to Him? Have these suffering nations and their rulers ever cared to fulfil their obligations due to the Universal Landlord who, though unseen is manifested in the world organism? Wars are only punishments of defaulting rulers and nations.

There are many scriptural and moral precepts such as— 'Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you.' 'Freedom of everybody limited by like freedom of others'—These are no doubt excellent ethical principles but these do

not go deep enough. As a general rule people will not give up their selfishness or make sacrifices for the sake of others unless and until they are assured that such sacrifices are more paying in the long run, unless and until they are convinced that their true self interests lie in the interest of their *Real Self*. All individual and national interests should be subordinated to and co-ordinated with the interests of that Highest Self. If peoples can submit themselves to amputation of any of their injured limbs for the preservation of their whole being why should not people readily submit to immediate temporary sacrifices for the sake of achieving the highest objective, the *Real Self*? We find this enunciated in the *Mahabharat* thousands of years ago in a form of expression still unsurpassed by any even at this enlightened age. Speaking to *Dhritrashtra* regarding his ill-fated son Duryodhana, the wise *Bhisma* said —

एक लजेत् कुटुम्बाय धामस्थायै कुत्र लजेत्,
धाम जनपदस्थायै चामात्रै बुद्धिर्वा यजत ॥

One (who is mischievous) should be forsaken for the sake of the whole family. One family should be forsaken for the sake of the village. A village should be forsaken for the country, and the whole world should be forsaken for the sake of the *Atman*, the Supreme Self or Soul.

Selfishness had been condemned *ad nauseam* long before President Wilson appeared on the scene. He is neither the first nor the foremost person to have condemned selfishness. If the whole world is giving him so much attention and prominence, it is not because his gospel is a new one, but because he wields more *might* now than he ever did before, and also because, after the disastrous world war peoples are now in a mood to listen to his message inspite of its being very old and commonplace. His conception of *right* praiseworthy though it is is not founded on any universally accepted basic principle. *Right* determined by a majority, actuated more or less by self interest, is only a veiled form of the supremacy of *Might*. That the delegates will invariably be the true representatives of the peoples and that the majority will always be on the right side, are the most common, yet the most unsound assumptions. In spite of evolution of civilisation and moral conceptions man cannot help being selfish. Selfishness

is the natural spring of life and as such there is nothing to be condemned. It is an altogether untenable proposition that individuals and nations should give up their selfishness and that wars are the results of such selfishness. The truth is all the other way about. As a matter of fact wars are not the results of national selfishness as is commonly believed, but on the contrary they are the results of want of true selfishness. It is the ignorance of the true self that is the root of the evil. The real remedy lies in removing this fundamental ignorance in knowing and realising the true self. The whole Vedanta stands out in bold relief as the one serious endeavour ever made in finding out the true and essentially permanent self by analytical dissections of the human being known as "I". It is the knowledge and not the knowledge only but the realisation of the true self that can alone eradicate the false, the impermanent, and the delusive selfishness and implant the conception of the Real Selfishness.

According to the science of Sociology, society is a big animal and its component parts are all harmoniously interrelated for the fulfilment of the whole organism, and that one part cannot live and flourish at the expense of another is a truth now universally admitted but not adequately realised. The proposed League of Nations with all its imperfections at the initial stage, will prove really a step forward if all the component members recognise and realise their true self-interests harmoniously with the rest for the eventual evolution and fulfilment of the world organism as a whole. This is the basic principle on recognition of which the success of the League entirely depends. We cannot expect much out of a League as it is going to be constituted. Delegates representing only a false notion of self-interests can hardly be competent to serve the great purpose. On the contrary, there is the fear that there is the possibility of an evil being legalised and perpetuated.

Neither precepts nor laws are necessary to induce capitalists to invest their money in the most profitable concern possible. The greater the profit the greater would be the attraction. When the nations are enlightened enough to realise that they are but the different limbs or organs of one whole world animal they, would not

require any League to enforce sacrifices of their immediate and temporary interests for the sake of the remote but best investment. The whole world is badly in need of the knowledge of the true Self. The pursuit of the impermanent and false interests will only lead them more and more in the wrong direction. "Knowledge" in the highest sense of the term is the only remedy for all the ills, individual and international, humanity is heir to.

There can possibly be no inter organic rivalry between say the liver, the spleen and other organs, they perform their respective functions mechanically, quite unconscious of their inter-dependence. The evolution of the world organism—the ideal of the science of sociology—is progressing gradually and will certainly be advanced by the inevitable sequences of this great war. International jealousy and rivalry ought not to have arisen amongst the different nationalities that are supposed to be self-conscious. Rivalry and conflict of interests among nations are caused by competition, which, again, is due to very imperfect adjustment and unintelligent distribution of functions among the component nations. In a perfect or rather healthy society there should be perfect co-ordination and not competition or overlapping of functions. In an ideal society there should be as many different "self-determined" nationalities. And thus there should be no room for conflict of interests, jealousy, and rivalry.

The determination of international rights, is purely a judicial function and the League of Nations, as it is proposed to be constituted, can hardly be regarded as a competent judicial tribunal. It should serve the functions of the Brain in the world organism. And as such it should be constituted by the best intellects and moral philosophers of the whole world. It should be so constituted as to form the Supreme Legislature of the whole world. To be able to discharge its functions impartially, it is essential that its members should be altogether free from and above the influences of narrow national and sectarian local interests, and that they should be regarded as fit to view international questions of right and wrong from the highest stand point of Humanity as a whole. In the ancient East, it was the ascetic *Arishis* (seers) who legislated, and not the representatives of commerce.

trades and various industries. The kings were merely the Executive Heads, they had no power to make laws, but had to administer with the help of interpreters or ministers, laws that had been laid down for them by the disinterested ascetic Rishis on universal spiritual principles as known by them in their time.

"Justice" is a Divine Ordinance, and far higher than *politics*. President Wilson's ideal, high and noble though it is, falls far short of the true concept of "Justice". That the League of Nations should be composed of not the spiritual but the political representatives of the Powers, and that the Great Powers should have the prepondering voice, are practically the same old motto—"might is right" put in another form. The world has no spiritual heads or representatives to come forward and take up their legitimate functions at this most critical moment. The Church as a spiritual force and the highest tribunal for deciding questions of "international justice" is quite impotent.

This shows the extent of the spiritual and intellectual degeneration of the world. International justice is going to be dealt with not by the *wisest* and the *best* men in the world, but by a band of interested politicians of certain powers and predominantly of the "great powers". Only self governing powers will be represented. That is to say those powers that are strong enough to protect themselves will be protected. The smaller powers will be practically in a minority, and the rest all the subject nations and peoples, will be left out altogether. In an international Court constituted as above, *might* will be more in evidence than *right*. Mr Wilson felt for the helpless peoples more than for the more powerful. His League of Nations will not help the helpless. There ought to be in future at least a 'League of the Subject peoples' established side by side with the League of Nations so that the unrepresented subject peoples may represent their wants and wishes.

KAPILESWAR BHATTACHARYA

GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF ART, CALCUTTA

EXHIBITION OF STUDENTS WORKS

THE Exhibition of the Works of the Students of the Government School of Art held during February and March 1919, raises from the standpoint of the public many points of interest. The work of the School deserves more attention and encouragement from the public by way of an intelligent interest in its work and active relationship with respect to the opportunity it affords for a training in art. For if the institution has not proved more useful than it has been up to the present, the fault lies it is said, more with the public than the institution. Indeed it is very discouraging to think how few students go in for admission to this School, as compared to the crowds which flock into institutions for general education. As a rule the sweepings from the Matriculation schools or the 'ner do-wells' of the family are sent to the School of Art. The boy who is good for nothing else, is, in this country, thought good for qualifying as a student of art. From such materials, neither Visvakarma nor the Goddess of Learning herself could turn out a good artist. Yet this is the impossible task which the School of Art is called upon to perform. For very few students with a real talent or inclination for art ever think of choosing art as a calling or profession in life—because having regard to the poverty of public interest and encouragement of art the career of the student who chooses the profession of an artist is led a life of extreme precariousness. And apart from portraiture there has been little consistent patronage of the

Fine Arts on the part of the Indian public. Even with regard to commissions for portraits the patronage has been of such insignificant, fitful and eccentric character that it has done more harm than good to the artists whose lot has been to attempt to cater to this fitful demand. With the recent growth of Bengali literature and the production of illustrated books, a demand for the talents of artists has been called for but generally the conditions of publication have been so discouraging as to preclude a provision for anything like living wages to illustrators of books. The collections or connoisseurs of pictures, as such who would take interest in art for the sake of art are so few in this country that their patronage is quite insignificant and does not call for the employment of any large number of artists. Art as a form of culture and an indispensable part of a man's education has unfortunately no attraction for the modern educated Indian who still continues to look upon art as a fruit forbidden by his university curriculum. There are very few artistic trades in the Bengal Presidency as there are in the Punjab and the Madras Presidency. So that the artist is not required here even in the field of what is known as Applied Art. It is said that many new industries are coming into existence in Bengal and if such industries can get on without calling in the aid of artists they must be of that "brutal" stamp with which Ruskin labelled all 'industries without art'. And the state of that society must be perilous indeed in which there is no occupation for an artist. Yet it is difficult to believe

that circumstances are quite as bad as that. For some years past a local pottery work has been turning out tea-cups, porcelain dolls, &c., with execrably bad design and decorations without any apparent protest on the part of the public which patronizes them. Yet we know that the enormous sales which Japanese tea sets command in this city, could never be rivalled by local products unless the talents of artists could improve the colour and design of the latter. There are several classes of artisans and craftsmen who are not influenced or trained by any method of art teaching. They are goldsmiths, carpenters, house-decorators. The design of furniture making is regarded as fine art in many Western countries. And though in the majority of cases the Indian householder buys ready made furniture, there has arisen, during the last few years, a fairly good demand for distinctive designs for furniture for daily use. The art of the goldsmith is still the most highly patronised branch of artistic crafts in this country. The patronage of the goldsmith's work is still of a very uncultivated and barbaric character and unless there be a demand of artistic jewellery of good designs, the goldsmith could never think of sending his son or pupil to the Art School for training. The function of the Government School of Art is therefore necessarily circumscribed by the conditions of artistic patronage in this country. And the painting of portraits, land scapes or subject pictures seems to be the only branch of art to which the teaching equipment of the institution is mainly directed. Having regard to the nature of the talents which drift into the school of art, it is impossible to expect a high level of production of art pictures. This seems to be emphasised by the large number of landscapes exhibited chiefly of garden scenes rendered in very low pigments. The Indian stage craft is still in its infancy and one is inclined to ask if some of these students could not be specially trained to treat theatrical scenes and stage accessories. A few years ago an student of Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay, was taken into a Parsi Theatre Company whose activities have since introduced many new improvements in Indian stage craft. It is notorious that the Indian stage in Calcutta is in a deplorable condition. Why could not some students trained in the Government Art School improve the level of Indian stage scenery?

These reflections are suggested by a study of the pictures exhibited in the small room of the Government School of Art. Out of about 80 pictures representing nature scenes only one piece 'Cascade' (No 76) attempts at a distinctive and individualistic point of view, the others are works so much in the same groove that they seem nothing but repetitions. The 'Cascade' by P. Mazumdar has unfortunately missed the prize which it very well deserved. A rather striking river scene, badly hung. 'No 132,' flatters the style of the talented Mr. Principal in the sincerest form. Imitations such as these may well be discouraged, as they only help to prevent the student from finding his own way of expression. The 'Trees' (No 80) is an excellent piece of work deserving warm commendation. The portraits, though some of them display a few good qualities, do not tend to attain a high standard of students' work. Even a really good artist in portraiture is born and not made and it is futile perhaps to expect teachers to turn out one, out of mediocre talents; still a sterner form of training may perhaps yield better results. Of the black and white works Panda

'Portrait Study' (No 132) shows conscientious work and one regrets, more examples have not been exhibited. The same remark also applies to the examples of wood blocks which, as a form of expression, have reached a very high level of excellence in Japan and also in England during recent times. Good colour prints from wood blocks offer a very interesting medium which may rival in many cases the commercial tri-colour blocks which seem to be much in request in India.

The Indian department in which the indigenous methods of painting are taught is now in charge of Mr. A. K. Haldar. The exhibits from this department are not many but have suffered most from the bad position allotted to them. Although they do not reach a very high level, they have one distinction as compared with the exhibits of the European department: they reveal a tendency to dig out an individualistic channel of idea and expression and are far less conventional than the other group of exhibits. Special mention must be made of J. Gupta's 'Dance of Krishna', said to be the first sketch of a new student, which, in spite of its crude technique, displays quite original method of presentation. The traditional methods of Moghul and Rajput portraits of which such excellent examples are in the collection of the Government Art Gallery, might be studied to advantage and exploited for the purpose of evolving a modern school of Indian portraiture. Some of the works exhibited in the Indian section, particularly those by Mohabir Prosad Varma, show that there are talents which may be usefully directed to this branch.

The examples of work showing the effect of teaching of design, as such, are not quite evident in the studies exhibited. This is a very important branch of art teaching and is of vital interest to the problems of the application of art to industry and the growth and development of Indian industries. We are so many miles behind the progress attained by other countries in the study of Art and its application to industry that it is useless perhaps to remind us that many American Universities have assumed responsibility for the special teaching of design and the Harvard University has chairs endowed for Lectures on the Theory of Design. Yet one is tempted to quote from Mr. Brown's report in which he outlines the aim of the School: "The object of the School is to guide, direct and encourage the special artistic tendencies of the people." Its work is to restrain, control, and instruct the art workman in the preparation of his designs and to develop his technical skill. Its aim is to provide a wholesome art education for all classes of people and to instil into the mind of young India the good there is in the country's art. Not the least important part of the School's work therefore consists in a resuscitation of the indigenous aesthetic sense."

Owing to ill health, the Principal had been away for a time and it is not fair perhaps to scan what actual advance he has been able to effect in the course of a year on the work of the School which he guides with great care and sympathy. On the whole the works of the students offer a very interesting collection and ought to awaken on the part of the public greater attention to and interest in the useful work that the School is doing under very difficult conditions, not the least of which is the apathy of the general public.

PROFESSIONAL BEGGARY IN CALCUTTA

BY CHUNILAL BOSE I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S.

দরিদ্রানু হর কৌল য মা প্রযুক্ত হরে খন ।

স্বাধিদলৌপথ পথ নৌদমল কিমোদনে ॥

Help the poor O son of Kunti do not abuse charity by helping those that have plenty The sick only need medical care, what will medical care do for those that enjoy good health?

As this question is now engaging the attention of the Government of Bengal I lay before your readers a few suggestions which might be found useful in the solution of this difficult social problem.

I shall confine my remarks to Indian beggars only. They may be broadly divided into the following three classes—

A Street beggars

B House to house beggars

C Distressed "bhadralog" class

As an old resident of Calcutta, and being in close touch with some of the charitable organisations for the distribution of relief among the poor of this city, I am of opinion that begging has generally been on the increase and that the nuisance of beggary in the streets of Calcutta has grown to a serious extent.

A *Street beggars*—The street beggars generally consist of infirm, old and diseased persons and boys and girls of tender age who station themselves at prominent places in the streets generally at the tramway junctions the bathing ghats the markets and other places where people usually congregate in the course of the day. Some of them beg for themselves others (mostly the crippled and the children) are placed there by people who profit by their earnings. Among them are also found able bodied persons some of whom are religious mendicants. Lepers and persons suffering from other filthy and contagious diseases are also to be found among them and this must be considered as a source of great danger to public health.

B *House to house beggars*—This class includes religious mendicants the aged and the infirm poor, and also professional beggars.

C *Distressed "bhadralog" class*—Ow-

ing to hard economic conditions, distress among the respectable poor is increasing. The daily growing number of applications for relief from this class of people to the different charitable institutions of the City, such as the Indian section of the District Charitable Society, the Sobhabazar Benevolent Society, the Calcutta Orphanage etc., go to confirm the above observation. The breaking down of some of the old Hindu social institutions, principally the Joint Family system, is responsible for this state of things.

Remedies Suggested

I am of opinion that we need not at present deal with the beggars included in classes "B" and "C", for the simple reason that they do not constitute a public nuisance in the sense that the class "A" is. Our efforts should, for the present, be directed to minimise the nuisance of *street begging*.

The existing law in force (Police Act Sec 70 and 70A) is quite capable of dealing with this evil, and in my opinion, the law need not be made more stringent. The reason why the law cannot be effectively enforced is because there is at present no place where all the old, infirm and incurably diseased beggars who are taken before Magistrates could be sent. The Magistrates are after all human beings and they can hardly be expected to take so hard a line as to send these people to jail for the simple reason that they cannot earn their living in any other way. Eighty per cent of the beggars are, therefore, simply warned and discharged by the Magistrates, and it is no wonder that the existing law exercises no deterrent influence on the evil practice.

(1) The real remedy to stop the evil lies in the establishment of an institution where the aged, the infirm and the incurably diseased beggars could be sent by Magistrates and sheltered and taken care of during the period of their detention. Temporary provision may be made for the admission of these people in some of the existing institutions in the city (such as

the *Refuge*) until a new home is organised and started outside the city for their detention. An Infirmary and a Reformatory School should be attached to this institution.

(2) To carry out the above, the approximate number of street-beggars in Calcutta should be ascertained through the help of the Police, so that provision may be made in the New Homes for the requisite number.

(3) All lepers with sores, found begging in the streets, should be detained in a Leper Asylum. The Police has power under the act to do this at once.

(4) All beggars suffering from curable diseases should be sent to the Infirmary attached to the Home; and when discharged, they should be helped in finding suitable employment by an organisation to which a brief reference will presently be made.

(5) The cost of the maintenance of the "Home" should be borne jointly by Government and the Corporation of Calcutta, aided by subscriptions raised from the charitably-disposed public. The *Poor box Funds* at the disposal of the City Magistrates should be applied for the maintenance of the Home.

In dealing with the class of beggars under head "B", it must not be forgotten that with the Hindus, the giving of alms to religious mendicants who, under vow, entirely depend upon this form of charity for their livelihood, is considered to be a part of their daily religious duties. And on occasions of special social and religious ceremonies, beggars are sought for and fed or given food, money and clothes at the houses of both Hindus and Mahomedans. Such social customs enable this class of beggars to get a sufficiency of food and raiments for the ordinary requirements of life and they have, therefore, no excuse to betake to *street-begging*. I would not, therefore, interfere with these people as long as they resort to strictly legitimate quarters for the begging of alms, but any religious mendicant found begging in the streets of Calcutta should be brought under the operation of the law. The *house to house begging* is open to them and they must not be permitted to create nuisance in public streets.

I am, therefore, of opinion that the system of *house to house begging* need not at present be interfered with. It is sanc-

tioned by religious usages and is in accord with the sentiments of the people. It forms an outlet for individual charity to relieve distress among the poor and the helpless of the community. There is no doubt that some professional beggars take advantage of this system but it cannot be helped.

In the case of *able-bodied street-beggars*, it cannot be denied that although as a class, they are the least deserving of sympathy, yet even among them, a certain percentage (no doubt a small one) beg from sheer necessity. New arrivals in Calcutta who find themselves stranded in the streets, men suddenly losing their employments, etc., often find it too difficult to get a living for themselves for the time being and are compelled to take to *street-begging*. For these I would suggest that—

(6) There should be some organisation whence they can obtain temporary help, on application, in the shape of work, or doles, or money, after due enquiry. An institution on the line of a *Work-house* may be established, where they can earn their daily living, until they can get suitable employment elsewhere. Without some such provision, it would not be fair to punish people for begging when they are unable to find work to earn their living.

(7) Arrangements may also be made with many of the charitable institutions in the city to provide temporary help in such cases.

(8) All able-bodied beggars not falling within the above categories, and any person refusing to submit to the above conditions, should be dealt with according to the strict terms of the existing law. Repeated punishment will, I feel convinced, have a deterrent effect on the present evil practice.

The relief of the "respectable poor" must be left to private charity and to the societies for distribution of organised charity existing in the city. Such charities should be made remunerative as far as possible, and with this object, they should be associated with departments of common industries, so that any person receiving help will have an opportunity to give something in return and thus not suffer from the humiliation and loss of self-respect inseparable from begging. It is a complicated sociological question, and it will always tax the energy and resources

of people of all countries to successfully tackle with the problem

The number of juvenile beggars in the streets of Calcutta is on the increase and this constitutes a great nuisance and source of danger to the public. For not only these children give trouble by begging in the streets but they swell up the criminal records of the city as pickpockets and thieves. I would suggest that they should be put in the Reformatory School by orders of Magistrates, unless their natural guardians, if they have any, stand security for them

against repetition of the offence. They should be detained in the School for such period as would be required for a thorough training in some useful art or industry which would enable them to obtain a decent living on their discharge from the School.

Although the present paper deals with the problem as it affects Calcutta, the subject is of general interest, as all large cities in India more or less suffer from the same nuisance, and they may be called upon any day to devise measures for its suppression.

CORRESPONDENCE

Namasudras

To The Editor of *The Modern Review*

Sir—In the March issue of *The Modern Review* a local Home Ruler monthly a letter is published in its correspondence column under the *nom de plume* of X, in which the Namasudras are abused in the vilest of terms. The character of the abusive language does not admit of more than a mere reference to it here. I would only submit that the Brahmin Brahmo Editor (and well informed persons know that a Brahmin does not forget his caste even when he is a convert to Brahmoism) who encourages this sort of abusive correspondence forgets that if the theory were once accepted, all the offspring of marriages between Kayasthas (Sudras) and Brahmins (the number of which even in a body of 5000 Brahmins in the whole of India is not small) would be regarded as "Chandalas" not even excluding a reference to Lord Sinha's family. Then again another indisputable fact is that the number of Namasudras in Bengal and Assam is 2 millions and odd. And of Brahmins one million and odd. And as such, does not the shame-faced statement that these two millions are the offspring of one million Brahmin mothers and Sudra fathers mean the grossest of libels against the character of Brahmin girls as a class. It is strange to find that although the Namasudras abhor any connection between Namasudras and Brahmin girls and emphatically deny the Brahmins and other members of so-called high castes are found to regale in an attempt at thus drawing down the Namasudras. Such is the bitterness between castes in Bengal. The pity of it is that this has not been a while realised in the Montagu Report. Had it been a little realised Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford would have been the very first to say—Down with caste system. Must precede Down with Intercaste. (We would say Down with both simultaneously. The Bureau crats are a caste by themselves—Ed M R.)

Yours etc.,

B RAY

Joint Secretary

Calcutta Namasudra Association

Editorial Comment.—We print this letter as it comes from a member of an aggrieved community. We have read 'X's' letter in our last March number. We do not think that there is any abuse in it even of a wild description. 'X's' reply gives the opinion of Manu on the origin of the Namasudras—an opinion on which neither 'X' nor the Editor of this

Review shares. Manu does not in our eyes possess the least authority in matters of anthropology or ethnology. And we know that is 'X's' opinion too. A Chandalas is as good and as bad as a Brahmin as far as mere birth is concerned. It is only the character, attainments, conduct, and achievements of a person which really matter. A Sudra father and a Brahmin mother or a Brahmin father and a Sudra mother or a Sudra father and a Sudra mother or a Brahmin father and a Brahmin mother or any other possible combination in describing one's parentage is in our opinion neither abuse nor praise.

We are afraid Mr. B. Ray has not in his wrath understood the drift of X's argument.

We do not care to refer to the personalities in which Mr. Ray has indulged. We can afford to smile and forget.—Editor, M R.

To The Editor of *The Modern Review*.

Sir—Against the protest of some Namasudras against my identification of the Chandalas with Namasudras in the last number of *The Modern Review* (p. 257) I beg to state that Sir Herbert Risley in Chapter II of his *People of India* (pp. 120 and 125) uses the two names as synonymous. No foreigner studied the caste system of Bengal more thoroughly than Sir Herbert and he is regarded as the greatest authority on the subject. But I did not borrow my information from him. I wrote from first hand knowledge. I am an inhabitant of the Dacca district and have some Namasudra tenants and they form the backbone of the Hindu agricultural community in my part of the country. They are universally known as Chandalas and are called as such even by those among themselves who have no pretensions to education or social position. In parts of the Faridpur district where the Namasudras are an influential community, they may not call themselves Chandalas, but in the Dacca District the Namasudras I have met—and I have met a good many, living, as I do, in their midst—certainly do not feel surprised or shocked if they are called so. Indeed when I was a boy that was their usual appellation, and the new-fangled name of Namasudra had not yet come much into vogue. In this respect however the Namasudras are certainly not singular. The upward movement among the Bengal castes is manifested in the assumption by many other castes of the name and status of a superior caste as can be illustrated by numerous instances which I forbear to mention for fear of further embittering the controversy and wounding

social susceptibilities which are so sensitive in this unhappy country, but such instances will occur to every reader. As a step towards the ultimate obliteration of all caste distinctions, such a movement may have its uses in the scheme of the universe. Many sociologists regard the scriptural explanation of the multiplication of the four primary castes by interbreeding as more or less mythical. Nor do I think any the worse of a man because by birth he is a Chandala or Namasudra. I know some Namasudras in the district of Faridpur whom I sincerely respect, much more than I do many Brahmans, to which caste I myself belong. The simplicity, patience, industry, and piety of the ordinary cultivating Namasudra also evokes my admiration. I feel proud to count him as a brother Hindu, and I am not very sure, as a result of my own ethnic studies, that my own Brahmin blood, Kulin though I am, is much purer than his—Bengal Brahmans like all the other races of India and the rest of the world, appear to me to be a very mixed race indeed though I find nothing to be ashamed of in this. It was therefore never my intention to wound the susceptibilities of my Namasudra brothers. But I cannot help feeling that so long as they pin their faith to any particular theory of their origin in order to make out that they are socially superior to the caste with which they are usually identified, so long will the canker at the root of all such distinctions continue to poison their efforts towards the attainment of that social equality which all genuine well-wishers of the country want to see established. X

Inter-caste Marriage.

To The Editor of *The Modern Review*

Sir,—In continuation of my letter on Inter-caste Marriage in the last number of your magazine the following extract (translated into English) from a Bengali book named *Himalaya Bhayana* (Travels in the Himalayas) by Brahmachari Suddhananda (Calcutta, 1319 B S.) will be found interesting as it shows that in the hill tracts of Northern India inter-marriage, both in the *Anulom* and *Pratilom* forms is prevalent to this day, and the issues of such marriage attain the status of the higher caste parent in the third generation, and we shall presently see that this is in entire accordance with the ancient Shastric injunctions. We are not to suppose that caste is by any means lax in the Himalayan regions. On the contrary, caste observances are very strict but as in ancient India, considerable liberty of choice is allowed by Hindus of these parts in regard to matrimonial alliances (See also on this point an article on the Hill State of Chamba in the Bengali magazine *Prabasi* for Jalsha 1325). Now for the extract referred to above:

"There are three principal castes in the Himalayas—Brahmans, Kshattriyas and Doms (Sudras). Most of the Brahmans are of the Gaur and Saraswat denominations. If after marriage the wife does not suit the husband or vice versa they can divorce each other with the consent of the Courts, and then take another wife or husband as the case may be, and this may go on as often as the parties like. Provided sufficient dowry is available, a Brahman may marry a Kshattriya girl or a Kshattriya may marry a Brahman girl. Only the issues of such marriage are not taken into the Brahmanic fold at once they however observe all the Brahmanic sacraments and gradually, in the third generation, the progeny are accepted as Brahmans and are permitted to dine with the other members of the Brahmanic society.

Brahmans and Kshattriyas are very keen about their respective caste observances, so much so, that after the investiture of the sacred thread, they may not even partake of food cooked by their own mothers" etc (pp. 217-19).

The uncle of His Highness the Holkar, Bhaia Sahab Sirdar Jado Rao, is the son of the late Holkar Tukajirao Rao by a Mahomedan lady, so also Bhaia Sahab Prince Balwant Rao of Gwalior, step-brother of the present Maharaja Sindhia. The custom in these royal families is that if the son born of a Mahomedan lady has his umbilical cord cut within the palace, he is accepted as a Hindu (See the Bengali magazine *Bharatvarsha*, Bysack, 1324, S V 'Indore and Ujan'). Indeed, if we take a bird's-eye view of Hinduism as it prevails now over the entire continent of India (including Nepal, whose ruler is the only independent Hindu king in all India), we shall find that there is hardly a form of marriage known to society which is not prevalent in one form or other among the Hindus in various parts of India. The sage Chanakya (Batsayana), writing a few centuries before Christ (*vide Kamasutra*, Section II, ch 4 12 13) called love marriages in the Gandharva form as the best of all forms of marriage, owing to the great attachment prevailing between the parties to such marriage, and the conjugal felicity which flows therefrom. In Gandharva marriages the barriers of caste could hardly be observed with strictness.

The offspring of intermarriage, according to the *Manu Smriti*, (Chap 2, v 9) 'न सप्तर्षी प्रवीर्यते' take rank not much below the offspring of marriage in the same caste, so also according to *Manu* (ch 10, v 6) they are 'सद्वर्णिनः' (यद्वद्वर्णान् न ह विद्वज्जातीयान् इति कुल कथम्) similar to the father's caste in status though not quite the same. By repeated cross-breeding, according to *Manu*, (ch 10, v 65) 'यद्वा ब्राह्मणतयेति ब्राह्मण इति गृह्यते' the Sudra is elevated into Brahmanhood and the Brahman is degraded into a Sudra. In Kulluka's commentary of the previous verse we find सप्तमे युगे जायन्ति सप्तपदेष्टा वर्षा वैजप्राधान्यात् ब्राह्मणं प्राप्नोति in the seventh generation by repeated interbreeding with the paternal caste a Parassara (the son of a Brahman by a Sudra woman) is elevated to the rank of Brahman owing to the superior efficacy of the seed. The great sage Vyasa is an instance in kind. We thus find that the gradual elevation of the offspring of inter marriage into Brahmanhood prevalent in the Himalayan regions to this day has the sanction of our highest Smriti Shastras. Yours &c

Bureaucracy in Baroda.

To The Editor, *The Modern Review*

Sir,—Will you please be kind enough to publish the following letter of public importance and oblige—

Up till now Baroda was considered to be the nursery of democratic institutions. In almost all reforms of far-reaching effects Baroda claimed to be a pioneer State in India. But as the grim facts reveal the inner workings of this State in its true colours the condition is completely the reverse of what it seems to be from a distance.

The recent curtailment of the liberties of the Baroda Legislative Council the bitter complaints against the harsh control system and the reactionary order of this State forbidding its servants to take part in the recent Agricultural Conference at

Baroda, reveal the trend of the official attitude at Baroda. Can Bureaucracy go further!

To crown the grievances rampant at Baroda, an unheard of incident happened yesterday. A great public meeting, under the auspices of the Baroda Chamber of Commerce was being held on the 9th March, to protest against the Control System at Baroda, by constitutional methods. But the Dis-

trict Magistrate of Baroda, who is also the Revenue head of the Baroda District, issued a prohibition order and stopped the meeting. Is it seditions to hold a public meeting to protest against the "Control System"? Surely repression is soon going to be the order of the day in Baroda.

Girgaum, Bombay,
Dated 13th March 1919

Yours faithfully,
APABHAI C. AMIN

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Views on some Educational Questions

Mr V. Subrahmanya Iyer, B.A., publishes in the February number of *The Mysore Economical Journal* under the above caption some of the notes jotted down by him at an interview with "The Great Indian Poet, Mystic, Scholar and Educationist" during his stay at Bangalore and Mysore in January last. On the eve of the publication of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission Sir Rabindranath's views on matters educational cannot fail to be of great interest to the public and that is our main interest in reproducing them here.

1 UNIVERSITIES

(1) *Professors*—While for the routine work of the University classes men may be appointed, as Assistant Professors in consideration of their academic titles and diplomas, it would be a most serious blunder to select professors for higher work on the same principle. For the latter have to be the leaders and directors of thought. And none but such as have given unquestionable proof of originality and genius should be placed in such positions. It is because of this defect in our Universities that most of them have not been the success that they should otherwise have been.

a The right method of appointing Professors is to invite the leading writers and thinkers available, on any subject, irrespective of race, colour, creed or caste, to deliver courses of lectures and to select the best from among such lecturers.

b Next, such Professors, when appointed should be bound by a condition that within three years they should produce some original work and that in every three years succeeding they should continue to give evidence of thought on original lines.

c The system of "exchanging" Professors of different Universities for short periods as in America should also be adopted.

High salaries must necessarily be paid. But that will be cheaper than the present system, which is

more costly, in that it does not bring a corresponding return for the large sums spent.

(2) *Selection of Men for Specialization*—Now-a-days men are being deputed for special study not only within the University but also to places outside. But the results such men have thus far achieved, though in some cases really brilliant yet in most cases have not been equal to the expectation. And that is because the selection is not rightly made. Mere academic titles are not a safe guide. Nor is the selection made by authorities competent to judge of the merits of such candidates. It is only when young men have been in close touch with Professors with originality of thought, that their merits and aptitudes for original work can be known. And this can be judged best not by ordinary lecturers, usually known as Professors but by those who have done original or research work.

a There should be travelling scholarships to enable the students to visit different provinces in India collecting materials for their special studies from observation and submitting them to proper authorities.

b Professors engaged in research work, should select students to collaborate with them. The mechanical portions of their work such as collecting data from different sources, collating different versions of texts, drawing up concordances and other such tasks should be left to these students to carry out with the guidance of the professors.

(3) *Subjects of Study*—Another chief reason for the paucity of original thought and production in the existing Universities, is the viciousness of dividing the pupils' energies and attention in the Collegiate stage. A grounding in general knowledge ought to be provided for up to the Entrance. But in the University, pupils should be allowed to bring up, for a degree, only one subject, in which the standard might be raised. Such a graduate will have greater depth, consequently greater love of his subject, greater aptitude for research work and better scope for manifesting originality, if he have any.

The Universities will then turn out a superior type of graduates which alone could make for real advancement of knowledge in the land.

(4) *The Medium of Instruction in the University*—As a general rule the mother tongue if it be one of the leading vernaculars of India should be made the medium of instruction. But the adoption of this principle should be gradual. The sciences cannot be

immediately taught in the vernacular. It is, therefore, necessary to *bifurcate* the courses of study in the University. Pupils desirous of bringing up humanistic subjects like History, Economics, Sociology and Philosophy, should be made to get their education in the vernacular. Pupils seeking to gain degrees in Science subjects should be instructed through the medium of English. The necessary books for the humanistic subjects may be translated at once. In the course of ten or fifteen years, all the courses may be given in the vernacular and the bifurcation⁷ abolished. English should be universally taught as a second but *Compulsory* language.

(5) *Fine arts*—Instruction in fine Arts is an urgent necessity. For these arts develop a province of the mind, which remains untouched by modern Indian education. This defective development of the mind of our times has seriously stunted the growth of national life.

The first step must be to organize under the direction of experts, a 'Museum on the most scientific lines. Articles indicative of the life and culture of all the peoples of India, must be secured and then similar articles of other races and cultures of the world, as far as possible. They must be classified according to the purposes they were or are intended to serve, so that the underlying ideas may be studied not only from economic, historical or ethnological standpoints, but also from the ethical and aesthetic.

(6) *Sanskrit Education*—There is a false notion that Buddhistic culture is either antagonistic or alien to Hindu culture. But they are, in fact, more closely related than Aryan and Dravidian cultures. The study of the Buddhistic and the Pali literature should be combined with a study of Sanskrit literature. The Pehlavi literature should also be associated with it for the same reason. Else a comprehensive idea of Sanskrit culture cannot be attained.

II WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Women's Education cannot be the same as men's for the reason that women have a special duty to discharge towards society and humanity. It is not that every woman should be made to learn the culinary art or that she should have no higher ambition than to be a cook or a house manager. Woman has a right to learn the sciences and arts that man learns and to enter, as far as practicable, the walks of life that man usually seeks. But it must not be forgotten that to her alone belongs one of the greatest privileges of life. Of Nature's endowments to man the most valuable is his 'individuality'. Its preservation and development is one of humanity's foremost concerns. This work can be done best only by women. She must, therefore, be first trained for discharging this great duty of rearing up the real man of the future. And her studies must be subordinated to this end. Else, the very object of creation will have failed. The courses that have such an aim can be best given in the vernacular.

III PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

So far as the Primary stage goes there is nothing to be said in favour of the old Hindu method

of teaching pupils one subject after another. It does not mean that the child should learn nothing of history or geography for months or years when it is engaged in the study of Language or Arithmetic. When language is taken up, it should be the one subject of special and direct instruction. But the teacher and the parents may give the child talks on various topics or subjects *incidentally* in the garden, on the road, at dinner or elsewhere. Task work must be confined only to one subject. The talks should prepare the child for receiving instruction in other subjects, later on. In the High School or Lower Secondary stage however, a number of subjects may be taught simultaneously.

The Mother tongue should be the medium of instruction. The fewer the text books the better in the Primary and the Lower Secondary stage. In the High school stage vernacular text books for all subjects should be prepared, without any further delay.

IV EDUCATION IN GENERAL

All educational development must proceed from within outwards. It is really a spiritual process not merely an intellectual or a mechanical one. The spirit being greater than the body and even the individual mind education is a process covering the widest area. Education is, in a real sense the breaking of the shackles of individual narrowness. The aim must, therefore, be to develop not only the individual aspect of the mind but also the universal or the spiritual, which is the chief characteristic of the ancient Hindu system. It is therefore necessary to bring together in every educational organization, all the different cultures found in India and, as far as possible all the cultures of the world all the phases of religion and art in which the universal mind has expressed itself in different ages and countries, i.e., to co-ordinate these various cultures without attempting the suppression of the natural differences. The highest aim of education should be to help the realization of unity but not of uniformity. Uniformity is unnatural. And in fact, its attainment is impossible. A sound educational system should provide for the development of variety without losing the hold on the basic or spiritual unity.

Hence the idea underlying the Bolepur school is to bring together pupils of all creeds and cultures and to help them to realize their spiritual brotherhood and to develop, freely and fully at the same time, their individual and racial characteristics.

V A REAL INDIAN UNIVERSITY

There must be a place, if not in every province, at least in one centre in this vast country, to which the best intellects of India and even of the world outside, could be induced to resort where they could meet, stay temporarily or permanently and impart their knowledge to the public. It will help to kill racial, sectarian, caste and other prejudices and be a real fountain of universal light. It is only Hindu States whose rulers have in their veins flowing the ancient Aryan spiritual culture, based on 'unity' and 'universality' can realize its importance and organize a real university of this type, which will be India's educational contribution to the world's progress.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Prime End

From the January number of *The Philippine Review*, we take the following

The transcendental significance of yesterday's extinguished war, more than the material conquest of the German nation, is the complete dissociation of the Ideal from the galling reality of things, the exaltation of the higher Life of Soul above the bare facts of Prussian materialism. This was the supreme assertion of that sublimity of purpose which has been the invariable consideration in Allied thought, that golden rule without exception which spelled victory since the beginning, and till the last.

Let the coming peace conference dedicate itself energetically to the furtherance of the world's spiritual interests. It must not be vindictive and defeat its own end. After the extradition of Hohenzollern Pharaoh and his punishment together with his myrmidons, after the reparation of the huge destruct wrought by Teuton heathenism, the gates of mercy shall not be closed on an unfortunate people disillusioned by their war lords. Henceforward they shall form a vital part of the new whole and not be the disconcerting element without. For the peace aspired by Mankind is not a peace endangered by olden trammels of prejudice but a peace which is, in all sense, free and universal. Such is the idea of present day democracy. It is accordant with the spiritual in quietudes of the New world.

The True Basis of Political Progress

Mr M. H. Masillamani, in the course of an article on the above subject in the February number of *The Young Lanka* [Colombo], makes the following observations:

It is interesting to examine as how we in Ceylon are influenced by our contact with Western Civilization. It seems to have affected us in a different way from the Indians. The people of India have managed to preserve their individuality in spite of this intimate contact with the Westerner. They stuck to their religion, their national habits and customs and viewed with suspicion the new civilization. The Indian is a distinct entity, a force to be reckoned with, a factor that cannot be ignored, in the readjustment of affairs after the war. But the pretensions of Western Civilization has made us material in the sense that we work only for the means to keep ourselves and our families in material comfort. The materialism of the West is transcendent and tant, progressive with large ambitions of world domination. But ours is a two-penny materialism that aims at a knightlyhood at the expense of honour and self respect. But our pretensions do not seem to urk us. Most of us have

a religion borrowed from the west which seemed to have broken our intellectual backbone and prepared us for every sort of bondage.

In short we are non descript mass of people that do not mind our political backwardness so long as we are well fed and well-clothed and have the means to humour our vices. The only means of saving ourselves from utter extinction is by making a great effort to shake off our sloth and selfishness and aspire after nobler ends.

It is through religion alone that we can succeed. Religion is the common platform on which we can meet.

First of all let us create a conscience a responsibility to God and to our fellow man. Let us look for the essentials the things of permanent value and give up the worship of externals. The blind imitation of Western manners is the death of us. I know of a man who would prefer to die rather than be seen in his national costume.

Comments on the above would be superfluous.

Japan and the League of Nations

In the February number of the *Japan Magazine* [Tokyo] just to hand, the Hon. Mr Kiroku Hayashi, M.P., Professor of Diplomacy in the Keiojuku University, contributes an article under the above heading in the course of which he writes:

The formation of some kind of international organization for the control of the predatory trend of nations after the war is now being vigorously urged in certain quarters, principally in the United States. The Allies however, on the whole give the proposal substantial support. But Japan has not yet ventured to express any definite opinion as to the proposal and as she is one of the Allies her convictions should count for something. The present writer does not pretend to speak in any official capacity, so that the opinions here set down may be taken as the writer's and indeed opinion shared no doubt, by many of his fellow countrymen.

At first the proposal was regarded by many as only a form of extreme idealism in politics, but the acceptance of the idea has now so far gained ground as to command attention as a serious proposition. What then is Japan's view concerning the proposed League of Nations? Speaking generally the proposition seems quite acceptable as it has the laudable aim of preventing war and promoting good fellowship among nations. Such a project should prove a good omen for the policy of the Twentieth century. It is evident that such makeshifts as balance of power cannot be any longer depended on to avert war. In future all attempts of nations to stand aloof from the international family for purposes of selfish greed or aggression must

be prevented at all costs, even at the risk of ruining the rebel. Consequently if the proposal comes to realization, it is quite obvious that Japan must be a party to it or stand apart to her peril. If one is to judge from the utterances of the Minister of Foreign Affairs the Government seems quite ready to support the League of Nations.

The League of Nations will constitute a good means of expressing as well as enforcing Anglo-Saxon ideas of righteousness, on which the English-speaking countries set more value than on German *kultur*. Japan can do nothing more beneficial to her than to make a nearer approach to such principles. Therefore it is not necessary to labour the point as to whether Japan should join with the Anglo-Saxon nations in supporting the formation of a League of Nations. It is to her undoubted interest to do so, as well as to the interests of civilization generally. There can be no doubt that this is the opinion of the vast majority of the people of Japan. It is one thing to agree to the proposal, however, and quite another thing to find a way to carry it into practical realization.

Let us then look at certain features likely to result from the enforcement of the policy of a League of Nations. In the first place those nations that have won their places in the world, gaining great advantage to the disadvantage of others, will be guaranteed the *status quo*, and be allowed to enjoy the superior advantages thus gained in the past, while the less fortunate nations will be kept also in the *status quo* and remain unable to improve their opportunities for territorial expansion and national progress. It seems tantamount to saying "Now that we have got all we want, the process of grab must cease and all will remain as they are." Such a policy will greatly militate against the interests of a country like Japan, with her excessive population, meagre territorial extent and insignificant colonial possessions. She will be unable to expand without violation of the terms of the League of Nations. The situation will be a complete arrestment of the general course of human history. From time immemorial it has been that nations rise and fall according to their character and environment, and on this possibility rests the hopes of humanity. Had a League of Nations existed a couple of hundred years ago or even less, America would still be in possession of England, and Canada would be French and India still a congeries of clashing races. A nation, being a human organism cannot submit to artificial limitation without injury to its life, if not ruin to its destiny. If nations are not to be permitted to increase, are they also not permitted to decline and will those unfit to maintain the competition essential to existence be deprived of the privilege of death? If nations cannot grow are they to be kept artificially alive? This is a principle that cuts both ways.

Continuing the writer observes

The principles of the League of Nations, as I understand them will preclude the privilege of any nation expanding its territories by force. The duty of Germany before the war would have been to maintain her national strength and prosperity by peaceful means, and refrain from any attempt to gratify her ambition by arms. All nations will henceforth be obliged to follow this principle or come into conflict with the League of Nations. To this Japan will of agree provided that nations be assured of

opportunity for natural development, subject to no artificial or fatal restriction. Will the elimination of arms ensure freedom for national development and free growth? The doubt constantly recurs whether this assurance can be given by a League of Nations. It is a question which Japan in justice to herself is bound seriously to consider.

At present all nations enjoy a degree of freedom that appears to be their right. They can establish protective tariffs for the promotion of domestic industry and the enhancement of national revenue, and they can enact and enforce laws within their own domains for the benefit of their people. Being independent themselves they do not want to limit the independence of others. The League of Nations will have to ensure this freedom unimpaired, even to the extent of precluding unfair economic discrimination as President Wilson has suggested. The League will or should be still more far-reaching than this, for it ought to preclude the enactment of laws or regulations prejudicial to foreigners wishing to enter another country or live therein. Domestic laws must then be drawn up with a view to the convenience rather than the inconvenience of strangers. All must be based on the principles of humanity rather than on self interest. Laws at least must be just and impartial. This justice or impartiality does not now exist between nations. Are the prospective members of the League of Nations ready to adopt such principles and honestly put them into practice?

There does not appear to be much difficulty about maintaining this absence of discrimination among white men. It is when we come to relations between these races and other races that the danger arises. Before the war Germany was treated as an equal by the other white races and her people were received in all western countries on a status of equality with all other western people, while oriental races were placed on a status of inequality. Germany was not satisfied with the freedom she thus enjoyed but resorted to force of arms to take what the law did not allow. Of course she deserves the reproach of mankind. Had she been fighting to avert discrimination against her race or nation she might have had a right to expect more sympathy.

Now there is no doubt that Japan has been discriminated against racially by western nations, and she is still suffering this indignity and injustice. In America and the British colonies the common people of Japan are excluded by law. Those few that are permitted to live in these countries have to submit to vexing restrictions in regard to land and therefore are deprived of full liberty in regard to natural development and prosperity. This is quite contrary to the idea of the League of Nations as well as against the dictates of justice and humanity. The situation then is that the Japanese are not placed in a position of equality with western races in any part of the western world. With her very limited territory and rapidly increasing population this interference with natural freedom is very difficult to tolerate. Now when a nation is thus placed in a position where she has to make overseas expansion or suffer congestion and decline what is she to do? Will not a suffocating man struggle for air and extended existence? And who can blame him? Are not those who shut off the air and attempt to smother the victim, the real culprits in the case? Thus while Japan is quite ready to agree to any

proposal eliminating the policy of national expansion by force of arms or unjust means, she claims the natural liberty of peaceful development and racial expansion.

The danger rises where there is any attempt to raise obstacles to this peaceful and natural expansion of races and nations. With a great show of righteousness America now strids for the League of Nations, and advocates limitation of armaments and the progress of peoples by peaceful means alone. She must, therefore, be the first to recognize as a national and racial right the natural freedom of races and nations to grow according to the laws of living organisms. This liberty of peaceful and natural development can be stopped only by force of arms, unless races and nations can be found willing to commit suicide to please their selfish neighbours, and force of arms is prohibited, according to the tenets of the League of Nations. The Anglo-Saxons are proud to proclaim that they have been fighting for liberty, and especially for the rights and liberties of the small nations. Japan will hold them to this profession. Japan is a small nation. Will the Anglo-Saxon nations ensure to Japan freedom or natural development? Will their League of Nations see to it that no interference with Japan's natural expansion and growth is allowed? Will they guarantee to Japan and the Japanese the same liberties they guarantee to Belgium? This is all she asks, in order to be a happy member of their League of Nations no more but no less! Are the leaders in the formation of the League of Nations prepared to banish all discrimination against the Japanese race and assure our people the same liberties they themselves now enjoy? This may be a hard question for race prejudice to answer, but it requires an answer!

Mr. Kiroku concludes his interesting article with the following words:

Unless the League of Nations guarantees to every race full freedom for the natural development of its

talents and opportunities, it becomes no more than a trust for the larger nations to guarantee their own superiority and present advantageous position in other words, it becomes a pretext for the retention of unfair monopoly, if there be any monopoly that can be fair. The League of Nations, to ensure itself of permanence, must be more than a name. It must embody humane principles and practise them. No doubt the last thing that President Wilson would think of allowing would be injustice, unfair discrimination or any form of unrighteousness. But whether he allows it or not, the League he proposes might easily be managed to retain the present injustices to oriental races, unless the guarantees to the contrary are explicit. At all events Japan feels seriously bound to call the attention of the Allies to the above point as of vital importance to her. It is a principle for which Japan must stand up at all hazards. She knows that no statesman of Europe or America, worthy of the name, would dare oppose the principles for which she contends but in the past there has been the habit of allowing injustice to persist without openly approving it. If an international society cannot eliminate such injustice what is the good of it?

In his admirable speech before Congress in April, 1917, President Wilson, in announcing a state of war between America and Germany asserted that Right is of greater value than Peace. Peace must be respected, but a peace that violates Right cannot be tolerated. Thus America, though a sincere lover of peace, was compelled to take up arms against Germany, because Right was set at naught. According to American opinion it is right to take up arms when Right is disregarded. The proposed League of Nations, in order to secure peace, must, therefore, see that Right is respected and the rights of the small nations equally with those of the larger nations. If the League should ignore the rights of races it would be worse than no league, for it would be less easy to defeat Japan's right to racial equality is still ignored. Will the League continue this injustice?

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

PROFESSOR GEDDES ON THE PROBLEM.

THE problem of education has always been one of the most baffling before the world. No country has yet been able to arrive at a satisfactory solution; least of all modern India. The roots of the world unrest, whether political or social, are deep in the subterranean strata of education. If only the educational foundations could be laid on a ground solid and firm, the superstructure of the State and the society might confidently be regarded as secure, and practically im-

mune from the ever-recurring upheavals that threaten to shake to the very bottom the edifice of civilization.

The task of educational reconstruction seems to be as hopeless and as forlorn as the quest of ultimate Reality; but also equally persistent and irrepressible. The failure of innumerable preceding attempts is powerless to dissuade the ardent spirits of succeeding generations from endeavouring to undertake a fresh reconstruction. Nor do we speak of these abortive efforts

with the slightest disparagement to the educational reformers, any more than with what we could speak of the pioneer workers in any other fields of activity. In this world of imperfections and failings it is not given to man to accomplish any thing that could in any sense be called "perfect". What the greatest among us could ever aspire to achieve is infinitesimally unimportant, but what is infinitely important for us is to do that little. And it is therefore incumbent on humanity to welcome any suggestions that might emanate from a fertile brain towards educational reconstruction.

Professor Patrick Geddes, the eminent Scottish biologist and scholar, has at the present day in the intellectual world few equals, hardly any superior, so far as the recurrency of ideas is concerned. He is a man of remarkable personality. Without a touch of racial conceit, he is intensely human, capable of discerning objects, invisible to the eyes blinded by passion or prejudice. He is a great inquirer, a questioner through and through. Luckily for India, he landed on the shores of Bombay in 1915, and has since then, barring a brief visit to Paris, been touring throughout the length and breadth of the Continent. Madras and Bombay, Calcutta and Darjeeling, Lahore and Poona, Benares and Cawnpore, Lucknow and Allahabad,—all these cities with their suburbs he has visited not according to the flying fashion of the professional tourist, but has made things visible to him that are non-existent to the average foreigner, by making a considerable stay of weeks and months at every place, mixing freely with the children of the soil, meeting them on terms of perfect equality, not disdaining to call on them at their antiquated dwellings, frequenting the quarters where the average white man would not set his foot for a moment, cultivating the friendship of "Natives" and winning their confidence by the sheer force of his genuine sympathy.

In this way he has succeeded in getting opportunities which only a few can get, and in surmounting the obstacles that almost invariably blur the vision of an outsider. His official mission to India is in the capacity of a town-planning expert. But the study of Cities, in his philosophy of life, is inseparable from the study of Universities,—in fact only its logical

complement. So alongside Town-planning he has all the time been also doing University planning. The sub-current has always flowed with the main stream.

It is owing to these considerations that everything emanating from the pen of Professor Geddes ought to be received with deep attention. And it is in this spirit that one looks up to his exhaustive *Report on the Proposed University for Central India at Indore*. His exceedingly acute and penetrating observations couched in a charming lucid language are a constant temptation to quotation and we freely confess we shall succumb to the temptation. In the main, however, we shall content ourselves with giving a broad outline of the Professor's scheme for the educational re-construction for India and a summary of his notable suggestions which we shall pass in rapid review offering our comments and criticisms wherever needful.

I.

The book,—it is in fact a book of permanent value, not an ordinary 'report' of the transitory type,—characteristically opens with its dedication to two of the greatest sons, not of Britain, nor of any other European Country, but of the land of the dark "Natives",—Tagore and Bose, as also to "all singers and searchers towards the renewal of education". This homage to the worth of the Indian intellect by a scholar of Professor Geddes's eminence and renown is not a thing to be lightly passed over.

In the Introductory Chapter the author traces the historic origins of the Western Universities in general, and of those of India and London in particular, all of which, despite their many historic and other differences, may be grouped as pre-Germanic implying thereby the essential unity of the present University machinery and its working all over the world. In this connection, his account of the German Universities, both at their height and in their decay, exceedingly succinct though, is not without interest. The fundamental difference between the pre-Germanic and Germanic Universities lies in the emancipation of the latter from examinations and memory-tests, which are apparently the be-all and end-all of education in the former. The results obtained by this free and untrammelled sys-

tem of education must come as a surprise to the autocrats of the examination regime. Looking at the undisputed achievements of German Science and Scholarship our educational bureaucrats may well ask themselves in astonishment 'Freed from administrative authority, freed from memory taxation, freed from economic fears consequent on the failure of examinations, how was it possible for the German to study at all, much less to study so intensively, and so productively as he has admittedly done?' Because, is Professor Geddes' reply, one can only really study, still more investigate, from interest in the subject, whereas under external authority or amid internal fears, one can only cram. *In this distinction, clear as between the nutritive kernel and its shell, lies the historic rise and growth of German Universities and the long arrest of French, British and Indian ones.*

But latterly even Germany did not escape the deteriorative influence of Imperialism in education. Of late the State attempted to overdominate education and succeeded in doing so only at the expense of its quality. For, in the words of the St. Andrews Professor, 'education like religion, can only be truly vital in the measure of its freedom from external authority, since truth, like goodness, cannot be imposed from without, but can only grow with mind and soul within'.

Who can doubt the transparent truth, the immense wisdom, of the above remark? But is there a single soul among the entire hierarchy of the I E S with sufficient courage or foresight to act accordingly?

Incidentally this also dispels the popular illusion that Universities have been or could be, 'founded' by kings, statesmen or millionaires. In fact "they have all historically arisen from a preliminary growth and culture in their cities." External wealth and power can at best water, not plant, them.

Next, the Professor proceeds to survey the present Indian University situation. His immensely broad outlook leads him to plan a post-Germanic University as a necessary epilogue to the pre-Germanic and Germanic types. With this standard in view, he is naturally dissatisfied with the programme of the Indian University reformer, specially with the Calcutta

University Commission so far as could be judged from its published questions.

That India is a predominantly, agricultural country is a truism irritatingly oft repeated. From this fact the Professor deduces the educational corollary that it is the Agricultural education that must be given the most central place in the curricula of Indian Universities and not to clerical, legal or medical education, as heretofore. The reasons he advances to support his views are worthy of serious attention. In the first place, better farming would lead to better business, and this in turn to better living. Material prosperity is then his first point. The second is educational efficiency, since the test which the practitioner professors would require the student assistants to satisfy would obviously no longer be a test of the rote faculty, a test of bookish memory but that of skilful and intelligent practice estimated by actual results in the field. This would automatically put an end to the evils of examinations. Next the training in Agriculture would also be a training in various Sciences inasmuch as the medical, physical and chemical sciences are all advancing towards the biological standpoint—beyond the old static externalism and post mortem studies toward a clear view of the processes of life—the starting point of Agriculture. Lastly the social sciences, e.g. the Humanities instead of suffering would gain by the Agricultural education. Better ploughs would produce better seeds, better leaves better flowers better fruits and better crops. Dead studies would be revitalised. The tyrannous cram trade of colleges would be replaced by recitation of ancient songs, ancient poetry and active representation of ancient drama. The wandering agricultural student would be told of the glorious regions, the great and inspiring cities of the past and be encouraged to visit them. "Even the sacred Grammars will only die to live. At first, of-course, they must disappear, but in and from the wider Grammar of the Sciences all that is vital in them reappears. We but correct their conventional order of Noun and Verb into the true vital order of activity and fixity of Kinetic and Static, as Verb and Noun, as creative and as product."

So far so good. But with due deference to the learned Professor one may be

permitted to observe that to stop at Agriculture is to stop in the midway. Pressing as is the need for Agricultural education, the need for Industrial education is only little less so. Trade, commerce and industry are the only effective weapons equipped with which can India hope to maintain her existence in the fierce competition raging all the world over. Agriculture is, no doubt, essential. It is in no case to be supplanted. But it is at the same time to be supplanted by a training in that art which is the mainspring of the material civilisation of the West.

II

What are the material adjuncts of an ideal University? To this question the Professor returns after devoting two interesting chapters to general, though rather desultory, remarks on University Renewal as aided by the afterwar Reconstruction. A theatre, a library and a museum are the obvious requisites. With the instinct of a city designer he considers the location of these as of some importance. The locality and buildings should, of course, be suitable both from the architectural and educational points of view. The use of the theatre is to be reserved for physical education. Beside it, may be constructed an open air gymnasium and a couple of wrestling pits. In the theatre with its lawns, public Bands may play, popular entertainments may be held, and even 'Purda' parties may be initiated, say, by the local Girls' school.

Why not also a swimming bath, we may add?

As regards the library and the museum special care should be taken to save them from becoming 'a cemetery of books', a "mere miscellaneous storehouse" respectively. All sorts of psychological devices should be adopted to make these institutions as useful and as popular as possible. The Library, for instance, should have several separate compartments suited to persons of all classes and all ages. Let the first room be the Lending Library with its large book store. Next should come the Reference Library with its book cases and reading tables between them. The adjoining set of rooms should be kept apart as studies for the research scholar. Opposite this we should find a general reading room or News room

with its papers and magazines and books of everyday reference. Close to this, but with a separate entrance, there should be a Children's reading room and also a Women's (Purda) Reading-room. The school child and his mother may thus visit the library together, the former at the same time visualising the main steps of the long ladder of learning. Each room should, of course, have a verandah and around it pleasant and steady garden walks.

Similarly the Museum, too, should be a real "wonder-house" (*Ajaib ghar*, as its Hindustani equivalent denotes), being able both to arouse wonder and "to satisfy it, with wonder yet more." "With innumerable galleries specialised for every aspect of nature, every class of natural objects, every effort, expression and master-piece of man" it should be able to respond to every demand upon it and this at all levels, from elementary school visits to research consultations. This will lead "even the puzzled and wearied public to readily gather into eager groups and to follow round the Museum an interesting and lucid expositor as Guide." The Museum, like the library, has to be divided into several departments,—regional museum, educational museum, history museum, art museum, agricultural museum, health museum, general museum, and so on, with adjacent model workshop and Bazar exhibiting the work of the potter, the weaver, the painter, the jeweller, the goldsmith and the rest of the craftsmen class.

Professor Geddes' extremely graphic description of these institutions of yesterday and tomorrow deserves to be quoted *in extenso*.

'Too commonly hitherto the librarian has been more concerned with the orderly keeping of his books than with getting them worn out through use while still more the Museum curator has been wrapping his treasures within a napkin. But this organisation of material wealth at the expense of intellectual poverty is largely because Museum and Library are as yet scarcely anywhere adequately related with each other or with the surrounding colleges and schools with their city public, or with the town and village beyond. But of late years here and there each and all of these defects have been changing towards their very opposites. The Museum is arranged and displayed with its specimens now in serial and evolutionary order, intelligently and interestingly labelled. And while a learned and exhaustive catalogue is made available for the students a popular and well illustrated Introductory Guide to each gallery is offered to the

Public for an anna or two and copies hung beside the cases for those who cannot afford even this. Best of all, the Curator and his assistants divide among them a daily round of teaching in this or that gallery to its visitors. Schoolclassers come in rotation day by day. A higher guidance is given to the college students on their periodical visits often by their Professors. The more living libraries and Museums are now each developing their "Lead ing Branches" the librarian sending out his monthly or fortnightly parcel of books to every village school house and the curator similarly sending round his boxes for the nature teaching of the schools."

And what are the effects of this on students? Let us listen to his words once more.—

"In schools thus kept stirred to active interests by such healthy change and continual freshness children and teacher progress together and this at a rate far exceeding even in rapidity, besides depth permanence and thoroughness, all the whipping and spurring and terrifying which are needed for the present examination method."

Who can doubt, except perhaps the exalted Members of the sublime Indian Educational Service, that reforms such as these are the sure means of reanimating and re-vivifying the dry, dreary bones of the present system of education?

III

The central idea of Educational Renewal is the idea of freedom, of emancipation. Professor Geddes cannot for a moment countenance "the prevalent theory of the blank class and examination room" which implies "that life is to be developed and to be measured by abstracting the normal and improving environment which life requires for that or other functioning." To use a metaphor suggested by him, the true test of the flight of birds does not consist in confining them within the four walls of a chamber, and to have even that chamber emptied of the vital and sustaining air, but in encouraging them to fly in the open air and thereby to estimate their power of flight. But it is precisely this return to the normal conditions of life, this, return to act and fact which the educational autocrats of "Paperdom" abhor from the depths of their souls.

Architecturally, the striking feature of the group of educational buildings in the University City would be the construction of a central Outlook Tower, the topmost turret of which should be accessible only after ascending a fairly long stair. "With circulation stirred beyond everyday slowness of pulse, with heart aroused and

hands alert, Head is also awakened by usual brain circulation." And here with eyes freshened the student should command the view of 'Life and Nature in the City, Nature and Life in the surrounding plain,' and feel his 'vital immersion in the concrete with fresh force and variety'."

Professor Geddes is nothing, if not thorough. Thoroughness is his strongest point. He is never content with mere enunciation of a general proposition. He applied this open air Outlook method to the teaching of Geography, Cosmography, Astronomy, Botany, Physics, History, Sociology, in short to every department of the physical and social sciences with an ingenuity that is all his own. But for the details of this the reader must refer to the pages of the Report itself.

Beside this Outlook the Professor also plans a complementary Inlook,—"a small corner turret without the disturbing windows but with a light opening in its roof,"—for the recluse student of philosophy, for his world of abstractions, for his introspective looks into his own soul, where he may retire and, withdrawing from the outward and phenomenal world, may meditate upon his abstract and universal ideas.

Perhaps the most interesting application of Mr. Geddes' plan of education is to be found in its possibility of proving an antidote to the political unrest and revolutionary tendencies. Hisatology of unrest is one of the most sensible utterances that have even fallen from the lips of a member of the ruling class. "It is," says he, 'from the section of youth least contented with the present, most determined to advance upon it, and thus more or less in unrest that revolutionaries are at present drawn, yet these are but so many strayed pioneers. The true Police for them should thus have been their Professors, to open better horizons to each of these ardent young souls before his disappointment and embitterment. Let us educate such restless spirits in the main aspects of life, in appreciating the corresponding great departments of its activity, and sharing in them too—Industrial and Esthetic, Hygienic and Agricultural, Educational, Economic and Social. Yet also Ethical, with faith and effort in the possibility of these, in their community, their city and its betterment around them."

We shudder to think of the consequences that would have befallen an Indian publicist, had he ventured to utter words italicised in the above extract. Strayed pioneers, not downright scoundrels! Incitement to anarchy, was the mildest charge to be levelled against him.

The optimism of the Professor cannot find a greater justification than in the career of the late Bibu Ganga Pershad Varma of the Lucknow 'Advocate,' and readily avails himself of his instance. Let the story and the moral be stated in his own words —

'Knowing as I do the record of men like Ganga Pershad Varma of Lucknow at first as a ormy and threatening even as it seemed to public order, the James Larkin of Lucknow' but next when practical opportunity was given him so eminently civic and constructive; knowing too his work in detail, through being privileged to plan in continuing it in two successive years I cannot but think that half of the restless youth of to day are lost town improvers and planners and I would take over from their present well meaning but insufficiently psychological custodian such students as simple tests of eye and hand would select as the visual and constructive ones. With six months training in any Indian City not their own such men would on the whole be ready for City survey and service. I venture to predict that such at present restless youths would soon be steadied men making, a record deserving their portraits in it (i.e. Memorial Hall) with those of other sons and soldiers of India.

The Indian unrest would be a thing of the past if the present custodians of law and order could be prevailed upon just to give a fair trial to the remedy suggested here. But has not our Bureaucracy shown itself bankrupt of foresight and statesmanship at any rate, in this respect?

IV

How to bring a true University into being? Not by 'founding' it off hand on a sufficiently large site with the help of some generous donor or educationally minded statesmen and to fix on it a "Constitution of administrative and examination fetters. The right method is to continue and encourage growth, not to force it. The first prerequisite of an University is the intellectual movement and ferment of the times. It is in and from these that Universities have arisen. And they have prospered in the measure not simply of their learning but of their activity, their own internal movements, their intellectual hunger and thirst. A true University is not a simple union of

several colleges, or a mere agglomeration of scholars. It is all this, but also something more. *Its life spirit is the atmosphere of active enquiry and discussion. It must blossom from its culture city. Hence the significance of Athens and Paris, Jena and Leyden, Edinburgh and Boston and let us hope, of Benares and Aligarh.*

Not the least important is the question of the University Headship. To organise and maintain an institution dealing with manifold subjects, all related to one another yet also radically dissimilar, calls for exceptional aptitudes and attainment, all of which it is impossible to find combined in a single individual. A University thus needs not an autocrat, but a General Staff, in the full military sense, each member being an expert in his own department. Yet this does not dispense with the need of a Leader. Now what aptitudes shall we require of him, of the Principal of an Indian University? Not that he should be an Honors man of some British University, nor that he should revel in his pet low-level efficiency, nor yet that he should be past master in the art of discipline. None of these at all. What else then? Let the answer come from the lips of the eminent Scotch scientist.

Such a Head must unite Indian traditions at their highest with intellect at its openest. Beyond even this sympathetic attitude and synthetic culture he needs organising energies of that uncommon order which can at once revive the oldest or most weary teachers, encourage and help on the youngest and inspire the students above all and beyond and through all these, the Citizens, until they feel the University as their own as part of themselves and henceforward of civic interest and pride. He must thus be much like a general in the field, as well as in his study tent, alert to all changes of the situation yet clear as to his general campaign and vigilant not only of drill and discipline, but also of health and spirit even spirit of all ranks. Yet not even this high Military comparison suffices for the powers here needed are more widely intellectual, more sympathetic also in a word far more of spiritual energy and influence than of temporal authority and command.*

Excellent ideas and excellently expressed! But how many of the present Heads of Colleges and Universities throughout the length and breadth of India, could be found even remotely answering to this description?

But what about the funds? Supposing we have succeeded in getting the right sort of men in the right place, where is the

money to come from? Professor Geddes answers the query by a counter question, —Why require money at all? The spirit can never be purchased by money, it is unpurchasable. It was not the richest Brahmins, says he, who have been the most learned, not the best supported Gurus who have been the most educative.

All this is true, but this is not the whole truth. True, Prince Siddhartha did not endow Professorships nor did Socrates think of funds when he founded the University of Athens, but then the conditions of the present day are not at all comparable to those obtaining in the days of Buddha or of Socrates. We are not aware that these protagonists of ancient wisdom were ever confronted with the problem of founding a huge library, or a museum, or of having up-to-date biological and physical and chemical laboratories with all their costly equipment. Faced as we are with the material civilization of the West, we have in every educational enterprise to fall back upon what is purchasable by money —though of course the question of funds is not the only question that should concern us.

V

Finally, what with regard to the time honored custom of Examinations,—a custom so dear to, and so beloved of, the Officers of the Order of Red Tape? Our "revolutionary,"—not revolutionary,—Professor of St. Andrew, is strongest in his denunciation of the system. The natural order of 'Research and Estimation' has been inverted and perverted into a course of "Examination and Research." The educational authorities have a superstitious dread of "Research." They consider it a thing beyond the reach of ordinary mortals, and if some one aspires to reach that pedestal he must ascend a long and windy stair of examinations. To expect any original research after passing through long and tedious rituals of lectures and memorizings and cramming, applied with peculiar thoroughness, is (to quote the Professor once more) as reasonable as to ensure the spontaneous flow of a well we first fill up as fully as possible.

It would surely go down to posterity as a curious specimen of the mentality of the present day educationists that for centuries together a three hours' memory ordeal continued to be regarded as the only and sufficient test of a man's abilities, capacities and attainments,—the only passport on the strength of which he could earn his livelihood, the only label according to which his work was to be judged hereafter in the Civic Life.

But, it may be contended, where is the substitute? The examination evil is admitted but it is a necessary evil since no alternative is forthcoming. The malady is there but what is the remedy?

The remedies happily are with Professor Geddes. They are —

First, the definite record of the student's work throughout his course.

Secondly, the periodic and tutorial estimation of his developing qualities and persisting defects.

Thirdly, the final estimation which appreciates his aptitude, and attainments at the close of his studies.

The present writer has elsewhere described the physical, intellectual and moral evils attendant on the examination system and has also set forth the remedies as they appeared to him. Here by way of supplementing the eminently sound observations of Professor Geddes it may be added that the grouping of wholly unrelated subjects for examination purposes and the slavish dependence of students on some particular text book, which allows no initiative to the teachers and which forces a student to cram a particular text book (or rather the handy 'notes' on it) are the two great impediments in the path of educational progress, and unless the present regime of examinations and yet more examinations is radically transformed all hope of sound educational reform is chimerical.

India welcomes with all her heart the splendid scheme of Professor Geddes. Minor differences of opinion as regards the working of details are immaterial. Let us see how Anglo-India receives it. Perhaps we can read it in the studied silence of its champions in the Press.

ABDUL MAJID

HISTORY OF SHIVAJI, 1667-1670

I. STATE OF MUGHAL DECCAN, 1667.

ON his return home from Agra in December 1666, Shivaji found the political situation in the Deccan entirely changed. The Mughal viceroy, Jai Singh, was no longer in a position to repeat his former success over the Marathas. Worn out by age, toil, disappointment and domestic anxieties, discredited in his master's eyes by the failure of his invasion of Bijapur, and expecting every day to be removed from his post, Mirza Rajah was visibly hastening to his grave. In May 1667 Prince Muazzam, the newly appointed governor, reached Aurangabad and relieved Jai Singh of his charge. The Rajput veteran set out on his homeward journey in extreme misery of mind and sense of public humiliation, and died on the way at Burhanpur on 2nd July.

The return of the weak and indolent Muazzam and the friendly Jaswant to power in the Deccan (May 1667) relieved Shivaji of all fear from the Mughal side. It is true that soon afterwards an able and active general, bearing implacable hatred to the Marathas, joined the Mughal camp. Dilir Khan returned from the Gond country to the side of Prince Muazzam in October 1667, but the coming of this famous warrior brought no accession of strength to the imperialists. The Prince was jealous of Dilir's influence and prestige at his father's Court, resented his insubordinate spirit, and regarded him as a spy on behalf of the Emperor. The proud Rohila general, on his part, publicly slighted Maharajah Jaswant Singh, the right-hand man and trusted confidant of the Prince. Nor was this the only source of discord in the Mughal army in the Deccan. Rao Karn Rathor, the chief of Bikanir, was an officer in Dilir's contingent. His worthless son Anup Singh, when acting as his father's agent at the imperial court, influenced the Emperor to transfer the principality of Bikanir to himself. "At the news of this event, the Rao became even more negligent of his duties and reckless than before, ... disobeying the

wishes of the Khan. His Rajputs practised gang-robbery in the camp at night, because, his lands having been given to his son, he had ceased to get the necessary money for his expenses from his home. It was proved that his soldiers had looted some villages also. Dilir Khan, to save his credit with the Emperor, reported the matter to Court and the Emperor, [in reply], ordered him to arrest the Rao if he [still] acted in that manner. The court agent of Rao Bhao Singh Hada, learning of the contents of the imperial letter, wrote to his master about it...When Dilir Khan, on the pretext of hunting, approached the camp of Rao Karn and invited him to join in the chase,...the Rao came to him with a few Rajputs. Bhao Singh, on getting news of Dilir Khan having ridden out towards the camp of Rao Karn that morning, arrived there quickly with his own troops and carried off Rao Karn to safety from the midst of Dilir's guards. The two Raos marched together to Aurangabad, 24 miles behind Dilir's army. Dilir Khan did not pull on well with Muazzam and Jaswant. He was sent towards Bidar to punish the enemy, but the two Raos remained behind at Aurangabad by order [of the Prince]." (*Dil. 66-68.*) The Prince used to help Rao Karn with money in his distress and enforced idleness at Aurangabad.

Thus, Dilir's enemies found a ready shelter with Muazzam. After sending Dilir Khan away to Bidar, the Prince freely indulged his natural love of hunting and witnessing animal combats, and no attempt was made to crush Shivaji.

But even if the viceroy of the Deccan had been a man of greater spirit and enterprise, it would have been impossible for him for some years from this time to get adequate men and money for an attempt to crush Shivaji. The resources of the empire had to be concentrated elsewhere, to meet more pressing dangers. Within a fortnight of Shivaji's escape, a large army had to be sent to the Panjab to meet the

threat of a Persian invasion, and the anxiety on this point was not removed till December. But immediately afterwards in March 1667, the Yusufzai rising of Peshawar took place, which taxed the imperial strength for more than a year. It was, therefore, the Emperor's interest not to molest Shivaji at such a time

II SHIVAJI'S PEACE WITH THE MUGHALS, 1668

The Maratha chief, on his part was not eager for a war with the imperialists. For some years after his return home from Agra, he lived very quietly, and avoided giving any fresh provocation to the Mughals. He wanted peace* for a time to organise his government, repair and provision his forts, and consolidate and extend his power on the western coast at the expense of Bijapur and the Siddis of Janjira. As early as April 1667 he had sent a letter to the Emperor professing terror of the imperial army which was reported to have been despatched against him, and offering to make his submission again and send a contingent of 400 men under his son to fight under the Mughal banners (*Akhbarat*, 10, 9)

Aurangzib had taken no notice of this letter. Some months later Shivaji made another attempt. He entreated Jaswant Singh to be his intermediary in making peace with the empire. He wrote to the Maharajah, "The Emperor has cast me off, otherwise I intended to have begged the task of recovering Qandahar with my unaided resources. I fled [from Agra] in fear of my life. Mirza Rajah, my patron is dead. If through your intercession I am pardoned, I shall send Shambhu to wait on the Prince and serve as a *man sabdar* at the head of my followers wher ever ordered" (*Dil* 69 70)

Jaswant Singh and Prince Muazzam jumped at the offer and recommended Shiva to the Emperor (9th March 1668), who accepted the proposal, and thus a peace was made which lasted nearly two years. The Emperor recognised Shivaji's title of Rajah, but so far as we can judge did not restore to him any of his forts, except Chakan. For instance, Kalian Bhimra, continued in the hands of the

* Shivaji's two years' peace with the Mughals 1668-1670 and the causes of rupture. *Sabb* 59-62 Ch. I. 121-124. *Dil* 69-71. The terms of this treaty are nowhere given in detail.

Mughals. For the next two years Shivaji lived at peace with the Mughal government. The English factory letters at the close of 1668 and in 1669 describe him as "very quiet" and as "Aurangzib's vassal, [bound] to do whatsoever is commanded by the Prince." His relations with Bijapur also were pacific. The country all about [Karwar] at present is in great tranquillity. Shivaji keeps still at Rajgarh, and though as yet there is no peace made between this king [Adil Shah] and him, yet both refrain from committing any acts of hostility against one another' (*P. R. Surat*, vol. 105. Karwar to Surat, 16 Sep. 1668). Still later, on 17th July 1669, the English traders at Hubli speak of "Shivaji being very quiet, not offering to molest the king's country" (*Ibid*).

In fact, during these three years (1667-69), he was busy framing a set of very wise regulations, which laid the foundations of his government broad and deep, and have remained an object of admiration to after ages (*Sabb* 27 33, 58, *Chit* 78 88).

In terms of the agreement with the Mughals, Shambhuji was sent to the Viceroy's court at Aurangabad with a Maratha contingent of 1,000 horse, under Pratap Rao Gujar. He was created a Commander of Five Thousand and again presented with an elephant and a jewelled sword. Jagirs were assigned to him in Berar. Half his contingent attended him at Aurangabad, while the other half was sent to the new jagir to help in collecting the revenue. After some months Shambhu was permitted to go back to his father on account of his tender age. For two years the Maratha contingent lived in the jagir, "feeding themselves at the expense of the Mughal dominion," as Sabhasad frankly puts it (*Dil* 70).

But the peace was essentially a hollow truce on both sides. Shivaji's sole aim in making it was to save himself from the combined attack of three great Powers and to recover his strength during this respite from war. Aurangzib, ever suspicious of his sons, looked upon Muazzam's friendship with Shiva as a possible menace to his throne, and he secretly planned to entrap Shivaji a second time, or at least to seize his son and general as hostages. (*Sabb* 62)

The rupture, inevitable in any case, was precipitated by financial causes. Re-trenchment of expenditure had now be-

come a pressing necessity to Aurangzib, and he ordered the Mughal army in the Deccan to be greatly reduced. The disbanded soldiery took service with Shiva, who had to find employment for them. Another ill-judged measure of imperial parsimony was to attach a part of Shiva's new jagir in Berar in order to recover the lakh of Rupees advanced to him in 1666 for his journey to the Court. The news of it reached Shivaji when he had completed his military preparations. He sent a secret message to Pratap Rao to slip away from Aurangabad with his men. The other half of the contingent fled from Berar at the same time, plundering the villages on the way! (Dil. 71.)

Sabhasad, however, tells us that Aurangzib wrote to his son to arrest Pratap Rao and Niraji Pant, the Maratha agents at Aurangabad and attach the horses of their troops, and that the Prince, who had learnt of the order beforehand from his court agent, revealed it to Niraji and instigated the Marathas to escape, while the imperial order arrived a week afterwards, when it was too late to carry it out. (Sabh. 61-62.)

III. WAR RENEWED, 1670.

This rupture with the Mughals occurred in January 1670, or a month earlier. On 11th Dec. 1669, the Emperor received a despatch from the Deccan reporting the desertion of four Maratha captains of Shiva's clan (*biradari*) who had entered the imperial service. Aurangzib soon set to strengthening his forces in the Deccan. On 26th January 1670 an order was sent to Dilir to leave Deogarh in the Gond country and hasten to Aurangabad. Daud Khan was ordered to arrange for the defence of his province of Gujrat and then go to Prince Muazzam's assistance. Many other officers were transferred from North India to the Deccan. (*Akhbarat*, year 12.)

Shivaji opened his offensive with great vigour and immediate success.* His roving bands looted Mughal territory, and he attacked several of the forts which he had ceded to Aurangzib by the Treaty

of Purandar. "The imperial officers in command of most of these forts fell after fighting heroically. Every day the Emperor got news of such losses. But some of these places defied capture by reason of the strength of their fortifications and abundant supply of war material." (Dil. 64.)

His most conspicuous success was the capture of Kondana from Udai Bhan, its Rajput *qiladar*, (late in January). Assisted by some Koli guides who knew the place well, one dark night Tanaji Malusare, with his 300 picked Mavle infantry scaled the less abrupt hill side near the Kalyan gate by means of rope ladders and advanced into the fort, slaying the sentinels. The alarm was given; the Rajputs, stupefied with opium, took some time to arm and come out; but in the meantime the Marathas had made their footing secure. The garrison fought desperately, but the Mavles with their war cry of *Hara! Hara! Mahader!* carried havoc into their ranks. The two chiefs challenged each other and both fell down dead, after a single combat. The Marathas, disheartened by the fall of their leader, were rallied by his brother Suryaji Malusare, opened the Kalyan gate to their supporting columns, and took complete possession of the fort. The rest was butchery. Twelve hundred Rajputs were slain, and many more perished in trying to escape down the hill side. The victors set fire to the huts of the cavalry lines and the blaze informed Shivaji at Rajgarh, nine miles southwards, that the fort had been taken. He mourned the death of Tanaji as too high a price for the fort, and named it Singhgarh after the lion heart that had won it.

Early in March, he recovered Purandar, capturing its *qiladar* Razi-ud-din Khan. (M.A. 99.) A few days later he looted the village of Chandor, seizing an elephant, 12 horses and Rs. 40,000 belonging to the imperial treasury, then entered the town and plundered it, while the imperial *qiladar* was shut up in the fort. At one place, however, he met with a repulse. The fort of Mahuli (in North Konkon, 50 miles N. E. of Bombay) was held for the Emperor by a gallant and able Rajput, named Manohar Das Gaur, the nephew of Rajah Bithal Das of Shah Jahan's time. Shiva invested it in February 1670 and attempted a surprise at night. He sent up 500 of

* Sabhasad, 59, says, "In four months he recovered the 27 forts he had ceded to the Mughals." But it is an exaggeration. There is a most spirited but legendary ballad on the capture of Singhgarh (Povadas). The *Akhbarat* and *Diksha* have been of invaluable help in the history of the campaigns of 1671 as reconstructed here. Maratha *bakhars* are silent.

his men to the ramparts by means of rope ladders. But Manohar Das, who "used to be on the alert day and night," fell on the party, slew most of the men and hurled the rest down the precipice. Shivaji then raised the siege, turned to Kalian Bhimri and recovered it after slaying its *thanahdar* Uzbak Khan and driving out the Mughal outpost there. (*Dil* 65, O C 3415 Surat to Co., 30 March 1670.) Ludi Khan the *faujdar* of Konkan, was wounded in a battle with the Maratha forces defeated in a second encounter and expelled from his district. The Mughal *faujdar* of Nander (?) fled away, deserting his post.

About the end of this year (1670) Mahuli too was lost to the Emperor. Manohar Das, conscious of the inadequacy of the garrison and provisions of the fort to repel another attack of the superior Maratha forces, resigned his post in despair of getting reinforcements. Shivaji seized the opportunity, and about December captured Mahuli, slaying its new commandant Alawardi Khan and his garrison of 200 men. (*Dil* 65.) By the end of April 1670* he had looted 51 villages near Ahmadnagar, Junnar and Parenda.

The only officer who made an attempt to uphold the imperial prestige in the Deccan was Daud Khan Quraishi, who had been second only to Dhir Khan during Jai Singh's Maratha campaign of 1665. Leaving the province of Khandesh in charge of his son, Daud Khan arrived at Ahmadnagar on 28th March, 1670. Six days afterwards he set out with 7,000 cavalry to expel Shiva's men who were roving near Parnir, Junnar, and Mahuli. They evacuated Parnir and Junnar and retired before him while he occupied these two posts. Meantime Shivaji had invested three Mughal forts in that region, and Daud Khan left Junnar to relieve them. But at the approach of his son (under his gallant son Hamid and Ludi Khan) the Marathas raised the siege and fled away, and the Mughal advanced division fell back on their main body.

Soon afterwards these two officers went with a detachment and destroyed an old fort which the Marathas were repairing on the frontier, 20 miles from Mahuli. Towards the end of April Daud

* The text of *Akhbarat* here is doubtful. The year may be 1671.

Khan himself marched to Mahuli. The Emperor in open court highly praised Daud Khan for his spirit in invading the enemy's country, regardless of the smallness of his own force, and thereby creating a useful diversion of Shivaji's attention. The hot weather evidently put an end to the campaign soon afterwards. (*Akhbarat*, year 13.)

IV QUARREL BETWEEN MU'AZZAM AND DILIR

But the Mughal administration of the Deccan was in no condition to make a stand against Shivaji. For half of the year 1670 it was passing through a civil war of its own. In obedience to the Emperor's anxious and repeated orders Dhir Khan* had left the Gond country, where he had been profitably employed in squeezing the local chieftains and set off for the Deccan. Starting from Nagpur on 19th March 1670 he expected to reach Aurangabad and wait on the Prince on 12th April. But at his near approach the old quarrel between the viceroy and his general broke out afresh. We have seen how they had disagreed in 1667. So, now too when Dhir reached Pathri, 76 miles S.E. of Aurangabad (about 8th April) and received an order from the Prince to wait on him, he feared to go to the interview lest he should be treacherously imprisoned or killed by the Prince. Twice or thrice he took horse for the purpose of visiting the Prince but returned from the way and spent some days on the plea of illness" (*Dil* 73 74.)

At this act of insubordination Muazzam and Jaswant wrote to the Emperor accusing Dhir Khan of rebellion. The Khan had already denounced the Prince to the Emperor, saying that he was in collusion with Shivaji and had done nothing to defend the imperial dominions, and offering to crush the Maratha chief if the command of the army in the Deccan were left in his (Dhir's) hands for two years with an adequate supply of artillery and siege material.

Aurangzeb was at this time filled with serious anxiety at Muazzam's wilful conduct neglect of the imperial business,

* Quarrel between Muazzam and Dhir Khan in 1670. *Dil* 73 75 80 82 (ma a source) Ishwardas 39 a-60 a. *Stories* II. 161 166, while *MA* 101 *Akhbarat* year 13 and English records give dates and a few details. O C 3415 F R Surat Vol 3 Vol 105 (Bombay to Surat 5 Sep.) &c.

and failure to carry out orders Popular voice in the Deccan could account for the open audacity and easy success of Shivaji's raids and the Prince's inactivity, only by ascribing to Muazzam a treasonable design to attempt his father's throne in alliance with the Marathas

So, at the end of March 1670 the Emperor had sent his Chamberlain (*Khan-i-saman*) Iftikhar Khan, to Aurangabad to investigate how matters really stood,—whether Muazzam was really bent on treason and what his relations with Shivaji were This officer was now instructed to inquire into the Prince's charges against Dilor Khan, and, if the Pathan general was found to be really guilty, to bring him by any means to the Prince's presence and there "do to him what the exigencies of the State required" (*Dil* 74) Iftikhar's brother, a high officer of the imperial court, learning of this order wrote secretly to Dilor to be vigilant when visiting the Prince This message only deepened the alarm and suspicion of Dilor Khan

Iftikhar after his arrival at Aurangabad, went out to visit Dilor, and listen to his explanations of his conduct When he tried to dispel the alarm of Dilor and swore that no disgrace would be done to him at the Prince's Court, Dilor put him to shame and silence by showing him the letter of his brother at Court, reporting the Emperor's instructions Iftikhar, therefore could only advise Dilor to keep away from the Prince longer, by pretending illness and then march away without seeking an interview or permission from the Viceroy

Iftikhar, no doubt moved by kindly intentions thus became guilty of double dealing As an English gunner in Muazzam's service wrote, "He played the Jack on both sides and told the Prince that Dilor Khan was his enemy, and went to Dilor Khan and told him that the Prince would seize on him if he came to Aurangabad" (John Trotter to President of Surat 20 Dec 1670 in *F R Surat*, Vol 105) His unfortunate advice to Dilor only prolonged the tension

Iftikhar then returned to the Prince's court and falsely testified to Dilor's illness, adding many imaginary details to it Dilor marched southwards to attack a Maratha force (under Pratap Rao) that was raiding Mungi patan (in May)

Muazzam complained to the Emperor that Dilor Khan had openly defied his authority and that the Khan's Afghan troops used to rob the people and sack the villages along their line of march, and the latter charge was borne out by the reports of the news writers Then Dilor, finding his position in the Deccan intolerable, wanted to go back to the imperial court without waiting for permission, but the Prince ascribed this course to a wicked desire of creating disorder in Northern India Imperial orders reached him to force Dilor Khan back to the path of obedience The Prince set himself to raise an army for a war with Dilor and called in the Mughal detachments from the outlying posts to his banners

Dilor Khan was pursuing a Maratha band across the Godavari river, when he heard of the arrival of a *farman* from the imperial court, and divined its purport His former suspicion and anxiety now deepened into alarm and perplexity Though it was the height of the rainy season (August) the rivers swollen and the roads miry, he burnt his tents and stores and fled northwards with his army on horseback Marching "in great fear of life, without distinguishing between night and day", he reached the ferry of Akbarabad on the Tapti and swam his horses across the raging stream, losing many men by drowning Thence he proceeded to Ujjain, the capital of Malwa, to rest for a few days from the fatigues of this march

As soon as he started from the south, Prince Muazzam and Jaswant gave him chase with all the available Mughal troops, calling upon Shivaji to come to their aid! The Deccan was filled with wild rumours of a civil war among the imperialists, which were "so confused that we cannot write them for credible" (*O C* 3470, Bombay to Surat, 1 S-p 1670)

In the pursuit of Dilor Khan, Prince Muazzam reached the pass of Changdev, six miles from the Tapti intending to cross the river and enter Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, of which Daud Khan was *subahdar* This governor refused to let him cross his frontier and prepared for armed resistance The Prince distributed a month's pay to his soldiers to hearten them for the coming struggle But this

unexpected opposition brought him to a halt for some time, during which a letter came from the Emperor, ordering Muazzam back to Aurangabad (September). The Prince's evil genius, Jaswant Singh, was separated from him and posted at Burhanpur until further orders.

For, in the meantime, Bahadur Khan, the governor of Gujrat, had taken Dhir Khan under his protection and written to the Emperor praising Dhir's loyalty and past services, explaining how the unreasonable antipathy of Jaswant and the misrepresentations of back biters had turned the Prince's mind against the Khan, and recommending that Dhir might be permitted to serve under him as *sajdar* of Kathiawad. The Emperor's suspicion and alarm had also been excited by Muazzam's approach to Hindustan, it looked so very like his own move in 1657. Indeed his own position now was weaker than Shah Jahan's in that year, for, the war with Shivaji had drawn the greater part of the Mughal forces into the Deccan and Aurangzib had no army in Northern India large enough to confront his son's. It was the talk of the Prince's camp that 'if he had marched forward, he would before this have been king of Hindustan' (Trotter to Surat). Muazzam promptly obeyed his father's order and returned to Aurangabad at the end of September, 1670.

These internal troubles paralysed the Mughal arms, and Shivaji made the most of this golden opportunity. We have seen how he had recovered several of his forts early in the year. His cavalry bands roamed over the country, plundering far and wide. In March the English factors at Surat wrote, "Shivaji marches now not [as] before as a thief, but in gross with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes, and is not disturbed though the Prince lies near him" (O C 3415).

* We may here conclude this episode in the life of Muazzam. In April his mother Nawab Bai was sent from Delhi to visit him and bring him back to the right path by her influence. She returned from her mission in September. Itikbar Khan the imperial Chamberlain had harshly reprimanded the Prince. But when the Emperor learnt that Muazzam's heart was loyal and that his motives had been misrepresented to him by his enemies, the imperial wrath fell upon Itikbar Khan for having exceeded his instructions and been guilty of double dealing. Aurangzib had his brother, Miftakhar Khan too was punished for common catalog official secrets to Dhir Khan. Both brothers remained deprived of office for some months. (U 101 Akbarnama 130)

V. LOOT OF SURAT

In April Bahadur Khan visited Surat with 5000 horse, to guard the town against an apprehended attack by Shiva. In August there were false rumours that Muazzam, then supposed to be in rebellion against his father, was coming to Surat "to take possession of this town and castle." The Mughals demanded from the Court of Bijapur a contingent of 12,000 horse for service against Shivaji, and some ammunition from the English at Bombay for the fort of Koridru. People were expectant as to what the imperialists would do when the rains would cease and campaigning again become possible (F R Surat, vol 3 Consult 16 and 18 Aug 1670 O C 3437). But Shivaji as usual, struck the first blow. On 3rd October he plundered Surat for the second time.

Throughout September he had been assembling a large body of cavalry at Kalian, evidently to invade Gujrat (F R Surat, Vol 3 Consult 12 Sep 1670). The matter was so notorious that on 12th September the English factors at Surat had rightly concluded that "that town would be the first place he would take," and foreseeing the ensuing danger, [we] had taken a convenient time to empty all our warehouses at Surat of what goods were ready baled and sent them down to Swally," even their entire Council with the President (Gerald Aungier) were at Swally at the beginning of October. And yet the Mughal governor was so criminally negligent as to keep only 300 men for the defence of the city. On 2nd October came successive reports of Shiva's arrival with 15,000 horse and foot within 20 miles of Surat. All the Indian merchants of the city and even the officers of government fled in the course of that day and night. On the 3rd, Shivaji attacked the city which had recently been walled round by order of Aurangzib. After a slight resistance the defenders fled to the fort, and the Marathas possessed themselves of the whole town except only the English, Dutch and French factories, the large New Serai of the Persian and Turkish merchants, and the Tartar Serai midway

* The second loot of Surat. Surat Council to Co 20 Nov 1670 (Hedge: D very n pp cccxxviii-iv) F R Surat Vol 3 (Consult at Swally Marine October), Durrani Records Travaux Vol 23 No 703 U 109 (bare mention). Sabh 6361. Ch 72 confused and unreliable.

between the English and French houses, which was occupied by Abdallah Khan, ex king of Kashghar, just returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca. The French bought off the raiders by means of "valuable presents." The English factory, though it was an open house, was defended by Streynsham Master with 50 sailors, and the Marathas were received with such a hot fire from it that they lost several men, and, leaving the English alone, assaulted the Kashghar king's *serai* from the advantageous position of some avenues next to the French factory, which they were suffered by the French to occupy. The Tartars made a stout resistance all the day, but finding the post untenable they fled with their king to the fort at night, giving up to plunder their house with its valuable property, including a gold *palki* and other costly presents from Aurangzib.

From the safe shelter of the Tartar *Serai*, the Marathas prepared to open fire on the English factory the next day but the resolute attitude of the handful of Englishmen cowed them, and after an angry parley they came to an uncer standing and agreed not to molest the English. The Dutch warehouse was untouched. "A messenger came from the invader to assure us that no harm would befall us if we remained quiet and gave him our assurances that we would not interfere for or against him" (*Dutch Records, Translations Vol 29, Surat to Directors, 14 Nov 1670*). The Turks in the *New Serai* successfully defended themselves, inflicting some loss on the raiders.

The Marathas plundered the larger houses of the city at leisure, taking immense quantities of treasure, cloth, and other valuable goods and setting fire to several places, so that "nearly half the town" was burnt to the ground. They then approached the fortress of Surat, threatening to storm it, but it was a mere demonstration as they were not prepared to conduct a siege, and did not venture close to the walls. The third day (5th Oct) they again appeared before the English factory, threatening to burn it down. Shivaji and his soldiers were greatly enraged at the loss of their men in the first assault on this house, and they clamoured for vengeance. But the wiser among his captains knew that a second attack would

result in further loss of life, and at their request two English agents waited on Shivaji in his tent outside the town, with some presents of scarlet cloth, sword blades and knives. The Maratha king 'received them in a very kind manner, telling them that the English and he were good friends and putting his hand into their hands he told them that he would do th^e English no wrong' (*Surat to Co., 20 Nov 1670, in Hedge's Diary*).

On 5th October, about noon Shivaji suddenly retreated from the town, though no Mughal army was near or even reported to be coming. "But he had got plunder enough and thought it prudent to secure himself. When he marched away he sent a letter to the officers and chief merchants saying that if they did not pay him twelve lakhs of Rupees as yearly tribute, he would return the next year and burn down the remaining part of the town. No sooner Shivaji was gone than the poor people of Surat fell to plundering what was left, in so much that there was not a house, great or small, excepting those which stood on their guard, which were not ransacked." Even the English sailors, under S Master took to plundering.

During the three days that Surat was undergoing this fate, the seaport of Swally marine, 10 miles west of it across the Tapti, was not free from alarm. There the English, Dutch and French had built their warehouses and landing places for ocean going vessels. Here lay during those days all the members of the English factory, their treasure, and most of the goods bought for Europe. Here the *shah bandar* (harbour and custom master), the *qazi* and the most eminent merchants (Hindu, Muslim and Armenian) of Surat had taken refuge with the English. Many rich people of the town, too, had fled to the villages north of Surat, across the river and close to Swally. On the 3rd it was reported that Shivaji wanted to send 500 horsemen north of the river to plunder the villages and seize these rich men, and it was feared that he might even come to Swally to demand the surrender of the Surat refugees and blackmail from the European merchants. But the coming of the spring tide made it impossible for the Marathas to cross the river, and Swally remained safe. So great was the alarm there, however, that on the 3rd the English factors removed their treasure

from the shore to one of their ships, and next day loaded all their broadcloth, quicksilver, curral (?) &c., on board ship, 'to secure them against any attempts of Shivaji.' Two other English ships, which were due to sail, were detained at Swally till 10th October, by which time the Marathas were expected to withdraw from the district. The English factors with the help of the ships' carpenters even ran up a wooden platform at one end of the marine yard and mounted eight guns on it, "to defend the Company's estate the best we could."

The manly attitude of the English and their success in scaring away the Maratha myriads, greatly impressed the people of the country. They had, as a reward of their brave defence of their factory during the loot of 1664, received commercial privileges from the Emperor. And now the son of Haji Said Beg, the richest merchant of Surat, who had found shelter at Swally, publicly swore that he would migrate with his family to Bombay.

The fact that all the three European factories at Surat were untouched while every other shop and house was ransacked by the raiders, naturally excited suspicion. Both at Surat and the imperial court people "talked of the three Christian nations having made a league with Shivaji when he was here." The foreign merchants therefore received no reward from the ruler of the land this time (Master to Swally Marine, 3 Jan 1671, in F R Surat, 105).

An official inquiry ascertained that Shivaji had carried off 66 lakhs of Rupees worth of booty from Surat—viz., cash, pearls, and other articles worth 53 lakhs from the city itself and 13 lakhs worth from Naval Sahu and Hari Sahu and a village near Surat (1 kbbirat 13 10).

But the real loss of Surat was not to be estimated by the booty which the Marathas carried off. The trade of this, the richest port of India, was practically destroyed. For several years after Shivaji's withdrawal from it, the town used to throb with panic every now and then, whenever any Maratha force came within a few days' march of it, or even at false alarms of their coming. On every such occasion the merchants would quickly remove their goods to ships, the citizens would flee to the villages, and the Europeans would hasten to Swally. Business

was effectually scared away from Surat, and inland producers hesitated to send their goods to this the greatest emporium of Western India.

For one month after the second sack, "the town was in so great a confusion that there was neither governor nor government," and almost every day was troubled by rumours of Shivaji's coming there again. 'On the 12th [i.e., only a week after his departure] it was again rumoured that he was returning with 6,000 horse and 10,000 foot, and that he had already reached Pent, a place about 25 miles distant. At once there was a general exodus and the town was changed from a busy port into the death-like quiet of a desert. The Turkish, English and French merchants abandoned their factories. But the Dutch, 52 men in all, with flags flying and drums beating proceeded from their ship to their factory. This was their belated imitation of the English demonstration of January 1664, when "the English president, at the head of some 200 men, had marched through the town declaring that he meant to withstand Shivaji with this handful of men" (*Dutch Records*, Trans vol 29, letter No 763 and Vol 27, No 719).

At the end of November, and again about 10th December 1670, the alarm was revived and the European merchants met together to concert means of guarding their respective interests. The landward defences of Swally were strengthened by adding a breast work on the north side of the *choultry*, and the entrance to the harbour or "hole" was guarded by stationing a ship there. The English used to remove their money and goods from Surat to this place at every such alarm.

In June 1672 the success of the Maratha forces under Moro Pant in the Koli State of Ramnagar, on the way to Surat, kept the city in constant terror for a long time. The Maratha general openly demanded *chauth* from Surat, threatening a visitation if the governor refused payment. There was the same panic again in February and October 1672, September 1673, October 1674, and December 1679. In short, the destruction of the trade and financial prosperity of Surat was complete (F R).

VI BATTLE OF VANI

Having concluded the story of the

Maratha dealings with Surat, we turn to Shivaji's activities in other quarters.

Prince Muazzam had just returned to Aurangabad after chasing Dilir Khan to the bank of the Tapti, when he heard of the plunder of Surat. He immediately summoned Daud Khan from Burhanpur and sent him off to attack the Maratha raiders. Meantime, Shivaji had left Surat, entered Baglana, and plundered the villages nestling at the foot of the fort of Mulbir. Daud Khan, after sending his baggage back to Aurangabad, marched westwards with light kit to Chandor, a town at which the road from Nasik to Baglana crosses the hill range. Spies brought him news that Shivaji had started from Mulbir, and intended to cross the Chandor range by the pass of Kanchana-Manchana, ten miles west of Chandor. Arriving at the hamlet of Chandor (below the fort) at about 9 P.M., Daud Khan waited to verify the news of the enemy's movements. At midnight his spies reported that Shiva had already issued from the pass and was rapidly following the road to Nasik with half his forces, while the other half of his army was holding the pass to pick up stragglers. Daud Khan at once resumed his march. But the moon set about three o'clock in the morning, and in the darkness the Mughal soldiers were somewhat scattered.

Ikhlas Khan Miana (son of Abdul Qadir Bahlol Khan, a former Pathan leader of Bijapur), commanded the Mughal Vanguard. Ascending a hillock in the early morning, he beheld the enemy standing ready for battle in the plain below. While his men were putting on their armour, which was conveyed on camels, he himself with a handful of followers recklessly charged the enemy. The Maratha rearguard, which had faced about, was 10,000 strong and commanded by distinguished generals like Pratap Rao Gujar, the Master of the Horse, Vyankoji Datto, and Nakaji Anand Rao (a natural son of Shajhi Bhonsla). Ikhlas Khan was very soon wounded and unhorsed. After a time Daud Khan arrived on the scene and sent up Rai Makarand and some other officers to reinforce the Van, while he left his elephants, flags and drums at a ruined village on a height, surrounded by *nalas*, with orders to make his camp and rearguard halt there when they would come up.

For hours together an obstinate and bloody battle raged. Sangram Khan Ghori and his kinsmen were wounded, and many were slain on the Mughal side. The Marathas, "like the *Bargis* of the Deccan, fought hovering round the imperialists." But the Bundela infantry of the Mughal army with their abundant fire-arms kept the enemy back. Daud Khan himself entered the fight, repulsed the enemy with his artillery, and rescued the wounded Ikhlas Khan.

Meantime, in another part of the field, Mir Abdul Mabud, the *darogha* of the Mughal artillery, who had been separated from the main army by a fold in the ground, was attacked. He was wounded with one of his sons and some followers, while another son and many soldiers were slain; and his flags and horses were carried off by the enemy. There was a lull in the fight at noon.

At that time Daud Khan had less than 2,000 men with him, while the Marathas outnumbered him fivefold. In the evening they charged him again, but were driven back, evidently by the artillery. At night the Mughals bivouacked under the autumn sky, their camp was entrenched, and they engaged in burying the dead and tending the wounded. The Marathas retreated to Konkan without further opposition. This battle was fought in the Vani-Dindori sub-division late in the month of October, 1670.*

This battle neutralised the Mughal power for more than a month. The day after the fight, Daud Khan marched with the broken remnant of his army to Nasik, and halted there for one month, evidently to recoup his strength and also to watch the route from Konkan (by the Tal pass?). The wounded were sent to Aurangabad. Late in November, he removed to Ahmadnagar, but at the end of December he was recalled to the scene of his last battle by the revival of Maratha activity in the Chandor range. (*Dil.* 87, 89, 92.)

VII. RAID INTO BERAR AND BAGLANA.

We shall, for the present, pass over Shivaji's activity at sea and in the western coast-strip during the whole of November and part of December 1670 after his return from Surat. Early in December

* Battle of Vani Dindori; entirely based upon *Dil Kaska*, 84-88. (Bhonslen was an eye-witness); with a few points from *Sabhi* 64-65.

a Maratha force under Pratap Rao made a raid into Khandesh Advancing by rapid marches, he plundered Bahadurpura, a village two miles from Burhanpur (the capital of Khandesh), but did not come closer to that city, because of the warning of Jaswant Singh, who had been posted there since August last. Passing into Berar, he fell, when least expected, upon the rich and flourishing city of Karanja, and looted it completely. Four thousand oxen and donkeys were loaded with booty—consisting of fine cloth, silver and gold, to the value of a *krore* of Rupees captured here. All the rich men of the place were carried off for ransom. Only the most eminent one among them escaped in the disguise of a woman. The other towns also yielded vast sums of money. That rich province, with its accumulated wealth of more than half a century of peace and prosperity, afforded a virgin soil to the plunderers in this their first raid. A force, reported to be 20,000 strong, looted the neighbourhood of Ausa and collected *chauth*, but they rode away without attacking the fort. In the neighbourhood of Karanja and Nandurbar the Marathas took from the affrighted people written promises to pay them one fourth of the revenue (*chauth*) in future.*

No resistance was made by the Mughals. Khan-i-zaman, the governor of Berar, moved too slowly to intercept the raiders, and he stopped on reaching D'garh. Daud Khan, the governor of Khandesh, was absent campaigning near Ahmadnagar, while his son Ahmad Khan, who officiated as his deputy at Burhanpur, was at open war with Maharajah Jaswant Singh, who was trying to raise money for the Prince's expenses and had demanded five *lakhs* from the treasury of Khandesh. Daud Khan's son replied that if the Maharajah could procure Aurangzib's order, he would pay him even 20 *lakhs*, or else not a pie, at which message Jaswant threatened to sack the town (F R, Surat 105, Bombay to Surat, 5 Feb 1671).

Daud Khan from his camp near Ankal Tanku hastened towards Burhanpur. Arriving near the pass of Fardapur he heard that the Marathas returning from

Berar had turned aside from Burhanpur and taken the road to Baglana. The situation at the capital of Khandesh was also saved by the arrival there on 1st January 1671 of a new supreme commander, Mahabat Khan, who took Jaswant away with himself when leaving the town.

From Fardapur, Daud Khan swerved to the west and entered Baglana on the heels of the Marathas. While Pratap Rao had been sacking Karanja in Berar, another Maratha band under Moro Trimbak Pingle had been looting West Khandesh and Baglana, and now these two divisions had united in the neighbourhood of Salhir. They had plundered the village under the hill fort of Mulhur and laid siege to Salhir. Daud Khan arrived near Mulhur at about 8 P.M., but could advance no further as most of his camp and army were lagging behind.

The Khan urged his troops to start next morning in order to raise the siege of Salhir. He himself set out before sunrise. But most of his men had not yet arrived, and the few that had come with him were scattered. They busied themselves in cooking food or taking rest in the camp, instead of resuming the march with their chief. Daud Khan heard on the way that Salhir had already been captured by the Marathas, and so he returned in disappointment to Mulhur, and after a short halt there fell back on his new base near Kanchara Manchana in the Chandor range.

Shivaji had invested Salhir with a force of 20,000 horse and foot, and one day finding the garrison off their guard he had scaled the wall by means of rope ladders. The *qiladar* Fathullah Khan fell fighting, and his wife's brother then gave up the fort to the enemy. This happened about 5th January 1671. The success of the Marathas continued. They threatened other forts in the province, such as Mulhur, Chauragarh and Talulgarh. Their roving bands cut off the grain supply of Neksam Khan, the *faujdar* of Baglana (whose headquarters were at Mulhur). They also laid siege to Dhodap, the loftiest hill fort in the Chandor range.*

JADUNATH SARKAR

* Dil 91 Akbharat year 13—5 10, 11 F R Surat 105 Letter of J Trotter 20 Dec 1670 S. Master to President, 19 Dec Dil 64 (bare mention of Karanja.) Sabb 71

* Dil 93 100 Akbharat, year 13—12 15 T S 33a. h. h. 1 247 249 (gives another story of the surrender of Salhir)

NOTES

Mere Political Unity Neither Stable nor Sufficient.

The making of all the inhabitants of our country into one people, is our greatest problem. If we could once really be thoroughly one people, as partially we already are, winning of self-government would be child's play. We do not forget that self-government is one of the means by which the unification of the people may be brought about, for in reality none of our problems admits of isolated solution, all being inter-related and inter-dependent.

What is the meaning of unification of a people? Would the people be one, if they merely lived under one government? Though this factor brings about unification to a slight extent, this alone cannot make us one people. For, having already lived under one government for generations, we should then have by now become fused into one organic whole. It may be objected that as our government is alien in character, it has not served to make us one, and it may, in consequence, be argued that a *swadeshi* government would make us one. There is no doubt that under present circumstances a *swadeshi* government within the British Empire would be a more powerful means of unification than the present alien rule. But even then we should not be a thoroughly unified people. In fact, political unity or union of any kind is never stable or sufficient without social unity, though when built upon the foundation of social unity, political unity is stable and capable of withstanding internal and external shocks.

It is to be hoped that the number of Indian nationalists is diminishing who think that thorough political unification is possible without social oneness or that political unity however brought about, can be stable and can stand proof against all internal and external disruptive forces, in the absence of social unity. The fates of Austria-Hungary, Russia and the German Empire should have their lessons for us. Austria-Hungary was a conglomerate

of many countries inhabited by different races, speaking various tongues. But they were under one central government which granted to all certain rights of self-rule and, moreover, intermarriage between the different linguistic and ethnic groups was not as impossible as it is between Hindus and Moslems, or between the different Hindu castes. Still Austria-Hungary has not been able to resist the shock of the war. Independent nations and governments are springing up from her ashes. Russia, too, which was even a greater conglomeration of countries, races, languages and creeds than Austria-Hungary, has fallen into pieces and has ceased to be one nation. Even Germany proper, which could claim to be inhabited by one people—we do not take into account Poland, Schleswig, and French-speaking Alsace-Lorraine—is threatened with disruption, because the Prussians, particularly the Junkers among them, were a sort of proud caste whose arrogance and domineering spirit prevented perfect social solidarity with other Germans.

By perfect social unity and solidarity we mean that among a people all kinds of social relations should be possible and that no class or section of the people should smart under a sense of some irre-mediableness or injustice. It may be conceded that in this sense perfect social solidarity does not exist even in Great Britain or in the United States of America. In Great Britain, not only is there class war between Labour and Capital, but there is also great social inequality between the Lords and the humbler ranks of the people, standing in the way of easy intermarriage and other kinds of social intercourse. This state of things undoubtedly points to a weak spot in Britain's armour. But it has to be remembered that class distinctions in that country, whether based on birth or on wealth, do not constitute a permanent line of cleavage between class and class. A labourer may become a capitalist, and this not in theory merely; there are actu-

ally many persons who began life in great poverty and afterwards became very wealthy. Similarly, it is true not merely in theory that a commoner may become a lord, but there are numerous instances of ordinary men becoming peers. Every year many men are raised to the peerage. As regards social intercourse a lord may not as a rule dine with costermongers, but if he does, a coster's food does not defile him. He is not cast outside the pale of his fraternity, and though it is not the rule for lords and costermongers to intermarry, if there be such intermarriage, the lord does not cease either to be an Englishman or a lord, or a Christian. Therefore, in Great Britain the people are *one* people to a far greater extent than the people of India or of any province of India can be spoken of as *one* people. In the United States of America, all white immigrants, of whatever nationality, tend to become one people though a minority, consisting of a section of the German Americans, were not thoroughly loyal to the States. But they were the only exception among the white immigrants. The Negroes, however, constitute a far graver problem. For in the South lynching still prevails and there is perfect social cleavage between the white and coloured peoples. In many States there are laws actually forbidding marriage between the coloured and white races, and even where there are no such laws, such marriages are looked at askance and are not usual. Still the Negro in America enjoys greater educational advantages than the lower orders of the people of India, which have enabled them to make greater economic and educational progress than the people of India. And, however low the position of the Negro in America may be, it is to be remembered that neither his touch nor his vicinity defiles or pollutes the white man as the touch and vicinity of some castes pollutes Brahmins, wells, tanks and public thoroughfares in parts of India. No orthodox Brahmin household keeps pariahs, or chamars or members of any of the other so-called untouchable castes as cooks—not to speak of Christian or Moslem cooks. But Negro-cooks in white families in America are innumerable. So, though so long as the Negroes are not thoroughly assimilated with the other communities of America, that would continue to constitute a weak spot in Ameri-

can armour, the Americans are undoubtedly possessed of greater social solidarity than the people of India.

Our defects do not indeed give any people on the face of the earth the right to exploit and domineer over us and keep us deprived of the opportunity and power to manage our own affairs even in a blundering way but they *do* give foreign people the *might* to treat us as imbeciles and slaves. Nationalists are agreed that we must have political unity in order that we may not continue to be treated as eternal babies and slaves. But political unity cannot be attained without a certain amount of social solidarity and we have not yet become socially one to that extent though we are slowly on the way to it. And even if political unity could be attained without the necessary degree of social solidarity it would neither be stable nor would it make our nationality proof against internal and external forces of disruption, as history and common logic prove. Hence political unity must be built on the foundation of social solidarity.

There may be an appearance or even for a time the reality of political unity among classes and communities brought about by policy and a patched up truce. But as we have said, political unity to be stable and sufficiently strong must be based on social solidarity. And social solidarity cannot be brought about by policy. It can be brought about only by spiritual sympathy and unity. The belief in all men's spiritual affinity is the only element which can help to build up and hold together the social fabric. Education along right lines given by free-souled and unprejudiced school teachers and ministers of religion can produce this belief in human spiritual affinity. This belief is latent and dormant in all of us. It has only to be roused and made an active factor in all our lives.

A Hindu in U S A Army

Duggu Ram is a native of the Simla Hills, whom an American sojourner in India took with him as servant when he went to America. As he elected to stay there for a time when the American returned to India, he was left there. When America entered the war, he enlisted in the army, and is now in France. He is a great favourite with his fellow soldiers.



DUGGU RAM.

The only Hindu in the U. S. A. Army in France.

and amuses them in the evenings by doing *Pahari* (hill) dances for them. He is probably the only Hindu in the United States Army.

Holi a Century Ago.

"Holi" was celebrated throughout Hindu India a few days ago. No decent man can approve of or wink at the coarseness, the drunkenness and the obscenities which have come to be associated with it. Earnest efforts ought to be, and have in various places been made, to eliminate these. Stripped of these undesirable features, it would serve a useful purpose as introducing life and colour into the gloomy and colourless lives of the people.

It is interesting to learn that owing to political necessity or on account of their

greater sociability Anglo-Indians (old style) of a century or more ago, mixed more freely with the people than their present-day successors and joined in popular festivities, as will appear, for example, from the following extract from a letter of Sir John Malcolm to General Wellesley written in 1803 :

"I am to deliver the treaty to-day and after that ceremony is over to play 'hooley', for which I have prepared an old coat and an old hat. Scindiah is furnished with an engine of great power by which he can play upon a fellow fifty yards distant. He has besides a magazine of syringes ; so I expect to be well squirted."

Sir John wrote afterwards that the "cursed hooley play" had given him a sharp attack of fever. At that time he was negotiating a treaty with Scindiah. Evidently in those days the West *did* meet the East sometimes. But now Lord Chelmsford does not play *holi* with the Maharaja of Kashmir or the Maharaja of Mysore, or any other Maharaja ; his lordship does not play *holi* even with Sir Sankaran Nair. Lord Ronaldshay, too, does not play *holi* with the Maharaja-dhiraj of Burdwan.

Famine in Bankura.

Famine is raging in so many provinces of India over such extensive tracts that it is with reluctance that we refer to its prevalence in only one district of one province, namely, Bankura, in Bengal. As the editor of this Review is a native of that district, he hopes that he will be excused for this apparent or real partiality.

Swami Saradananda of the Ramkrishna Mission gives a heart-rending description of the condition of the district in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Says he :—

"The famine has cast its darkest gloom in the thana of Iadpur, which was also stated in the Government communique that was published a fortnight ago. The people, including working hands, both men and women, are deserting their homes in bands to find their livelihood elsewhere, leaving behind such of their relations in their homes as are too old or too young to go and whose last resource has become the small stores of forest plums and husks ; while we are almost unable to deal with this critical situation even in our small area for inadequate funds. We can neither supply them with labour nor with sufficient gratuitous doles. Such also is the case of the well-to-do classes. The circumstances have turned them into so many beggars. Even the ladies are always eager to accept a handful of rice like an ordinary person in the street, and sometimes prevented even in that because of their audacity. Also the scarcity of water has commenced

simultaneously with the famine. People used up the "bund" and the tank water very lavishly to save the crop that is confined only to a scanty area which has now been spared by the last year's drought. The shortage of drinking water has increased the intensity of distress and pestilence to its last extreme."

Among the advertisements in this issue of the Review, the reader will find an appeal of the Bankura Sammilani on behalf of the famine-stricken people, in which it is requested that all contributions should be sent to *Rai Bahadur Hemanta Kumar Raha, Assistant Director General of Post Offices, Calcutta*.

Srimati Krishnabhabini Das

The greatest, most active, and most unostentatious of social workers among Bengali women has passed away from the scene of her earthly labours. *Srimati Krishnabhabini Das* was the widow of the late Prof. Devendranath Das B.A. (Calcutta) and the daughter-in-law of the late Babu Srinath Das, a leading millionaire. *Vakil* of the Calcutta High Court. She was in England with her husband for eight or nine years in the eighties of the last century, and many Indians who were in London in those days saw her passing hours day after day absorbed in her studies in the library of the British Museum. When she returned to India with her husband she was a true helpmeet to him, working devotedly with him to establish and conduct the now extinct Century School, which later grew into the Century College. After the death of her husband and of her only daughter, she threw herself heart and soul into the movement for the education and uplift of her sisters. With the help of teachers maintained by the *Strree mahamandal* of which she was secretary and chief worker, she carried on the work of zenana tuition for years in a thoroughly unsectarian manner. She did not accept state help for this or any other of her activities as she did not like any interference with her liberty in the choice of means and methods. She got even poor women of meagre education to do some useful teaching work. She also maintained a school for girls with a hostel attached where she brought up among others some girls from very poor families who could not pay their way. Many orphans were maintained by her. She also conducted a rescue home.

Though she had been in England for

about a decade and was an educated lady, she was not in the least Anglicised or Eurasianised. Neither from her dress nor from her speech or manners could it be guessed that she was other than an ordinary *pardahnashin* Hindu lady. With the selfless pure and unostentatious devotion of the typical Hindu widow, she combined the method, the energy and the spirit of active social service of the West. She was a Bengali writer of repute in prose and verse. Her prose style bore the stamp of individuality.

Though she was a *pardahnashin* Hindu lady and a millionaire's daughter in law, she led the austere life of a *sannyasini*, not spending more than fifteen rupees a month on herself as we learn from an intimate friend of hers and often walking the crowded streets and lanes of Calcutta to obtain help for her institutions.

We could not obtain any photograph of her as she was very unwilling to be photographed. But fortunately when she was once engaged in conversation in the residence of Sir J. C. Bose, Miss Larcher made a pencil sketch of her without her knowledge. This we have much pleasure to reproduce and are very thankful for permission to do so.

"The League of Dreams"

In an article in the *Nineteenth Century* and *After* Sir Herbert Stephen calls the League of Nations "The League of Dreams." Says he—

Human nature being what it is and the department of human thought known as jurisprudence being what it is, I think that there ought to be no League of Nations. I think that if there ever is one, it will bitterly disappoint the hopes of its votaries. I think it will be totally inadequate to its intended purpose and therefore not only will not promote but will positively retard the achievement of that purpose. If you buy a new kind of coat to keep out the rain and it is entirely false to keep out the rain, you will be wretched, though you had eschewed the new coat and relied on your previous precautions whatever they were. If we construct a League of Nations we shall rely on it not on our own good behaviour, foresight and courage to keep us out of war. When it fails to do so, we shall in any case feel extremely ill-used and angry and may not improbably be caught at a horrible disadvantage.

The Review of Reviews says in reply—

This is the argument of one who has no faith or belief in the upward progress, gradual but none the less sure, of human nature. What man has been man will be, says the writer, in effect. *Harley* started as a quarrelsome, fighting animal, he will continue so to the end. The spread of civilization

the betterment of social conditions, the softening of manners, the rise of law and moral conceptions, to which all history bears witness, are so many delusions. If the facts bore out Sir Herbert Stephen's theory, his pessimism would be justified, but they do not. Human nature does change, is changing every day, and on the whole for the better.

All this is true. At the same time it cannot be gainsaid that the League of Nations, as it is going to be constituted, would be not a League of *all* Nations, as it ought to be, but a League of the preponderant Nations, which are, with one exception, all of European race and professedly Christian. Such a League is neither just, nor can it prevent war. Sir Robert Stephen is right when he observes :—

The more sober advocates of the League of Nations, and in particular Lord Robert Cecil, its British official advocate, recognise fully the distinction between a group of nations, preponderant in strength, and earnestly desirous of a prolonged period of peace, and a League of all Nations desirous of establishing constitutional arrangements which will prevent our descendants from ever going to war again. We have the group now. A good many years must elapse before we can have the League.

What follows is based on a low view of human nature and is an appeal to national selfishness.

In order to have the League we must share with foreign nations the control of the British Navy, which, under our own control, has saved the civilised world from the domination of a single State four several times in five different centuries. There is every reason to think that, unless mankind and their most profound emotions change into something quite different from what they have hitherto been, the League of Nations, if it ever exists, will fail to prevent the occurrence of wars. We are asked to sacrifice the best things we have in order to obtain a remote and exceedingly improbable advantage. Our only wise course is to recognise the truth at once, and destroy an insane project by plainly and openly refusing to have anything to do with it.

British Maritime Supremacy.

Great Britain's empire rests on the foundation of her supremacy at sea. During the war her net loss in merchant tonnage amounted to at least 3,500,000 tons. What has crippled her, has been of advantage to her rivals, who have occupied part of the sea-ways of the world. Hence in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, Mr. David Hannay calls upon all Britisbers to face and grapple with the unpleasant fact that the maritime supremacy upon which the safety and well-being of the Empire depend is in danger. Says he :—

The British Empire is spread in widely separated masses of territory over the surface of the globe.

The "Seaways" are the connecting nerves and veins which hold it together and make it one. It is a credible proposition that "In the deeps of the years and the changes of things" there may arise some people which, because of the advantages of its position, its resources, and its qualities, will be able to create a merchant shipping equal to or greater than the British, and will then produce a navy proportionate to its stake on the sea. That the only people which is likely to achieve this development is the American, that we are excellent friends and hope so to remain, are considerations irrelevant to our argument. Whenever the United States, or another nation, is our equal, and still more when it is our superior, on the sea, the British Empire will have lost its place in the world. Our rival may be moved by no animosity, may be just and friendly. None the less he will have the power to cut the connexions which hold the British Empire together. It may continue to be prosperous. Spain is richer now than when she owned the Indies. So may we be more wealthy when our supremacy is gone, but we shall no longer be the British Empire which owed its place in the world to its own strength. We shall be compelled to trust our safety to the moderation, the justice, the generosity of a rival. Supremacy we must have or we fall from our high estate.

Transport Reconstruction

While the Government of India is going to sink a staggering amount of capital in railways, to the neglect of waterways and roads, people in other countries are by no means satisfied that the railroad is the last word in locomotion. Not to speak of air traffic, which is coming or has already come, there are better means even of land transport than the railroad. Mr. W. M. Acworth writes in the *Edinburgh Review* :

The capital cost of a motor service beyond the actual purchase of the vehicles themselves is almost negligible, and the number of vehicles can be proportioned to the public demands for their use ; whereas the railway goes on costing £375 a mile per annum, without allowing for the purchase of rolling stock, however little, use the public make of it. A very rough estimate would probably put the average cost of running the road vehicles—assuming normal prices—at something like 18d. per mile. In favourable districts this might be covered by the receipts, for both fares and charges would reasonably be at a higher rate than on a railway. It is better worth anybody's while to be carried from the market place to his own door four miles off for 6d. than the same distance between two stations for 4d., if the 4d. implies two miles' walk in addition. As for goods, the charge by lorry would in most cases replace not only the railway charge for carriage but the cost of hauling to or from the station in addition. Further, the lorry can perform services that the light railway can never do. The railway is limited to few trains, and the hours that suit the passengers are not the hours that best suit the milk, etc. In districts where the traffic was not likely to suffice to cover the cost of a motor service, still less would it cover that of a light railway, and if for good cause shown the State decided to subsidise locomotion in such districts, the cost would be



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immensely less than that in scheduled R.M.T. railways.

Hence he believes that the real solution of the problem of transport lies in the development of motor transport. In India that would depend on the proper upkeep of the existing highways and the construction of a network of new roads all over the country. Besides this we must have the improvement and linking up of canals and waterways.

Among the newspapers in India the *Indian Daily News* alone has been laying stress on the development of motor traffic and its prerequisite, the conservation and extension of roads. In addition to what our contemporary has itself written it has adduced the examples of France and America to support its views.

The Senate Post Office Committee of the U. S. A. has just recommended the expenditure of \$100 million (about twenty crores) spread over three years for the construction and maintenance of roads. The first thing that struck the Americans on arriving in France was the French road system and its immense possibilities for traffic. The result is that gigantic road programme. Some day Mr. James Meston will speak to the value of roads but he seems to learn nothing as he can only utter small lamentations about the hoarding of rupees which is the animal instinct of people who distrust Governments and is just now prevalent over the whole civilised world.

Capital and Labour

A great, and perhaps the most pressing problem in Great Britain and in Europe generally is the class war between capital and labourers. Writers belonging to different classes and professions have been discussing the means and methods of its solution. *The Reviews of Reviews* has published the opinions of many such writers. The Right Rev. James B. C. Widdon, Dean of Durham, says

The frequent strikes and lockouts in the industrial world have long been recognized as grave evils. They have engendered bitter feelings. They have created widespread misery. They have driven trade away from Great Britain to Germany. Whether right in them has lain on the side of Capital or on the side of Labour or now on one side and now on the other or partly on both sides they have been and must always be unprofitable.

It is a painful fact that Labour is apt to be overlooked rather than recognized. It seeks its own immediate advantage; it does not always see the ultimate grounds upon which its advantage must rest. There is no greater mistake than the assumption (to which the currency of the language lends support) that the only work of man is the man who works with his hands. Brains are as necessary to the welfare of trade as sinews and muscles. Inventors are true leaders of society as operators

as manual labourers have done or could have done towards social progress as Watt or Stephenson or Arkwright or Hargreaves. Nor can any great business be successfully managed without Capital and as business expands and increases through the agency of manufacturing companies and other such combinations, Capital becomes a more important factor in commercial development.

But, he admits that whatever is true to-day, it has undoubtedly been true in the past that Labour has not enjoyed its legitimate share of the profits to which it has so largely contributed by its services. He continues—

It is so or it has been impossible to contrast the lives of employer and of the men whom they employ without a feeling that something was wrong in the relation between them. Until the era of the legislation which has and always will be associated with the name of the great Earl of Shaftesbury, the hours of Labour were too long. Its conditions were so harsh its wages were so low, that its opportunities of cultivation and recreation were too few. For most of these evils a partial, if not complete remedy, has now been found. But there are leaders of industry like Lord Leverhulme in England and Mr. Henry Ford in the United States of America who still believe in the possibility of reducing the hours of labour without lessening its productiveness or its profitability. It is the growing dissociation of employers from the daily life of the workmen in so far as it has destroyed or impaired the sympathy which is born of personal knowledge and personal friendship which has been the prevailing cause of dissension and unsettlement in industrial life.

Whatever the case in England, it can not be said that Labour in India has yet come to enjoy its legitimate share of the profits to which it so largely contributes by its services. Here the problem has been further complicated by the existence, in most factories and plantations, the feeling that the labourers belong to an inferior race and the capitalists and exploiters to a superior ruling race, the consequences being that there is less sympathy between Labour and Capital, for the most part in India than there ever was in the West and Labour troubles here are often unjustly ascribed to the seditious efforts of political agitators. Here we ought to say that Indian employers of Labour, too, are not universally or for the most part as just and sympathetic as they ought to be.

However, the solution of the problem is essentially the same here as in the West. The Dean of Durham looks for it wholly or mainly to two principles which, in his opinion, should govern all operations in the world of Labour.

One is co-partnership. For under a system of co-

partnership the interests of Capital and Labour will be no longer even in appearance divergent, they will be identical. Both will be concerned and equally concerned in the prosperity of a business. Both will share its profits. Both will if need be bear its losses. It will be the common interest of masters and men that industry in all its forms should be so scientifically ordered as to give everybody a chance, and I might almost say an equally fair chance of profiting by his own skill and toil or of suffering from his own negligence or indolence.

The other is arbitration. War among classes is as barbarous as it is among nations. Economic battles are not less fatal than battles on the stricken fields of warfare. Individuals in a civilised society do not settle their disputes nowadays by the revolver or the bowie-knife; they appeal to Courts of Law. The nations of the world are now aspiring to similar pacific means of avoiding what has been called by a misuse of language the arbitrament of the sword. It is not high time that the world of industry should say decisively: There must be no more industrial war. There must be no more of the distress which arises from industrial war? It is when men bring their differences into a judicial court when they argue their causes before a competent tribunal when they accept the decisions of an impartial judge that they will act as Christians in the 20th century of the Christian era ought to act.

Such are I think the essential principles of a new and a better and a higher life in the world of industry.

What the Dean says is true and just, as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. He does not explicitly tackle the problem of international industrial war. He does not say how an end can be put to one nation's efforts to industrially throttle another nation or nations. Dr John Clifford M.A., the eminent Nonconformist, takes higher ground and grapples with the international aspects too of industrial conflicts. He says that employers and employees should get together as men and women brothers and sisters in fraternal fellowship conference and co-operation, with a view to the arrangement of the terms and conditions of their common work. They need to agree.

(1) That the ideal of Labour is the best service of the whole Commonwealth and not a ceaseless battle for filling the private purse; that is to say, that all trade is a social service, and not a struggle for the exclusive collection of coins.

(2) That the whole physical, intellectual, moral and social welfare of the toiler must have a primary place in the fixing of the distribution of the rewards of labour and not his only; but that of the family or of the man have to support and train for the Commonwealth and the world.

(3) That the worker must have a voice with regard to the conditions under which he works and must be taken into counsel through his chosen representatives as to the management of the business. He must not be a part of the machinery, a mere dead cog in a wheel, but a living member of the firm.

(4) That Labour must not be sordidly paid off

but broadly humanitarian and international. For the world is one and humanity is a solidarity.

We call particular attention to item (4) of the extract given above.

Dr Clifford mentions a factory where the principles he advocates have been reduced to practice.

I know a slipper factory employing what used to be called a thousand 'hands'. They are no longer hands; they are souls, personalities, men and women, and they are in the business as well as at it. They have a share not only in its profits but in the management through their representatives. They are in regular conference with the directors with the result that hours have been reduced to 46½ per week and the output increased. Sufferers by the war have been relieved and then, afterwards, cared for. Hence the relations of all concerned in the business are happy; they are not mechanical, frigid and rigid but entirely human and friendly and the atmosphere of the factory is laden with goodwill.

A "Professional Man" expresses the view that 'the ultimate causes of the war may be summed up in one word 'materialism,' which lies not only at the root of Prussianism, but also behind the far too prevalent view of what the new, post-war world shall be. Various expressions of the materialistic spirit, in the pre-war period, brought about mutual distrust, not only between nations but also between classes in each nation."

Spiritual Education and World Citizenship

This writer's observations on the essential need of the ideal of world citizenship are so clear and convincing that we make no apology for making rather long extracts from his article.

The prime necessity of all is education on international rather than patriotic lines, for in that case a surer guarantee of the future peace of the world than in all the money ever spent on armaments. If reconstruction means retention of the armament of each nation, and retention of military schemes—no matter whether they are frankly militarist or disguised as merely defensive—then peace becomes an armed truce and under the weight of armament and the cost thereof materialism gets a new lease of life. If one-tenth of the pre-war annual appropriation of funds to naval and military purposes had, in each of the great countries of the world, been devoted to education on right lines, the need for means of offence and defence would have disappeared within a couple of generations of the innovation, for the misconceptions that lead to war born of ignorance which can only be combated by better educational measures.

He gives us an idea of what kind of education is required by telling us what it ought not to be, what Germany gave her people.

Paradoxical though it may seem Germany—

super-educated Germany—is the best available proof of this thesis in the material sense no country educated its people so thoroughly as did Germany; every class received attention in this direction and all with a view to the ultimate conquest of the world, all to the end that the German should be lord in every country. The utter failure of the system, the inefficiency of the education provided to this end, is proved by the multitudes of Germans who, emigrating, disowned the country of their birth and became citizens of the countries of their adoption. There were the paid spies, of course the Germans who retained their nationality—usually behind a form of naturalisation—and worked for the fatherland in the fatherland's crooked ways, result of complete assimilation of the German system of education. But the majority threw off their Germanism, and became good Americans, good Argentines, especially in the Western Continent was the trait marked, for to the western countries flowed the main stream of genuine emigration. The older countries of Europe received mainly the cloaked agents and emissaries of Germanism, which is materialism at its worst—which again is lack of education in the true sense of the word.

German education was a training as materialism, a narrow, perverted instruction, in the rights of the German and the inferiority of all other races—it was a cultivation of insular barbarism, a shutting-off rather than an opening out and in the real sense of the word was not education at all. The first requirement of every country is that each one of its citizens shall be educated to a sense of his or her responsibility, not only to his or her own country, but to the citizens of the whole world. If the bases of the future are to be soundly laid there must be established an ideal of world-citizenship.

The writer proceeds, —

"It is this ideal of world-citizenship which through education on right lines, must be made to permeate the world if civilisation is to endure. Without it plans for the expansion of trade for the capture of this or that market, for the development of this or that industry, are useless. The peoples of the world be lifted to an understanding of the responsibilities, and to conception of the tempers and needs of other peoples. For, just as distrust between classes interferes with the development of national life, so international distrust interferes with world-development, breeds preparation for war, which in turn breeds war and the temporary total cessation of peaceful advance in civilisation.

He is right in saying that "it is of no use to suggest material remedies for the materialism that has, through a century, led steadily up to the world's greatest disaster."

Homeopathy will not act in this case. The only remedies in a clearer conception of the duties of every world-citizen and that in turn can only be attained by a clearer moral conception of life, which, by means of education on right lines must lift up the whole world. From the practical point of view, the war has impoverished the whole world, but it has left such material wealth as will permit of the education of every citizen of every country more especially since in such use of wealth lies the creation of the greatest asset that any nation can possess. Education on patriotic lines is of no avail

for in patriotism is no virtue, but merely the expression of an instinct; in Internationalism rather than Patriotism lies the great promise of the future."

The writer observes that this ideal may seem vague, but in reality it is definite and possible of attainment.

Apart from disconnected charities, no attempt has yet been made to better the lot of any people. The experiment of moral uplifting has never been tried and now in these days of change and rebuilding is the time to try it. It is self-evident that, if any one nation had the courage to educate its citizens on right lines with a view to the realisation of international responsibility and to house them decently giving to each one the time and the room to live, in place of existing in twenty years the results of the experiment would be such as to bring the whole world into line. From the material point of view, the experiment would pay. Increase of comfort increases of knowledge and the spread of a right conception of life would inevitably be followed by greater producing power, for it is a mere platitude that moral well-being brings physical well-being. Certain industries and enterprises might suffer at the outset for many of these are built on sheer materialism but the total of gain would far outweigh the loss and if the experiment of inculcating the younger generation a right conception of life and its responsibilities were once set going, public opinion would ensure its continuance.

The cry of economic war after the war was raised during the war and that is still one of the main cries of the dominant nations. The writer is opposed to this commercial war.

The morrow is envisaged as a sterner struggle than ever—this time for supremacy in trade one which is to be as uncompromising and relentless as the struggle of war, in which the eventual victor is to control the markets of the world and depend on its own material prosperity as Germany depended on its colossal armaments and armies. Among leaders of industry this view is far too prevalent there is to be an attempt, by means of production, to capture this or that industry, and eventually, though this is not expressed in so many words, to monopolise it not for the benefit of the industry in question, or to make life easier for mankind in general by meeting a need, but for the benefit of the producing group. Such an attitude is a logical outcome of the war but it is a sign of reconstruction rather than new construction, a putting together of old pieces rather than creation of the new world for which the opportunity is open. It is a view incompatible with international development, a parochial expression of what the war has inculcated, and an expression which, in the end may lead to the development of monopolies which are as evil in their effect as is Prussianism in the form that we know. This view of means as end—for that is what it amounts to—leads back to war, and not to peace at all. It is aggressive, and the main practical need of the future is security against aggression, which must be interpreted as security against commercial aggression as well as the more obvious forms.

"Action, of course, is a necessity" But, the guiding impulse, the immaterial thought

from which the act springs is that which most needs shaping. Let each citizen be awakened to the spiritual significance of material action and let him or her be given a life in which is time and room to realise that the spirit rules and matter is its servant, and in any country the result will be a power which could dominate the whole world to the world's good—not, as Germany sought to its oppression and to the final extinction of the experiment.

Litigation in India.

That litigation in India has been one of the causes of the poverty and ruin of a large section of our people goes without saying. According to the "Statistics of British India" which deals with Administrative, Judicial and Local Self Government tables published recently by Mr Findlay Shirras, the love of litigation in India is so great that in 1916 2 329 000 civil cases were taken up against 2,226, 468 in 1915, 2 055,272 in 1914 and an average of 2,153,000 in the last five years. Suits for money or movable property made up more than two-thirds of the total and suits under the Rent Law one half of the remainder. Relatively to the population Bengal appears to be the most litigious of all the provinces of India, Madras and the Punjab next. The suits instituted in 1916 involved a money value of Rs 48,75,42,538. Fifty three per cent were for amounts not exceeding Rs 50, and 95 per cent for sums not exceeding Rs 500. In the Small Causes Court 352 097 cases were tried, of which the United Provinces had the greatest number. As regards criminal justice the number of offences reported in 1916 was 1 669,670 in a population of 243,607,034. The number of persons concerned was 2,053 656, and 1,011 210 convictions took place. There was a marked increase in criminality in the year—the convictions increasing from 28 per 10 000 of the population in 1889 to 42 per 10,000 in 1916. These figures furnish us with matters for serious consideration.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Southern India

Those who have been able to follow the Madras daily papers will have taken note of the long tour of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the Poet, extending over two months and undertaken during a period of great physical exhaustion and at a serious cost to health. Twice over the Poet went steadily on with his work, ful-

filling his crowded engagements, until in fluenza and fever made it impossible for him to proceed any longer, and the doctors peremptorily ordered him to take complete rest. The Poet has now returned to his ashram at Shantiniketan, after lecturing in Calcutta, but he intends to start out once again for Benares, where he hopes to deliver the same message which he gave with such power in the South.

The reason for the Poet's breaking through the bounds of his accustomed retirement has been the imperative call from within to declare what he has, at last, felt to be the truth on certain subjects of vital importance. His three lectures present an ideal for India by which all her modern standards of value, taken from the West, must be judged and appraised. When at last these lectures are read and studied and absorbed, their effect will be seen in fundamental changes in education, in society, in politics and in religion. For they have the creative genius of the Poet and the living words of the seer behind them.

In South India it would not be too much to say that the visit of Sir Rabindranath Tagore has been revolutionary. Nothing will quite remain where it was. One symptom of the revolution was that, for the first time in history, a member of the Legislative Council got up and addressed the assembly in his own mother tongue, instead of in English. This councillor afterwards told the Poet that he had been so impressed by the truth of his words that his mind had not been able to rest, until he had taken some definite action, and that this speech in his mother tongue was the action which came to him to take.

The social structure of the South, with its rigid walls of exclusion, felt the impact of the Poet's utterance. Those who listened to him went away with a new determination to set themselves free from the thralldom of the past.

The most touching thing of all to witness was the way in which everywhere, on every side, the students flocked around the Poet and received him as their own with an immediate instinct of reverence and humility, mingled with love, which went at once to his heart. Night and day he sat with them,—as they came individually and in little groups,—listening to

their difficulties, answering their questions, inspiring them with courage, enkindling their minds with hope. Nothing was more significant than the claim thus made upon his time and energy by the students,—a claim which no weariness of mind or body could ever make him refuse.

In Madras, all the acrimony of party politics was hushed during the Poet's visit. Every section of the community met together to do him honour. The great audiences, which were gathered to hear him, night after night, were drawn into a spiritual unity under the spell of the Poet's presence. The dead weight of their minor differences dropped from them, unawares, as they were lifted into the higher air which the Poet himself breathed.

It is difficult to estimate, in practical terms the meaning of all that has happened. Perhaps such an estimate is impossible, but what is certain is this, that a new atmosphere has been created of hope and aspiration and courage. In this new atmosphere, the younger generation, as it rises to full manhood, may accomplish much that before was beyond achievement.

A German View of "the Suicide of Europe"

We learn from the *Review of Reviews* that an unsigned article bearing the title "The Suicide of Europe" has appeared in the *Sueddeutsche Monatshefte*, which it has summarised.

The most obvious result of the war says the writer, is the disappearance of the European Continent as a deciding political factor. Another result is that at first, but probably not for long, there remain three Great Powers all outside Europe—America, Japan and England—the United States and Japan being the masters of the New World, Japan and England the masters of Asia and England the master of Europe and Africa. Of the eight former Great Powers three have been destroyed—Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany, their destruction being in the interests of England. Germany has done England the favour of rendering her Asiatic competitor harmless. This fact and the destruction for Egypt and India can no longer be menaced. By the overthrow of Germany every obstacle in the way of England with regard to Russia, Scandinavia, land comes to an understanding with America, the two countries can divide between them all the spheres of interest in the world. Denmark during the war parted with her American possessions. Holland will retain her colonies only so long as England pleases. By her fleet England rules the northern kingdoms

politically and commercially, so completely that there is no need to annex them officially. She can stop transport to every single Continental state so long as Central and Eastern Europe is composed of decentralised small states.

But, continues the writer, England will have to pay a pretty high price for her enormous increase of power.

Before the war England was master of the world. The world has now apparently three masters but in reality only two—England and America, the latter of whom has utilised the war to militarise herself to such an extent that she can meet every possibility either from the offensive or the defensive point of view. The great 1 is Japan. England and America are in a position to send her a disarmament ultimatum. This would rob one of these two Powers of the only ally possible in case of a conflict with the other for the only second possible ally, Germany or the German fleet has ceased to exist. All the demands of Japan are directed against America and all the armaments America are directed against Japan.

The writer then dwells on the fate of the lesser great powers.

France once a Great Power of the first rank will, according to the writer fall to a position of the second rank, her territorial gain notwithstanding, and this because the three Great Powers have become so strong that France no longer counts. While France has conquered Germany she has been conquered by England. Italy a Great Power of the third rank has from the Anglo-American standpoint lost more power than France. By the extension of her frontiers her population will be less homogeneous and the interests between north and south more diverse. The rest of Europe with the exception of France has added three new Balkan middle powers: the old Balkan middle—Russia, Austria and Germany. Belgium has become an annex of France, but France will take care not to annex it. Antwerp apparently Belgian is an English pistol threatening France. Belgium has ceased to be an independent state.

In the opinion of the writer, the ruin of Germany means the destruction of the European arch.

All the European States have by the ruin of the Central Powers weakened themselves to the advantage of England. Germany was so to speak, the keystone of the European arch. Since this stone has been broken out the arch is showing cracks everywhere. Especially instructive is the case of Switzerland. Of the four walls of the Swiss house the one least menaced has fallen at a single blow. The eastern wall has fallen because no Austria is there, and Italy is pushing northward her south-east corner. The west wall was a wall against France only so long as there was a Germany; now there is only a French wall against Switzerland. In the future there will be no Swiss neutrality for its due course Switzerland will be Italianised and Frenchified. The new Polish house will have no walls at all. Equally precarious is the position of Holland. France has destroyed a neighbour whom she hated but a disagreeable neighbour is often better than none at all and Germany was a protection against invasion from the East.

Nemesis in Europe.

The spread of Bolshevism, in its lower and brutal phase, in Europe, threatens to be her nemesis. It is the logical outcome of her predatory and cannibalistic nationalism and "civilisation." If it be right for one people to eat up the substance of and destroy, if necessary, another people, body and soul, why would it not be right for a class (the Have-Nots) of one people to war and prey on another class (the Haves) of the same people and its women? That is the conscious or unconscious logic of the Bolsheviks.

English and Indian Manners.

In his reply to a correspondent on the subject of Indian manners, Sir John Woodroffe says:—

"I do not myself, nor does any other Englishman, Irishman or Scotchman feel inclined to imitate any one. We therefore do not generally borrow Indian customs or manners for we consider ours are good and the best for us. Nor do we as a rule esteem the imitator, for the latter is generally a snob or a person who, to the extent and in respect of the subject of imitation, writes himself down as inferior to ourselves. Many Indians however desire to imitate us, a fact which gives many of us a good conceit of ourselves. Personally if I were a native of this country I would not adopt any foreign custom unless I was satisfied that I ought to do so. Certainly I would not give up the Indian salutation for an English shake hand, great and inspired by freedom and comradeship though the shaking of hands be. I should see no object in doing so except to imitate and thereby acknowledge the superiority (in this particular respect at least) of a foreign civilization. As regards however your outlook upon women, it is not ours. We do not feel in the way you describe either when shaking the hands of another man's wife or seeing another man shake the hands of your own wife. As a foreigner however I would respect the feelings of the people of this country in all matters and would not shake hands with any one (man or woman) who or whose people I thought might not like me to do so."

Imitation, they say, is the best form of flattery. It, therefore, sometimes puzzles us, how people calling themselves Swarajists and patriots, ape European manners. Adopt, but adapt.

Another Letter From Australia.

The letter printed below has been received from a large and influential body of women workers in Australia. It will touch the hearts of all who read it and give confidence in India that there are many siding with us in our struggle for freedom of whom we have never heard. We are thankful of these signs of the dawn of a brighter day amid much that is

enveloped in gloom. The letter runs as follows:—

"We the women of New South Wales branch of the Women's Peace Army send greetings to our sisters in India.

"The object of our organisation is to create the sisterhood of mankind regardless of race, creed or color and the recognition of the oneness of humanity.

"We would like a regular letter from your organisation giving us accounts of your economic and political position.

"Here in Australia, the life of an Australian working woman is not such as should be found in an enlightened country in the twentieth century, but I believe we are advancing and I hope one day our goal may be obtained.

"There may be much we can learn from you, there may be something you can learn from us.

"We particularly wish to express our deep sympathy with our Indian sisters suffering in Fiji, wholly through the wrongs of Australian and British people. We assure you that had the working women in Australia been acquainted with the situation earlier, it would have been non-existent to-day. But we did not know you and what we are asking is to know you.

"We are particularly interested in Indian Home Rule and would like your expression of thought on that subject. We are also interested in political rights for women, believing that women who are by nature creative, will if given power, abolish the destruction of humanity such as has been seen on the European continent during the past four years. When the bond of womanhood stands stronger than the bond of nationality, then and then alone can women's creative power be freed from the degradation it suffers to-day.

"Therefore we appeal to you to put a small link in this chain which will bind the world in one. Let us unite, let us sympathise with one another's sorrows, let us know each other's weakness, let us know each other's strength and by knowing one another copy what is strong, what is good in one another, bringing about that unity which alone can emancipate women and thereby emancipate humanity.

"Yours truly,—
ISABEL F. FANNY."

It is encouraging to know that these words of greeting which have been reaching us from Australia have not ended in theory. The united women's organisations in Australia have sent out Miss Garnham as their representative to Fiji and she has conducted an entirely independent enquiry. Her conclusions have been identical with those of Mr C F Andrews whose statements have been impugned by the Fiji Legislative Council. It remains to be seen whether the said Legislative Council will now revise its own conclusions. It welcomed Miss Garnham's enquiry hoping that she might witness in their favour but her evidence has gone altogether against them. Will they now impugn Miss Garnham's statements as exaggerated and untrue as they did those of Mr C F Andrews?

The Shame to Indian Womanhood

While the Fiji Legislative Council spends its time in heaping abuse on those who bring to light the wrong that is being done, that wrong itself is becoming more and more accentuated. The Indian women who remain in the cooler lines under indenture are suffering a worse fate than ever. When these lines were occupied only by indentured labourers the proportion of men to women in them was three to one. But as the indentures are gradually running out, a large number of unindentured men (with practically no women) are being hired by the employers to come into the lines, side by side with those men and women who are still under indenture. This makes the proportion of wifeless men in the lines far greater than ever. The indentured women are forced to remain in these lines whether they like it or no and with their spirit already crushed they cannot hold out against the solicitations of this crowd of men. They spoke to Miss Garnham personally as women to a woman of the wretchedness of their fate which is that of enforced prostitution. Has India's manhood any heart to feel what that means?

The Government of India promised in open Council in September 1918 that it would negotiate for the early release of those still under indenture in Fiji. The Government of India proffered itself as anxious to do everything in its power to help. How have these pledges and promises been kept?

"An Act to Cope with Anarchical and Revolutionary Crime"

One of the Rowlatt Bills which has become law has been given the above title by Government. With the exception of Sir Sankaran Nair who is an official and has therefore, for the time being virtually ceased to be one of the people, not a single Indian has voted in favour of the Act nor has a single European voted against it. But the triumph and solidarity of the Europeans and the officials were greater than the unanimity and solidarity of the non official Indians. For whilst the Europeans and officials were all present to vote and voted in favour of the law and there was one Indian though an official on their side all the non official Indian members were not present to vote only 21 were present and out of these one did not vote on either side. It may be presumed that the Indian members who were absent had sufficient reasons for their absence but their countrymen would have rejoiced if they had all been present to vote against the bill. Khan Bahadur Nawab Sayyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri who abstained from voting must be praised for his great courage in not voting in favour of the bill.

We do not know whether there is any covenant which obliges an official member of the council to vote for every bill introduced by Government but there is nothing which can prevent an official member from resigning his seat. One would therefore be curious to know why Sir Sankaran Nair voted for the bill. If he voted from conviction he may be presumed to have more facts in his possession than his non official countrymen in council and these may have led him to vote in the way he did. But we need not make even this assumption. For we find that no one among the non official Indian members called in question the facts given in the Rowlatt Committee's Report on which the law is said to be based, and yet every one of them abstained from voting in favour of it. It is not of course, impossible for an Indian member to sincerely and conscientiously vote for a law not supported by any other Indian member. Therefore as regards Sir Sankaran Nair's vote we have to choose between two alternative suppositions either he voted from sincere conviction or he voted

against his conviction and conscience because of his official position. If the former supposition be true one must respect him for his sincerity though at the same time one may cease to think that Sir Sankaran Nair is at one with his patriotic countrymen in all matters of moment. If the latter supposition be accepted as true one must regretfully hold a low opinion of his sincerity and manhood and cease to consider him a patriot. It is the duty of every right minded man to follow the dictates of his conscience at all costs and under all circumstances. If an official feels that he cannot conscientiously vote for a bill it is his duty to resign. As we do not know why Sir Sankaran Nair voted as he did, we shall not be justified in taking it for granted that he voted against his conviction. But neither shall we be justified in continuing to think that he is the same Sankaran Nair unchanged who once presided over the Congress. We must hold our judgment in suspense awarding neither praise nor blame *so far as the moral aspect of his conduct is concerned*. As for the political aspect we are decided of the opinion that his vote was wrong and unpatriotic. It may be observed incidentally that as Indian official members generally act as the European official members what is wanted is not an Indian bureaucracy in lieu of the present foreign bureaucracy but an executive responsible to the people's representatives and amenable to control by them.

The Character of the Act

The Act as passed into law is not quite as bad as the bill originally introduced in council. But it still remains a 'lawless law' calculated to be subversive of personal and national liberty at the hands of an irresponsible executive. Therefore it must be opposed in all legitimate ways. We must not take it as a settled fact that would brand us all as slaves.

The promise that the Act will be in force only for three years practically means nothing. For there is nothing to prevent Government passing a similar law or even a more drastic law under a different name after the lapse of three years. So our attitude toward the Act shall be as if it were a permanent law. And therefore we should try by every legi-

timate means to get it repealed or to prevent its enforcement and nullify its effect.

Officials and Non officials and the Rowlatt Act

As from before the passing of the Defence of India Act there have been many weapons in the hands of Government to cope with all sorts of crime and even with non criminal movements and the Defence of India Act will remain in force for six months after the conclusion of peace which is not yet in sight there ought not to have been any hurry in passing the Rowlatt Act. But it has been forced through the Council at a breakneck pace the members one day sitting even after one A. M. which is a record for legislative councils in India. The bill was not published in the provincial gazettes nor were the provincial governments the high courts the public bodies &c asked and given an opportunity to express their opinions on it. Most of the non official Indian members tried their best to get the bill dropped and when that attempt failed they tried to prevent its passing or to see that its consideration was delayed or that its most obnoxious clauses were dropped or modified. But in spite of all their efforts the bill has become law, with some modifications most of which are not very important.

There was no lack of earnestness, courage, statesmanship, logic and facts on the non official side. But these were of no avail and these could not divest the debate of its air of unreality. For the deciding factor was not the value of the things said but were numbers. Things might seem real and natural if some times the officials sided with the non officials but that was not to be. The officials thought that it is they who were always right. It is impossible to believe that non officials can be wise and in the right only when they are either Europeans or when they say ditto to European officials. And it is also funny to find that even an Indian becomes wise as soon as he becomes an official. With all our humility we cannot perceive and admit the collective unwisdom and the collective incapacity of non official Indians to understand what is good for the country. In fact we are so foolishly as to assert that it is sheer absurdity and impudence on the part of the foreign

tional agitation of the usual kind has been advocated by some public men and journals, whilst others are in favour of passive resistance. Seeing that constitutional agitation as usually understood was successful to some extent in modifying the Bengal Partition, it is possible that it may succeed on the present occasion, too. But to be successful, the agitation should be as persistent, widespread and strenuous as the anti-partition agitation was. It is to be borne in mind that since partition days, Government has armed itself with many weapons to crush strong agitation, which were non-existent when the Partition took place, and that, therefore, it is not so easy now to carry on constitutional agitation vigorously as it was more than a decade ago. Still vigorous agitation is not at all impossible, as the comparatively recent example of the agitation carried on after Mrs. Besant's internment shows. And whatever the difficulties and risks public duty must be done.

As for passive resistance, there cannot be any objection to it on principle and in theory. And the present is certainly an occasion on which it may be resorted to. Still there are grave questions connected with it which require serious consideration.

It has first to be ascertained what law or laws one can disobey without striking at the foundations of society. Some laws there are which are the reflex of moral and spiritual laws, on the observance and maintenance of which the permanence and welfare of society depend. Such laws are not to be broken. There are other, man-made, laws which are not of such a fundamental character. One or all of these may be disobeyed. Clearly then the passive resister should be a man who is able to decide for himself what laws are essential for the stability and well-being of society and what not. We are against the taking of a row by any would-be passive resister that he would disobey any law or laws to be chosen by a committee whose personnel, again, is still unknown. Such blind following militates against our ideas of free and intelligent manhood. Moreover, men who to-day would agree to follow the yet unknown directions of a yet unknown committee because of their material to be influenced by some other

strong personality whose views and intentions may be different from those of Mr. Gandhi and may be of a mischievous character. It is of blind followers who unquestioningly bow to authority that good political, social or religious slaves are made. And since our object is to free men from thralldom of all kinds, we are opposed to blind following, no matter who it is that is followed or for what ends. We know blind soldier-like obedience has its result-producing efficiency value. But in a passive resistance campaign in the present circumstances of India, with its large area, teeming population and extensive ignorance and traditions of blind obedience to authority, the object ought to be not so much to force the hands of Government, in a trial of strength (which does not seem to us practicable), as the development of fearless, discriminating, intelligent, and self-respecting manhood, and fortitude. The reason why we say that it does not seem to us practicable to force the hands of Government in a trial of strength, is that passive resistance is most successful in forcing the hands of a government when it is resorted to by a comparatively small community living in a limited area, on a definite and clear issue, and when there is neither a majority nor an influential minority of the community opposed to it. These conditions are not satisfied in the present case. And Government has various means of putting forward an ostensible justification for declaring even a *passive resistance movement* or *organisation* unlawful and making such a declaration; passive resisters acting individually on their own responsibility cannot be dealt with exactly in that way. There are sections of the people who would, of their own accord or otherwise, be only too willing to help in bringing about such a result, viz., the declaration that the *passive resistance movement* is unlawful. We say all these things not to dissuade people from adopting passive resistance. Our object is far different, and we hope it will be clear before we reach the end of this note.

Passive resistance may or may not oblige Government to repeal the Rowlatt Act or to hold it in abeyance. We are willing to believe that it may, but there is no certainty. But the other object that we have spoken of, namely, the development of fortitude and fearless, intelligent,

discriminating and self respecting manhood, is certainly attainable, provided the passive resisters are of the right stamp. Let us make our meaning clear. A passive resister of the kind that we have in view will say to Government "You may or may not repeal the law, but I, a peace loving man who is prepared to obey all laws which are necessary for the preservation and good of society, will not obey any law which militates against my idea of personal liberty and the dignity of human nature, whatever hardships and penalties my disobedience may bring upon me." If Government cannot break the righteous will of such a man, as we believe no Government can, that would mean a defeat for Government and a triumph for the upholder of personal liberty and of the dignity of human nature. One such victory would bring many recruits to uphold the banner of personal liberty. Now, the question is, who can be passive resisters of this description? We think blind followers cannot be passive resisters of this kind. For our idea of passive resistance of the right kind is that a man should not only be staunch and fearless and capable of sacrifice and the endurance of hardships, but that he should also be able to decide for himself what laws are fundamental and what are not, and what may be disobeyed and what should not. He should also be a man who has recourse to any method not because of excitement or resentment but from a sense of duty and the pursuance of a calm sense of duty and the pursuance of right principles, for what distinguishes *passive* resistance, or Satyagraha or the use of soul force, as Mr M. K. Gandhi prefers to call it from physical force methods or *active* resistance, is not merely that in passive resistance there is an absence of those *external* acts of physical force which men moved by passion and resentment and sense of injury have recourse to, but also that there is the internal absence of the mainsprings of violence viz, passion and excitement. This distinction is important and essential, for where there is resentment and violence within, there is also the probability of an outbreak of violence without.

We say, therefore, let there be, and there should be, passive resistance. But let it be adopted not by blind, undiscriminating and impulsive men moving in masses but by self-controlled and intelli-

gent men who have freed their minds from *himsa* against Government and the bureaucrats and who are able to distinguish between essential and unessential laws and between laws which tend to kill freedom and the dignity of manhood and laws which promote the cause of personal and national liberty and foster freedom of conscience. If there be even only one such passive resister, the cause of personal freedom and of the dignity of human nature will be victorious by his conduct, for arbitrariness and despotism embodied in 'lawless laws' will not be able to enforce his obedience, and Government will thus suffer defeat at his hands.

We wish it to be distinctly understood that no expectation of results of any kind can reconcile us to anything which directly or indirectly strengthens and encourages crowd psychology. Crowd psychology the sheep instinct, mob impulse blind obedience, are evils, not merely when the thing done, adopted, followed, or obeyed is evil or injurious, but these are in themselves to be guarded against for what they are because they detract from the worth of human personality.

Obedience and Disobedience

To encourage the impulse and habit of disobedience is risky. Civil disobedience is allowable only when it is equivalent to and proceeds from *obedience* to the highest laws, not made by man. It should be resorted to only from a compelling sense of duty. We support the attitude of disobedience towards the Rowlatt Act, because to obey it would be to disobey what is higher, viz, the claims of personal freedom and the dignity of human nature. Our emphasis is on obedience not on disobedience. We say, Obey the law of your being, if that involves the violation of some man made laws, conventions and customs you should not flinch.

What Laws to Disobey

It would have been well if before asking men to sign the satyagraha vow Mr M. K. Gandhi had told them definitely what laws he would expect them to disobey.

The Gazette of India of March 22, 1919, containing the full text of the Rowlatt Act, reached us on the 25th March and we have not yet (26-3-1919) been able to go through it carefully. From what we

have been able to see, section 22 alone of this Act, or at any rate parts of that section may be passively resisted or civilly disobeyed by persons *who are not or have not been really concerned in anarchical or revolutionary movements*. Sections 21 and 22 require to be quoted in order that the reader may understand what we mean.

21. If the Governor General in Council is satisfied that anarchical or revolutionary movements which are, in his opinion, likely to lead to the commission of scheduled offences are being extensively promoted in the whole or any part of British India, he may by notification in the *Gazette of India* make a declaration to that effect, and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

22 (1) Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person is or has been actively concerned in such area in any movement of the nature referred to in section 21, the Local Government may place all the materials in its possession relating to his case before a judicial officer who is qualified for appointment to a High Court and take his opinion thereon. If, after considering such opinion, the Local Government is satisfied that action under the provisions of this section is necessary, it may by order in writing containing a declaration to the effect that such person is or has been actively concerned in such area in any movement of the nature referred to in section 21, give all or any of the following directions, namely :— that such person

(a) shall, within such period as may be specified in the order, execute a bond with or without sureties undertaking, for such period not exceeding one year as may be so specified, that he will not commit, or attempt or conspire to commit, or abet the commitment of, any offence against any provision of the law which is referred to in the schedule ;

(b) shall notify his residence and any change of residence to such authority as may be so specified ;

(c) shall remain or reside in any area in British India so specified ;

Provided that, if the area so specified is outside the province, the concurrence of the Local Government of that area in the making of the order shall first have been obtained.

(d) Shall abstain from any act so specified which, in the opinion of the Local Government, is calculated to disturb the public peace or is prejudicial to the public safety ; and

(e) shall report himself to the officer in charge of the police station nearest to his residence at such periods as may be so specified.

(2) Any order under clauses (b) to (e) of subsection (1) may also be made to take effect upon default by the person concerned in complying with an order under clause (a) of that subsection.

The penalty for disobeying any order (other than an order to furnish security) made under section 22 is imprisonment for a maximum term of six months or fine up to 500 rupees, or both. Moreover, the refusal to execute a bond, as required by clause (a) subsection (1) of section 22, may lead

to the presumption that the passive resister is a person who intends to commit, or attempt or conspire to commit, or abet the commitment of, any offence against any provision of the law which is referred to in the Schedule. But the innocent passive resister must be prepared for all such risks.

Section 22 of the Rowlatt Act can, however, be disobeyed only by those upon whom an order has been passed under it. It is not very probable that any such order will be passed upon the majority, if at all upon any, of those who are signing the Satyagraha Pledge. If so, in what other way can they make their passive resistance a reality ?

Here the question arises, whether it is right to break any other law because of the enactment of a bad or "lawless" law. Of course, no law which is fundamental, that is to say, which is necessary for the preservation and welfare of society, ought to be broken under any circumstance. But there are other laws which are not of that description. They may be broken under some circumstances. But is it right to break an otherwise unobjectionable, though non-essential, law, because of the enactment by Government of an objectionable law ? In other words, does Government forfeit the right to the obedience of even its unobjectionable laws because it has enacted a very harmful law against public opinion ? Here we do not feel quite competent to give a definite answer dogmatically. Much will depend upon the character of the harmful law and the degree and extent of its militancy against personal and national freedom and dignity. We are inclined to think that individuals may be left to judge for themselves. And should any persons answer the question in the affirmative, they may decide for themselves whether they will refuse to pay the income-tax or the road-tax or any other tax, or keep in their possession and circulate a really good and unobjectionable but proscribed book, or take some other step to civilly disobey some other law.

The mischief of a wrong use of passive resistance may be illustrated by a suggestion which we vaguely remember to have seen in a newspaper, namely, that should the Patel Inter-marriage Bill be passed, orthodox Hindus should have recourse to passive resistance. This is certainly a

rash, if not an idiotic, suggestion. For the Patel Bill does not in the least propose to interfere with anybody's freedom. If passed, it will not compel anybody to marry outside his caste or to have social intercourse with those who are parties to such intermarriages. It only proposes to validate intercaste marriages, thereby recognising freedom of conscience and the right of the individual to perform all non-criminal actions so long as he does not thereby interfere with the similar right of others. Passive resistance is justified only against those laws which are calculated to curtail or destroy personal or national liberty or which requires or compels men to do, what is derogatory to human nature, or which takes away any fundamental civic or political right of the citizen, &c.

Small Holdings and Co-operation.

"Towards Industrial Freedom" by Edward Carpenter is a book which critics would call a thought provoking production. It is full of suggestions for us. In the present note we wish to present our readers with some paragraphs from the author's chapter on small holdings and agricultural co-operation.

It is well-known that our agriculturists (call them farmers, peasants and ryots, as you will) are generally men of small means and their holdings are small. Moreover, they generally pass their lives in a state of chronic indebtedness. Such being the case, what hope is there of improvement in their economic condition? And, it is also well understood that educational, intellectual and moral improvement depends to a great extent on economic improvement.

Let us see what the people and government did under similar circumstances in some other countries. Says Mr. Edward Carpenter:—

One common objection brought against the small holding idea is that little industries work at a disadvantage in point of capital, division of labour, sheer productiveness, etc., as compared with large scale industries. Of course there is a certain amount of truth in this—though it would not do to say that all small scale industries suffer in the comparison—and if it were the case that the absolute and only object of industry was the money value of its product there would be still more truth in it, but we have seen through that delusion already, and need not again be led astray by it.

The limitation, however, of his capital, in the case of a small man, his disadvantage in the mar-

kets, both in buying and selling, his being compelled sometimes to invest in a horse and cart or in some kind of machinery, which the exiguity of his estate will not permit him fully to use, the difficulty that he has in borrowing money in a time of need, and the danger of falling into the hands of the money-lender—all these things undoubtedly do militate against the small holder and the cure for them equally undoubtedly is to be found in Co-operation.

The classical instance of the value of Co-operation in connexion with small holdings is to be found in Denmark. After 1864, when Germany had wrested Schleswig Holstein from the Danes, there was nothing left for the latter but to make the best of what remained to them. Jutland was little better than a sandy heath, but with extraordinary energy, the people threw themselves into its development, the soil was worked and enriched in every possible way, the land was broken up into holdings of seven to ten acres each, sheds and cots and cottages were erected, co-operative societies were formed among the settlers; the government helped with agricultural organisation, the creation of High schools for the peasants, and the loan of funds (the italics are ours,—Ed. M. R.), and before long there were beside large farms some 150,000 little holdings of seven to ten acres successfully running there, whose activities were largely carried on by combined labour. The first co-operative dairy was started in 1832 by the year 1904 there were over 1,000 such dairies. Bacon curing, the collecting and sale of eggs, poultry, honey, the manufacture of butter and cheese, the purchase of seeds, food stuffs, manures, machinery, were all negotiated by the same method; insurance and banking the same, and in this short period of time sandy Jutland became a large exporter of food, and poured even into England (with its really richer soil) great quantities of farm produce which England might have been growing for herself. In the form of butter, eggs and bacon alone Denmark before the War was supplying the United Kingdom to the value of 15 or 20 million sterling.

As the British Government in India exacts from us the same allegiance and loyalty as national governments do in independent countries from their peoples, it is its bounden duty to do for the Indian people all that the Danish Government has done for the Danes. But the object of the present Note is not to encourage the attitude of helpless dependence on government. Such an attitude is both unmanly, beggarly and suicidal. From the big land-holders downwards, we must all try to do for our peasants, who are our mainstay, what foreign governments in Denmark, France, Belgium and other countries have done for their people. And it is not Governments alone in foreign countries which have helped the people. In Ireland, for example, the noble efforts of Horace Plunkett and George Russell have changed the face of Ireland.

It is not Denmark alone which has adopted agricultural co-operation with suc-

cess. Other European countries have done the same.

France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Italy, Roumania, Bulgaria, have followed on the same lines of agricultural co-operation. Nor must we forget Ireland. The noble efforts of Horace Plunkett and afterwards of George Russell (A.E.) were coffered at first. But gradually they won their way. In 1887, I believe, the first Irish Creamery was started; in 1895 there were already 67, and in 1892, over 320, effecting sales to the value of £1,000,000 per annum; to-day there are agricultural societies without end, for the production and sale of poultry, eggs, flax, fruit, honey, and a variety of other things.

The author then proceeds to quote a paragraph from Mr. George Russell's excellent book *The National Being* (Maunsell & Co., Dublin and London, 1916, price 4s. 6d.) in which Mr. Russell shows from his own experience what the co-operative association can do. He says (p. 46):

The Society is a better buyer than the individual. It can buy things the individual cannot buy. It is a better producer also. The plant for a creamery is beyond the individual farmer. But our organised farmers in Ireland, small though they are, find it no trouble to erect and equip a creamery with plant costing £2,000, the organised rural community of the future will generate its own electricity at its central buildings, and run not only its factories and other enterprises by this power, but will supply light to the houses of its members and also mechanical power to run machinery on the farm. One of our Irish Societies already supplies electric light for the town it works in. In the organised rural community the eggs, milk, poultry, pigs, cattle, grain and wheat produced on the farm and not consumed or required for further, agricultural production, will automatically be delivered to the co-operative business centre of the district where the manager of the dairy will turn the milk into butter or cheese, and the skim milk will be returned to feed the community's pigs. The poultry and egg department will pick and dispatch the fowls and eggs to market. The mill will grind the corn, and return it ground to the member, or there may be a co-operative bakery to which some of it may go."

This is followed in Mr. George Russell's book by a picture of how the rural labourers under this regime will gradually become skilled co-workers with one another, and the co-operative community have its own carpenters, smiths and mechanics; how there will be common laundries and kitchens, and village halls, with libraries and gymnasiums and rooms for recreation and dancing. All this is quite feasible, and one may say already realised in part in various different localities. In India, of course, the things to be produced, consumed and sold by agri-

cultural co-operative societies will be partly different from those in foreign countries and will vary from province to province; but the methods are the same everywhere.

Revenue and War Expenditure in Japan and India.

For the year 1919-20 the revenue of India is expected to amount to £ 86,375,000, of which £ 41,200,000, will be allotted for military expenditure. So that India will be required to spend 47·7 per cent. of her revenue for readiness to fight. For the year 1918-19 the revised figures for her total revenue are £ 85,298,000. Of this amount £ 43,950,000 was spent by the war departments. That is to say, more than 51·5 per cent. of our total revenue was spent in 1918-19 for war.

Let us see what the total revenues of Japan and her total military and naval allotments were for the same year 1918-19. The figures are taken from the Japan Year Book for 1918, pp. 607-8. The total ordinary revenue was 642,641,000 yens and the total extraordinary revenue was 76,935,000 yens, grand total 719,576,000 yens. The naval and military expenditures in yens were as follows:—

	Ordinary	Extraordinary
War Department	84,394,000	30,219,000
Navy Department	54,620,000	95,343,000
	139,014,000	125,562,000

The total of ordinary and extraordinary expenditure on the War and Navy departments for 1918-19 was 264,576,000. As the total ordinary and extraordinary revenues stood at 719,576,000 yens, Japan spent for fighting and the readiness to fight 36·7 per cent. of her total revenues in 1918-19. In the same year India spent 51·5 per cent. of her revenue for fighting and the readiness to fight. And now though the War is over, she will still be required to spend 47·7 per cent. of her total revenue for the readiness to fight.

As regards the actual amount spent, as one yen is approximately equivalent to Re. 1·8, Japan spent in 1918-19 about Rs. 396,864,000, or say 40 crores of rupees in round figures for fighting. In the same year India spent for the same purpose Rs. 659,250,000, or say 66 crores of rupees in round figures.

Besides this India made a "free gift" of 150 crores of rupees, and she has been made to promise another free gift of 45 millions sterling, or 67½ crores of rupees.

Here it should be noted that Japan has both an Army and a Navy and she spent 40 crores of rupees, or 36.7 per cent of her total revenues, for both the Army and the Navy, which are both in excellent fighting trim and among the best in the world. They have raised her power and prestige in the world. India has only an Army but no Navy, and for the Army alone she spent 66 crores of rupees or 51.5 per cent of her revenues, and this expenditure has made her people neither strong, nor respected, or free. For the army alone Japan's expenditure was 114,613,000 yens or Rs 17,19,19,500 as against India's expenditure of 66 crores of rupees for the army alone. Or, in other words, India's expenditure on her army was about four times that of Japan for hers. Japan's expenditure on the army alone was 15.9 per cent of her total revenues in 1918-19, whereas in the same year India's expenditure on her army was 51.5 per cent of her total revenues!

And yet there are ungrateful wretches who say that India has not spent enough for the war! We have not taken into consideration the contributions made by the princes and people of India to various war funds, hospital ship funds, relief funds, &c., and the sums spent by the Indian States for the maintenance of their contingents.

The Indian Budget for 1919-20

On the 21st of March last, Sir James Weston presenting the budget for 1919-20 in the Imperial Legislative Council said that "for the coming year the revenue is now expected to amount to £86,375,000," of which £41,185,000 has been allotted for military expenditure. This is like a householder earning Rs 86 per annum spending Rs 41 per annum for keeping armed retainers in order to fight his enemies,—though the members of the household wear rags, dwell in unhealthy hovels, cannot for want of funds and proper education carry on manufacturing and agricultural industries properly, do not owing to poverty receive proper medical aid during illness and in consequence die in large numbers or lead wretched lives, and, owing to poverty and

ignorance combined, many of them become criminals, and though the children of the household, for the most part, grow up in ignorance!

The people of India are this household. But they cannot control their income and expenditure. It was a heinous sin on their part to have allowed this control to pass out of their hands. They must regain this control. In the meantime all their sufferings and indignities must be considered as penance for their sin.

The table given below shows how rapidly our military expenditure has grown—

Year	Military charges in £s
1915-16	22,261,353
1916-17	24,990,811
1917-18	29,043,141
1918-19 (budget)	29,000,000
1918-19 (revised)	43,926,000
1919-20 (budget)	41,195,000

The amount budgeted for 1919-20 will most probably be exceeded as that for 1918-19 was very greatly exceeded. The expenses for the financial year just closed were very heavy and the coming year's estimates are also very heavy. It will not do to say that the War is responsible for this heavy expenditure, for during the greater part of the war, i.e., up to 31st March, 1918, the expenditure, though excessive, was not abnormally heavy. It is only during and since 1918-19 that India has been unjustly burdened with a disproportionately heavy military expenditure. Previous to the war, India's military expenditure, though great, was less than what it was during the least expensive war year, which was 1915-16, when it was Rs 33,39,20,000. Let us see what the military expenditure was in some pre-war years.

Years	Military expenditure in crores of rupees
1884-85	16.96
1887-88	20.41
1890-91	20.69
1894-95	24.09
1902-03	25.91
1903-04 (revised)	26.78
1904-05 (budget)	28.66

For the year 1919-20 the sum of Rs 61,79,25,000 has been allotted for military expenditure; but probably it will not ultimately fall short of 64 or 65 crores of rupees. In 1884-85 it was 16.96 crores,

so that *in 35 years, military expenditure has quadrupled*. But neither the income of the people of India nor the revenue of the Government of India has increased even approximately to the same extent or degree.

A greater falsehood was never uttered than when it was said in Council that the budget for 1919-20 was a poor man's budget. It is in fact the soldier's and railwayman's budget.

We have shown in a previous note that the actual amount of India's military expenditure for the army alone is greater than that of Japan for both the army and the navy, and also that India is required to spend a very much larger percentage of her total revenue for military purposes. This heavy expenditure cannot be justified on any account.

India keeps a much larger army than she requires for her own purposes. During the War there were in India sometimes only 15,000 soldiers; yet there was neither any internal rising nor aggression from outside. It may be said that the probable foreign aggressors were all busily engaged in the world-war, and hence could not turn their thoughts towards India. Though this is not entirely true, let us take it, for granted. Still one thing has to be admitted, and that is that there was no internal rising, which shows that India's large army is not necessary to cope with any probable internal trouble. Let us now consider the argument that the large army is required for coping with aggression from outside. During the Boer war, the Boxer troubles in China, and in many other military expeditions or undertakings outside the boundaries of India, large numbers of soldiers were taken away to foreign parts and remained there for long periods; and yet there was not only no rebellion in India, but also no invasion by any foreign enemy. This is significant; because during the wars referred to in the previous sentence, the probable invaders of India, like Russia, were not involved in any great undertaking like the recent war and consequently their hands were not full, and they could have made an attempt to attack India, if so minded. But they did not. All which shows that the Indian army, at least its greater portion, is not required for India's purposes. It is in reality an army of occupation, which is occasionally used to put down frontier risings, but has

more often been used in foreign wars for British Imperial purposes. India is thus practically a training ground for an Imperial army from which soldiers are drawn for foreign wars from which India does not derive any benefit and in which India is not interested. The late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said: "*Justice demands that England should pay a portion of the cost of the great Indian army maintained in India for Imperial rather than Indian purposes. This has not yet been done, and famine-stricken India is being bled for the maintenance of England's world-wide Empire.*"

As we have already said, though during the War there were sometimes only 15,000 soldiers, there was not, as there could not be, any rebellion. Hence, we do not really require to keep more than 15 or 20 thousand soldiers. Russia has gone to pieces and requires all her men, money and energies to put her own house in order. She cannot invade India. Germany cannot invade India, she is distracted with her own troubles, and has been rendered powerless by the War. China is not yet sufficiently "modernised" to think of attacking India, is distracted with civil troubles, and has enough work in her hands to protect herself against the designs of powerful foreign exploiters. Japan is an ally of Great Britain. Moreover, even if she had any designs upon India, she could not and would not do any thing. Because at present, the only three powers in the world that count are Great Britain, the United States and Japan; and as there is rivalry and jealousy (and consequent mutual suspicion) between Japan and the U.S.A. with regard to predominance in China and the Pacific ocean, each of these two countries would do their best to have Great Britain on its side. Hence Japan will do nothing to make Great Britain an enemy.

We have thus proved that there is not the least chance of a foreign invasion of India, nor is there any likelihood of a rebellion. So the army is mainly for Britain's imperial purposes, and hence Britain ought to pay the greater portion of its upkeep and equipment.

When a country keeps an army, it is generally with three objects in view: (1) to prevent or cope with internal trouble, (2) to prevent or cope with foreign invasion and aggression, and (3) to invade or

fight with foreign countries for purposes of obtaining foreign territory or some such material gain. Sometimes though rarely, a country may use its army for the preservation or restoration of the independence of another country. We have shown that India's large army is not necessary for objects (1) & (2). As for (3), India does not wish to and cannot conquer and annex foreign territory and subjugate foreign peoples. Territory conquered with aid of India's army has enriched England, not India. So for object (3) too India does not require to keep a large army. As for preserving or restoring another country's independence the idea of a dependent country thinking of doing such a thing is ludicrous. So for no reason whatever does India require a large army. Independent countries keep an adequate large army to preserve their independence. India is made to keep a large army in order to preserve her dependence on England. And as we have seen India has to pay more for preserving her dependence on England than Japan pays for preserving her independence. We can well understand the argument that India's dependence on England is worth something to India, that is to say, that India derives benefits from being dependent on and being ruled by England. Granted. But the question is, is India's dependence on England the cause of as much moral and material prosperity, as the independence of other countries is? Let us take a concrete case, the case of another Asiatic country. The educational, intellectual, industrial and commercial progress made by Japan during the last half a century of constitutional government is well known. India, in spite of, or, it may be, because of, her much longer period of dependence on England, lags far far behind Japan in all these respects. And whereas today Japan is one of the three greatest powers in the world and as such enjoys great prestige everywhere India and Indians are despised and insulted everywhere. Such being the contrast between the beneficial results of Japan's independence and of India's dependence on England, no one ought to expect India to pay more for an army which ensures this dependence than Japan pays for her army and navy to preserve her independence. But, as we have seen, India does pay more. Which let those who can defend

It is not contended that India's connection with England has not been at all beneficial to us in any way. It has been. It is also probable that India would have fared worse if she had been dependent on some other foreign powers. It is idle, too, to speculate whether she would have fared better at the hands of any other master than Great Britain. It is also unnecessary to dwell on the harm that has resulted from India's dependence on England. Speaking only of the good results of the connection, we say that England too has derived and continues to derive great advantages from her connection with India. No one but an ignoramus or a lying hypocrite can deny this. And England has not yet sacrificed half a cowry for the untold advantages which the possession of India has given her. Justice therefore, demands that she should pay the greater part of the amount needed for maintaining a large army in India.

It has been and will be said that as India does not pay any portion of the expenses of the British Navy, which in part protects India and her commerce, there is no injustice involved in her bearing her entire military burden. We will meet this argument. The British Navy, it goes without saying does not prevent and is not meant to prevent rebellion in India. As for foreign invasion by way of the sea Japan is the only power which need be feared. But as we have shown above, Japan will in her own interests do her best to remain friends with England. Besides, even supposing that the British Navy protects India against some unknown foe, this protection is simply the preservation, not of India's independence but of her dependence on England,—which is of advantage to both countries. As for the maritime commerce and passenger traffic, which the Navy protects, they are entirely in the hands of foreigners, mostly Britishers. All these facts prove that there is no injustice in Great Britain bearing the entire expenses of her Navy, and that she cannot in justice call upon our country to meet any part of it.

But supposing justice requires us to pay a part, we, too may claim that impartial and strict justice should be done to us. This means that we should be admitted to all the advantages of the Army,

the Navy and the Air Force. And what does that mean?

Let us at the outset make it clear that we do not want the material advantages in the form of the annexation and exploitation of foreign territory which the possession of an army and a navy gives to Great Britain. We refer to other advantages than these.

In Great Britain's army, navy, and air force, all the privates and officers are Britishers, and hence all the salary and emoluments paid and the experience and prestige gained remain Great Britain's. Great Britain manufactures her munitions, war stores, equipments, army, &c., in her own factories, with the aid of her own capital and the skilled and unskilled labour of her own men. Here, too, the gain, experience, and every other advantage remain hers. She makes her own war-vessels of all sorts in her own dockyards with the skilled and unskilled assistance of her own men and with her own capital. Here, too, all the advantages, material and immaterial, remain hers. The same remarks apply to the making of aeroplanes, &c. If India be called upon to pay her share of the cost of Empire-Defence on land, in the ocean and in the air, she should in justice be entitled to officer and man her army, her navy and her air force with her own sons, make her arms, ammunition and stores, her war-vessels and aeroplanes in her own factories and dockyards with the assistance of the skilled and unskilled labours of her own sons and daughters, have facilities of training them for these purposes, and have all the material and immaterial advantages and prestige which the possession of an army, a navy and an air force gives. Long ago Dadabhai Naoroji wanted justice of this kind, which has not yet come but will come some day. He wrote in a letter on "The Causes of Discontent in India" addressed to Lord Welby, dated 31st January, 1897:—

"Indians are repeatedly told and in this commission several times that Indians are partners in the British Empire and must share the burdens of the Empire. Then, I propose a simple test. For instance supposing that the expenditure of the total navy of the Empire is, say £20,000,000, and as partners in the Empire you ask British India to pay £10,000,000, more or less, British India as partner, would be ready to pay, and therefore, as partner, must have her share in the employment of British Indians and in every other benefit of the service to the extent of her contribution. Take the Army. Suppose the expenditure of the total Army of the British Empire

is, say £40,000,000. Now you may ask £20,000,000 for more or less, to be contributed by British India. Then as partners, India must claim and must have every employment and every benefit of that service to the extent of her contribution.... In short, if British India is to be treated as a partner in the Empire, it must follow that to whatever extent (be it a farthing or a hundred millions) British India contributes to the expenses of any department, to that extent British India must have a share in the services and benefits of that department—whether civil, military, naval or other: then only will British India be the 'integral part' or partner in the Empire. 'If there be honour and righteousness on the side of the British, then this is the right solution' of the rights and duties of British India."

Japan's & India's Fighting Expenses.

It cannot fail to have been noticed that though Japan provided a smaller amount than India for fighting expenses in her budget for the year 1918-19, she was able to maintain both an efficient army and an efficient navy, whereas India had only an army. Japan's army and navy are second to none in the world in efficiency. *The Daily Mail Year Book* for 1919 says that "The Japanese Navy in efficiency is second to none, and in strength comes third among the Allied Powers. It acts as a very formidable and useful reserve." One of the reasons why Japan can maintain both a navy and an army for a smaller amount than India's military expenditure is that all her fighters, both men in the ranks and officers, are children of the soil; whereas India's European army consists of European privates and European officers, and the commissioned officers of the sepoy army are, with about a dozen exceptions, all Europeans. And Europeans have to be paid at a much higher rate than Indians.

Railway Expenditure.

Next to the military charges, the biggest item in the Budget for 1919-20, is the sum allotted to the railways. Railways are necessary, but not more necessary than food production, sanitation, education, and manufacturing industries. Railways are required for strategic purposes, for passenger traffic and for goods traffic. It may be said that within the borders of India no more strategic railways are required. Men require food, good health, education and the power to manufacture things more than they require to travel. And Indians have to travel in railways like cattle! Railways, no doubt, provide facilities for the distribution of food and

of manufactured goods, but the first thing to do is to produce the food and manufacture the goods. But our railways help but little in the production of food or in the manufacture of goods in India by Indians. No doubt in times of famine railways are of use in carrying food to the affected parts. But this presupposes the existence of sufficient food. So the plea that railways prevent famine is not true either in logic or in fact. In spite of the existence of railways, famines continue to ravage some parts of India or other every year. At the same time they help foreign dealers in grain and other raw materials in exporting these things in large quantities even in famine years. When railways had not penetrated to the remotest parts of India, some parts of the country at least could have sufficient and cheap food in good years. But now prices are high and food scarce and dear almost in every district of India. This would not have been the evil that it is in India, if the people of India had enough money in their hands by the sale of manufactures to be able to pay as high prices for food grains as the people of Europe and thus keep their food in the country. But the pity is, our producers of food have to part with it for money to pay taxes and interest and the purchase of foreign-made cloth, utensils, trinkets &c. and are unable, because of insufficient production to lay by a sufficient store of grain for lean years. When such years come they have either no money or little to buy food at high prices.

As for manufactures the railway tariff is so arranged that it favours the foreign importer of foreign manufactures into India and the foreign exporter of Indian food grain and raw materials out of the country. It is now well understood in Europe, America, New Zealand, &c., that one of the important functions of railways is to foster the growth of national industries by a favourable tariff and other means. Our railways do no such thing. On the contrary, they favour the foreign manufacturer. There is another way in which railways have injured the people. They have carried foreign manufactures to every nook and corner of India and brought them into competition with the products of indigenous industries and killed the latter. The artisans and craftsmen have been thus ruined and thrown

on the soil for subsistence. This has intensified the poverty of the country.

Railways are also responsible for the shortage of the acreage under crops in many districts and are thus directly responsible for scarcity and famine.

As regards sanitation, railways obstruct natural water courses increase subsoil humidity by water logging provide breeding grounds for mosquitoes in the borrow pits left unfilled, and thus produce malaria. They are also great disseminators of infectious and contagious diseases in India in pre-railway days there were epidemics of plague &c. But they never spread over such large areas as now.

For all these reasons and because of their natural priority in importance we must have sufficient sums provided for the encouragement, promotion and teaching of agriculture, the construction of canals and wells for irrigation, the undertaking of all kinds of sanitary works, the provision of good drinking water, the provision of adequate medical aid, the improvement of waterways, the opening of a sufficient number of new schools for all children of school age, &c., before further extension of railways is thought of. But whereas a very large amount has been provided for railway extension—agriculture, irrigation, sanitation, education, the scientific departments, and industries have all been starved. The reason is that the British industrial and commercial classes are directly interested in railway extension. The British suppliers of railway material gain by railway extension. When Lord George Hamilton was Secretary of State for India, British capitalists owning iron and steel factories one year waited upon him in deputation and represented to him that in the Indian budget sufficient provision had not been made for railway extension, meaning of course, that their concerns would be affected thereby. Lord George had to satisfy them. Those who export manufactured goods from England to India and import raw materials from India to England are also interested in railway extension. Britishers in India carrying on import and export business are also interested. All these classes of men are more influential than the 315 millions of Indians who want more food, more money, more clothing and better house, more

and better sanitation, doctors, hospitals and dispensaries, more and better education, &c.

In discussing the question of railway extension, one has also to consider whether railways are at present and will continue to be in the near future the best means of transport.

As air traffic has already been proved to be practicable, and as air routes do not require any expenditure for construction or maintenance, it is time for all governments to pay increasing attention to this means of locomotion and transport. In all advanced countries, internal waterways receive due attention. Old existing waterways, both natural and artificial, are maintained in good condition, and new artificial waterways are created. Waterways are not only not so costly as railways, but have the additional advantage of being helpful in irrigation and in the production of fish and similar food. They are also not a monopoly of either the state or of private companies as railways are. Hence waterways should receive due attention in our country. Another means of locomotion has in recent years come to be increasingly adopted, namely, that by motor traction. For this purpose, as has been showed in a previous note, by means of an extract from the *Indian Daily News*, in some advanced countries, good roads have been and are being constructed. Roads for motor traffic, unlike rail-roads, are also not a monopoly, and serve as well for bullock cart, horse carriage, pack bullock, pedestrian and other kinds of ordinary traffic. There is no reason why the State in India should not cover the whole country with a net-work of good roads fit for motor traffic. There is a probability that in the near future all railways will be run by electricity. Hence the system of electric traction should be adopted from now.

It is argued that as railways are a good source of income, they should be extended. But from how long have they begun to pay, and after what loss for how many years? Up to the end of 1917-18 capital expenditure on railways amounted to more than 372 million pounds sterling, or 560 crores of rupees in round figures. What have been the profit and loss? The *Indian Daily News* writes:—

In 1890, the evidence before the Welby Commission:

on showed that the deficit on the railways of India amounted to 52 crores or about a crore a year. In 1909 Sir Dinshaw Wacha demonstrated that the net earnings of the railways were under one per cent. (91 per cent) or allowing for the annuities as repayment of capital to at most 120 per cent. after 60 years. In the appendix to his remarkable essay on Indian Railway Finance he gives a table showing a net loss of 52 crores from 1848 to 1895, a gain of eleven crores from 1895 to 1910 or a total net loss of 41 crores to 1910. A good deal of money has been made since but, as we say, most of it, for the last four years, has been by raising freights and passenger rates and inflicting considerable loss on the country by inability to carry. This loss has been chronic for the last fifteen years and up to the war was the result of ineptitude. As we have said, the best course is to improve the roads and to cease to pretend that the railways are an immensely valuable asset making huge profits in relief of the tax-payer. Six crores of ostensible profit may be obtained by twelve crores of damage to the trader.

Moreover, the profits made in passenger traffic are due mostly to travelling done by third class passengers, who are accommodated and treated like beasts. The State has no right to make moneys in this way. And during the war, profits in goods traffic have meant simply the debiting of certain sums in the account books of the war departments for carriage of coal, munitions, &c., and crediting the same in the account books of railways.

If the huge sums sunk in railways had been spent on educating the people, in improving their health by proper sanitation and thus increasing their working and earning capacity, in teaching them better means and methods of agriculture and financing agriculture, in technological and industrial education and the financing of industrial enterprises, in the extension of irrigation works, &c., it is absolutely certain that the state revenues would have gained much more than they have by capital expenditure on railways. We intend to show in future to what extent irrigation works have been profitable. Mr. (now Sir D. B.) Wacha said in his evidence before the Welby Commission:

"But I may be permitted to observe that in the present deteriorated condition of Indian Agriculture when there is not enough food grain produced to fully suffice for the entire population per annum, it is of greater importance to construct irrigation works than Railways. It should be remembered that even protective Railways against famine, however largely constructed, would give no help to the people in famine stricken districts; whenever a serious famine of the intensity now prevailing may occur, if there be not adequate surplus of grain to carry from one province to another. What is more essential is to stimulate the food supply."

As regards the reasons why railways

in India are being built at a breathless pace the same authority says in his paper on Indian Railway Finance —

"In short as in many other matters so in connection with Railways, it is the foreign exploiter who calls the tune, but it is the indigenous taxpayer who is called upon to pay the piper. A policy so flagrantly unjust demands complete condemnation. It is another of those minor acts of financial injustice which create dissatisfaction and aggravate the sullenness prevailing in the land."

It is much to be wished that our far-sighted and sober Indian politicians will now turn attention to the problem of economic salvation of the country. At present India is the slave of British capitalists. Is there a cry to last for ever.

In the construction and upkeep of Irrigation and Sanitary works so much British-manufactured material is not required as in railways nor do Irrigation and Sanitary works bring so much profit to British exploiters of India as railways do. This is one of the reasons why the British mercantile classes at home and in India exert great pressure on Government to construct railways to the neglect of irrigation sanitation etc.

In the United States of America railways promote agriculture by means of demonstration trains etc, and thus also increase their own incomes by having more food to carry. In New Zealand railways help forward education. In Australia they help in many ways in the development of the country's resources as the following paragraphs quoted from the *Mahratta* will show.

"In addition to the purely commercial aspect of the figures relating to the revenue and expenditure of the Commonwealth railways it is of great importance that the object with which many of the lines were constructed should be kept clearly in view then anticipated advantage in building these lines has been the ultimate settlement of the country rather than the direct returns from the railways themselves and the policy of the State Government has been to use the railway systems of the Commonwealth for the development of the country's resources to the maximum extent consistent with the direct payment by the customers of the railways of the cost of working and interest charges. Further the money has been spent in developing immense agricultural, pastoral and mineral resources, which add to the wealth of the community while the benefits conferred in providing a cheap and convenient mode of transport, and in generally furthering trade and the best interests of the Commonwealth are incalculable."

The story of State management of railways in New Zealand reads like a romance. The railways are used to aid the cause of education. Children in the primary grades are carried free to school. Older children are given season tickets at merely nominal

rates. Sold concessions are given to children and teachers for excursions. The Minister of Railways figures that the department loses on these trips but he justifies the low rates on the ground that from an educational point of view very marked and beneficial results must follow. Thus suburban rates, the lower forms of wealth to the higher. Books are carried to and from libraries at one-fourth the parcel rates. Passenger fares and freight rates are reduced involuntarily and the service is greatly improved. Railways are used at cost or less to redistribute the unemployed and to settle the people on the land. The Railway Department works in harmony with the Labour department in securing work for the workers. A definite effort is made to relieve congestion in cities and to attract the slum dwellers to healthy homes in the suburbs. Factory and holiday excursions are encouraged in every possible way as a matter of public policy. Railway construction is arranged so as to be most vigorous in dull seasons. In the farmers' busy season work on the railways is slackened. This New Zealand record is of great interest for the admirable illustration of the railway usefulness under enlightened management which is possible only when the railway system of a country is owned and managed by the State."

The first extract is taken from the official Year Book of the Australian Commonwealth.

Had railways in India been as useful to the indigenous population of the country as they are in other countries to their population there would have been less objection to the sinking of capital in them in the present state of the country.

As we have observed before railway expenditure is the second biggest item in the budget for 1919-20 consisting of £17½ millions of capital expenditure for construction and £6½ millions for renewals from revenue—total £24½ millions or more than 36 crores of rupees. It is true that during the last three years the capital outlay on railways was not very heavy but that is no reason why the expenditure should be so lavish in the coming year. It will be seen from extracts from Mr G. K. Gokhale's speeches given below that there was a time when very much smaller expenditure on railways was objected to.

The capital sunk in railway should not be supplied out of the current revenues of the country. Generations yet unborn are to reap the advantages of railways. Hence if necessary, they as well as ourselves should pay for them. This may be equitably arranged by building railways out of capital obtained by loans the interest on these loans so long as they are not repaid being paid by us and our children and their children &c.

But if railways are built from current revenues, only the living generation pays for them, which is not just. If the railways prove very paying, they can, after paying interest, also provide for a sinking fund by means of which in course of time the loans are entirely repaid. Our views are supported by what Mr. G. K. Gokhale said in some of his Budget speeches. In 1909 he said

'The present year is a year of deficit, but the Hon'ble Member includes the small surplus, for which he budgets for next year, among the ways and means of meeting capital expenditure. This means that even if the expected surplus is not realised, the estimated amount will be devoted to railways construction out of cash balances. Again as I have already pointed out this year's deficit includes a sum of $\frac{1}{2}$ million under railway charges which represents the portion of an unity payments devoted to the redemption of capital. Thus our surpluses whenever they are realised are to go to railway construction and in addition to that a sum of $\frac{1}{2}$ million a year out of current revenues is to be devoted to the redemption of railway capital.' My Lord I protest respectfully but with all the emphasis at my command against this policy. It is in the circumstances of India unjust and unjustifiable, and even from the standpoint of sound financial administration, it is wholly unnecessary."

Mr. Gokhale's budget speech in 1907 contains the following passage

"I know there is the standing pressure of the European mercantile community to expend every available rupee on railways, and these men are powerful both in this country and in England. But my lord the Government must resist this pressure in larger interests so far as any rate as the surpluses are concerned. Time was not long ago when the Government never thought of spending more than four or five crores a year on railways. And ten years ago Sir James Westland protested sharply against the manner in which programme after programme of railway construction was being pressed on him in breathless succession. It is true that in those days the railways were worked at a net loss to the state and that in that respect the position has now undergone a change. Still 13½ crores is a very large amount to spend in any one year on railways and yet the Hon'ble Member has thought it necessary to be 'apologetic in making the announcement.' My lord I have no objection to the Government using its borrowing powers as freely as possible to push on railway which now rest on a sound commercial basis. But it seems to me most unfair that the loans thus raised should be supplemented by the proceeds of taxation."

In 1919-20 a loan of £10 millions will be raised. But it is not expressly for railway construction, and even if it were, it would not meet even half the railway expenditure, the balance having to be met from the proceeds of taxation.

The same speech from which an extract has been made above, contains the following passage

'Coming now to larger questions, I find that I must renew my earnest and emphatic protest against the manner in which our surpluses still continue to be expended as capital outlay on Railway construction. My lord, I have spoken repeatedly on this subject in previous years, but I feel the injustice of the present arrangement so strongly that I must ask the council to bear with me while I urge once again, as briefly as I can, my reasons why a change of policy is immediately called for in this matter. This is the ninth successive year when a substantial surplus of revenue over expenditure has been realised, and it is clear that the era of surpluses has not yet come to an end. The total of these surpluses during these nine years stands at the high figure of 37 crores of rupees, or about 25 millions sterling, and nearly the whole of this amount has been spent as capital on railways. [Nearly the same amount is going to be spent in the one year 1919-20, not in nine years, against which Mr. Gokhale raised his voice.—Ed., M. R.] Now a surplus is so much more money taken from the people, either through miscalculation or in other ways than was needed for the requirements of Government. And as it is not possible to return this money to the taxpayers in a direct form, what the Government is bound to do with it is to apply it to purposes which are most calculated to benefit the mass of the people. And the question that we must consider is this—what is the most urgent need of the mass of our people at the present day? Judging from the manner in which the surpluses are applied year after year to Railway construction, one would conclude that, in the opinion of the Government, what the people needed most was a vigorous extension of railway facilities. Now my lord I respectfully submit that such a view of the situation is not justified by the circumstances of the country. The claims, for instance, of Sanitation on the attention of the Government are at the present day infinitely stronger and more urgent than those of railway construction. Already an enormous sum has been spent on railways in India, while next to nothing has so far been expended on the construction of sanitary works. With so many towns in the country decimated by plague year after year, with cholera and malaria committing their havoc in other parts, with the death rate of the country as high as 35 per thousand as against 16 per thousand in England, I do not see how the Government can continue to leave sanitation practically to take care of itself. Let the council consider what difference it would have made to the country, if the surpluses of the last nine years—37 crores of rupees—had been devoted to sanitary works instead of to Railway construction. My lord, it will not do for the Government to say that sanitation is the concern of Local Bodies and it is for them to find the money required to improve it. Most of our towns are extremely poor and the present distribution of the resources between the Government and the Local Bodies is of a most unsatisfactory character. How unsatisfactory it is may be judged from the fact that, while there has been a plethora of money in the Government exchequer for the last nine years, most of our local bodies have all the time been struggling with serious financial difficulties and some of them have been in a state not far removed from bankruptcy. Without substantial assistance, therefore, from the Government in meeting the large capital outlay which modern sanitary works require,

Local Bodies will never be able to grapple with the problem of improved sanitation, and to my mind there can be no more desirable object on which the Government might expend its surpluses. The Supreme Government should call upon the Provincial Governments to assist sanitary projects liberally out of their own ordinary revenues and whenever a surplus is realised, it should as a rule, be placed at the disposal of Provincial Governments for pushing on the construction of sanitary works.

In the course of his budget speech for 1902, Mr. Gokhale observed

"The English mercantile classes have been conciliated by undertaking the construction of railways on an unprecedentedly large scale—programme following programme in breathless succession—some in spite of the protests of the Finance Member—a policy which whatever its advantages has helped to destroy more and more the few struggling non-agricultural industries that the country possessed and throw a steadily increasing number on the single precarious resources of agriculture. And this railway expansion has gone on while irrigation in which the country is deeply interested has been more or less neglected."

The Relative Importance of Functions of the State

The budget of the Government of India 1919-20 gives one a clear idea of its conception of the relative importance of the different kinds of work which it has to do. Let us show this by means of a tabular statement of the Imperial allotments for different kinds of work

Kinds of Work	Allotment in Rs
Fighting	61,78,25,000
Railways	36,30,00,000
Irrigation	60,00,000
Agriculture	14,53,500
Education	55,15,500
Industries	nil [could not find out]
Science, etc.,	46,69,500

As we have shown by clear analysis of the objects for which States keep themselves in readiness to fight, the Indian army is intended mainly for Imperial purposes, including the preservation of India's dependence on England. This is the most important object for which the British Government exists in India. Next to it, come railway construction and maintenance. And we have shown that the railways in India are mainly either strategic or commercial. The strategic object is mainly an Imperial object. And as commerce, including export, import and distribution, is mainly European commerce, the main benefit accruing from it goes to foreigners. What harm railways have

done to indigenous industries has been shown above.

The allotment shown against science is for the scientific and miscellaneous departments.

The Table shows that in the opinion of the Government of India preparedness for fighting and the construction and maintenance of railways are far more important than all the other functions of the State, including education, sanitation, advancement of agriculture and manufacturing industries, irrigation, &c.

The Tilak-Chirol Case

The *Leader of Allahabad* is one of the ablest dailies in India. It is an organ of the Moderate section of Indian politicians, and cannot as such be accused of partiality for Mr. B. G. Tilak. It is for this reason that we give below the observations of the *Leader*. Mr. Tilak has not had justice in its proper sense, of the British or any other variety, and we do not think any the worse of him because he has lost his case.

It can be easily imagined what effect would have been produced on the mind of a British jury by Sir Edward Carson's passionate political and racial appeal to the prejudices when he emphasized the result of a verdict in Mr. Tilak's favour on the Government of India and white officials in India. Mr. Tilak's countrymen cannot endorse Sir Edward's opinion that he had had the most profound British justice. It is notorious that he has not had it. He was awarded eighteen months in 1897 on a flagrant misinterpretation by the late Sir Arthur Strachey of 'disaffection' as meaning absence of affection. The later sentence of six years transportation commuted to one of simple imprisonment was monstrously severe. On both occasions the Indians who were in the jury returned a verdict of not guilty and they alone knew the language in which the impugned articles were written. In the present case itself it came out that the defendant received valuable assistance from the Government of Bombay which gave him access to private documents in the archives of the state and even officials of that Government were virtually placed on special duty to unearth material for him. If it is Sir Edward Carson's opinion that all this is the most profound British justice he is welcome to think so but then its value will have to be assessed differently. It is an irony that of all people it should have fallen to Sir Edward Carson, the 'Ulster King' who committed atrocious seditious acts to prevent the wishes of the British Government and Parliament taking effect in Ireland to conduct the case against Mr. Tilak. If Mr. A. J. A. Carson's Government had acted with courage and justice and prosecuted Sir Edward Carson he would perhaps have spoken differently. In fact, that Privy Councilor (1) was rewarded with a seat in the Cabinet—a most curious sequel to the propaganda in which he indulged and an act that was rightly

resented by the whole of Nationalist Ireland. Sir John Simon was perfectly right when he pointed out that in the 1897 trial of Mr. Tilak not a word was said about the murder of Mr. Rand. Not only that, but Mr. W. H. (afterwards Mr. Justice) Crowe, the sessions judge who tried Chapekar for the murder of Mr. Rand, almost went out of his way to say from the bench that he had taken particular care to see if there would be any evidence of conspiracy but there was none whatever. He held Chapekar alone responsible for the dastardly deed. Sir John Simon vainly pleaded that 'even the devil should have his due.' That unnameable being might conceivably have it, but Mr. Tilak has not had it and he is far from being a 'devil.' We have many and serious differences with him, but nothing will deter any of his countrymen from acknowledging his great qualities of ability, courage, patriotism, determination, purposefulness. We sympathize with Mr. Tilak in the loss of the suit with costs.

Hunger-strike in Hazaribagh.

We have received information that thirty-one Bengali state prisoners in Hazaribagh Jail had determined to hunger-strike, it is said, on account of the harshness of the Superintendent, on account of their being punished with solitary or separate confinement for slight cause or no cause, on account of their being in rags, on account of the privileges given them after the last hunger strike being taken away from them, and on account of their petitions to the Supreme and Local Governments having proved of no avail. It is said that they received better treatment in Bengal Jails. These men have never had any trial public or *in camera*, and have been kept in confinement on mere suspicion. Their cases ought to be thoroughly enquired into. There must be some reason why of all jails, hunger-striking should be thought of in Hazaribagh jail and that more than once. There is no fun in trying to starve one's self to death. The ends of justice can be met either by releasing them or bringing them to public trial. And the least that should be done for them is to see that they receive humane treatment.

Release of All Interned Sinn Feiners

In Great Britain, Government, we learn, had decided to release all Sinn Feiners who had been for so long interned there, and no doubt they are now all free men. These internees are not mere suspects, they actually took part in rebellion against Great Britain and in the agitation in Ireland against the British connec-

tion. As a party, they are far stronger and better organised than the Indian state prisoners or internees. And yet they have been released! The difference in treatment is easily accounted for. The Sinn Feiners are white men and there is parliamentary representation and almost fully developed local self-government in Ireland. The conditions are different here

Not one Political Prisoner in the Philippines.

Sir William Meyer, our late Finance Member, recently visited the Philippine Islands in order to study political, economic and other conditions there. He had somehow got the idea in his brain that the jails in the Philippines were full of political prisoners. But on visiting the Prison Bureau, he was, to his keen disappointment, informed that there was no political prisoner in any Philippine jail! *The Philippine Review* writes:—

Sir William called on some of our Government officials and visited some of our public institutions, and, we hope, carried away with him ideas that might be of service in the adoption of the new policies and new methods in the newer relationship between Europe and the also newer Orient. To quote an instance. His belief that the Bureau of Prisons was full of political prisoners, because of what has been made to prevail abroad as to our way of living, i.e., as professional insurrectors, etc., was undone by his official visit to the said Bureau and the negative reply of the Director of said institution to his inquiry, *that there was absolutely no political prisoner in that ward*. Such is the difference between the Philippines, allowed to run her own government, and soon to embark into a new, independent, national life, and the life of the so-called European colonies in the Far East held through the force of arms for economic and political reasons. Their jails will continue to be full of political prisoners, while ours, empty of them. The Islands will continue to be, and still grow, content, and happy at the policy of unselfishness here so nobly pursued by America, while the so-called European colonies in the East will continue to be the place of political discontent, of revolutions, of insurrections. The old argument of backwardness, which furnished the chief reason for the colonization of Oriental countries should fall down under the weight of the example given by the Philippines, which was in no better condition than India, and which is making wonderful advance in politics, in education, in commerce, in business, and in many other lines.

The Imperial Budget.

The principal points of the Finance Member's Budget Statement laid before the Imperial Legislative Council on March 1, are:—

	1918-19	1919 20
	£	£
Estimated Imperial Revenue	74 258 000	88 250 000
Actual Imperial Revenue	85 250 000	
Estimated Imperial Expenditure	71 750 000	85 382 000
Actual Imperial Expenditure	89 700 000	
Realised Deficit	4 500 000	
Estimated Surplus		868 000

The causes of the Deficit in 1918 19 as detailed below are accounted for as under in millions of pounds

Adverse Factors

Increased Expenditure under War Gift	12½
Ordinary Army Increase	2¼
Loss under Land Revenue	1½

Propitious Factors

Net Profit on Exchange	4½
Net Railway Improvement	2½
Customs Increase	1¾
Mint Increase	1¼

The Surplus in the Budget for 1919 20 is accounted for in millions of pounds as under

Increased Receipts	
Customs and Mint	1½

Reduced Receipts

Net Railway Returns (allowing for renewals)	4½
Income Tax	½

Increased Expenditure

Railways (Capital Expenditure)	13¼
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Reduced Expenditure

Army	2¾
Political Department	2
Miscellaneous and Refunds	1

The following figures represent the proposed Railway Programme

Proposed Capital Expenditure	£17 700 000
Renewals from Profits	£8 500 000

The following are the proposed changes in taxation.

Addition

Excess Profits Tax Gross Yield	7½
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Remissions

Income Tax abolished for incomes below Rs 2 000 ½	
Income Tax and Super tax concessions to Excess Profits tax payers	1½

In presenting the Budget in its final form on the 21st March the Finance Member said the estimated surplus had been reduced from £868,000 to £669,000, provision having been made for larger outlay

in Bombay and the Central Provinces for famine reliefs. The preliminary estimates laid before the Council on the 1st March have thus been revised in the light of the latest information. The Financial Secretary's explanatory memorandum has also been checked and brought up to date. The final figures of the revised estimates for 1918 19 and the budget estimates for 1919 20 are given in separate formal statements. The broad results as regards the revised estimates for 1918 19 on the Imperial side are that now the total revenue is expected to stand at £85 298 000 or a deficit of £4 568 000, as compared with £4 320 000 previously estimated. The deterioration of rather over £2,000 000 is due to a number of variations of which a falling off in the Customs revenue amounting to £200 000 and in the Land revenue of £140 000 are set off by some small improvements under other heads. It is also expected to spend more on famine relief but this will be met from the Famine Insurance grant and it does not affect either surplus or deficit.

For the year 1919 20 the revenue is now expected to amount to £86,375,000 and the expenditure to £85 706,000 taken in the financial statement or a reduction in the surplus of £200,000. This is mainly due to scarcity in Bombay and the Central Provinces where the relief grant for the year 1919 20 is already exceeded. They have also included in the budget, since the publication of the financial statement, a sum of £33 000 to form the nucleus of a new public health fund. The Finance Member fully appreciates, he said the importance attached by non official members of the Viceregal Council to the necessity of strengthening the equipment of the Government for dealing with epidemic diseases such as the recent disastrous outbreak of influenza and he considers it desirable to emphasise by a small initial grant the Government acceptance of the principle that central machinery for dealing with these matters should be developed. The net result of the modification in the Provincial budgets is that there will be a slight reduction in the collective surplus of the provinces anticipated during the past year from £1,073 000 to £979 000 during the current year. Their estimated drafts on their balances will be increased from £1,641,000 to £1,918,000 mainly due to

To this list we may add the name of our Bengali magazine the *Prabasi*, which also has had to furnish a security deposit of Rs. 500. The list would have been still more edifying than it is, if the reasons for demanding security, in every case, could be known and published. So far as the *Modern Review* and the *Prabasi* are concerned, the reason was that formerly they were printed at the Kuntaline Press and now they are printed at the Brahmo Mission Press, which involved new declarations being made; and that occasion was seized by the Magistrate to demand security! Our information is that the Moderate Bengali weekly the *Sanjibani* had to deposit Rs. 1000 as security when its old printer died and a new man had to declare himself as printer. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu used all his influence to avert such a fate, but did not succeed; the *Sanjibani* was not exempted.

New India has corrected the list published by the *Independent* as follows:—

In the list of the Press Penalties, (p 2), imposed on National Papers, the statement as to New India is very incomplete. It should run—

- New India (1st Security) Rs. 2000 (forfeited).
 " 2nd " Rs. 10,000 (returned by Mr. Pelly on change of proprietorship).
 " 3rd " Rs. 2000 (forfeited).
 " 4th " Rs. 10,000 (retained by Mr. J. C. Adam, when proprietorship changed after Mrs. Besant's release, and her resumption of Editorship, Oct. 1917. Mr. Adam still holds Rs. 12,000).

Besant Press, printing *Commonweal* and *New India*. Rs. 2000.

Perhaps the *Independent* and Mr. P. T. Chandra will kindly correct. He might also add—

Vasanta Press (Theosophical). Rs. 5000.

No interest is paid on the Rs. 17,000 held by the Local Government or their agents, and a continuing fine is thus inflicted, outside the law, of Rs. 598 annually, reckoning interest at 3½ per cent.

The figures published by the Allahabad paper were taken from Mr. P. T. Chandra's forthcoming book entitled the "National Cyclopædia." Mr. Tajuddin, superintendent of the central bureau for the help of Muslim internees, Delhi, has sent the Allahabad journal a supplement-

ary list, consisting of the Muslim papers that have been dealt with under the Press Act since 1910. The list is long, but we reproduce it as a matter of public duty.

1. "The Comrade", English weekly, Rs. 2,000 forfeited.
2. "Hamdard", Urdu daily Rs. 2,000, forfeited.
3. "Tauheed", Urdu weekly, Rs. 2,000 demanded.
4. "Hamdard", Urdu daily. Fresh Security of Rs. 2,000 deposited.
5. "The Comrade", English weekly. Fresh Security of Rs. 10,000 demanded.
6. "Ra'iq", Urdu daily. Rs. 500 forfeited. Rs. 2000 demanded.
7. "Muslim Gazette", Urdu weekly, Rs. 2,000 demanded.
8. "Zamindar", Urdu daily, Rs. 2,000 forfeited Rs. 10,000 forfeited with all the Press machines and material.
9. "Al-Hilal", Urdu Illustrated weekly, Rs. 2,000 forfeited Rs. 10,000 demanded.
10. "Al-Balagh", Urdu Illustrated weekly, Rs. 2,000 demanded.
11. "Tarjuman", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited.
12. "Sadaqat", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited.
13. "Jamhoor", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited censor appointed, editor externed and interned.
14. "Naqash", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited, censor appointed, editor externed and interned.
15. "Rahbar", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited, censor appointed, editor externed and interned.
16. "Millat", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited, censor appointed, editor externed and interned.
17. "Risalat", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited, censor appointed, editor externed and interned.
18. "Nai-Roshni", Urdu daily, Rs. 2,000 demanded, deposited. Rs. 500 forfeited.
19. "Masawat", Urdu daily, Rs. 2,000 deposited.
20. "Iqdam", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 (?).
21. "Oudh Punch", Urdu weekly, Rs. 500 forfeited. Rs. 2,000 demanded.
22. "New Era", English weekly, Rs. 2,000 forfeited. Rs. 10,000 demanded.
23. "The Observer", English Bi-weekly, Rs. 2,000, forfeited.
24. "Vakeel", Urdu Bi-weekly, Rs. 500, Deposited.
25. "Urdu-i-Moalla", Urdu monthly, Rs. 2,000 demanded.
26. "Punjab", Urdu daily, Rs. 500, demanded.
27. The Ishtaraqi Press publishers of "Inqilab", Urdu weekly, Rs. 500, deposited.
28. N.P. W. publishers of "Congress", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited.
29. Darvesh Press of "Khatib", Urdu weekly, Rs. 500, deposited.

The newspapers mentioned suffered in one of three ways: either they were called upon to deposit security, or had the security already deposited, forfeited and were made to pay fresh and larger security or, failing to pay the impost demanded had to close down.

increased provision for civil works expenditure in Burmah and Bombay.

Of the 85·3 millions of pounds the estimated expenditure during the year 1919-20 a sum of 41·20 million of pounds has been set apart for Military Expenditure, 17·75 millions for original capital expenditure on Railways and a sum of 6·50 millions for repairs and replacements of rolling-stock &c.—altogether the provision for Railways thus amounting to 24·25 millions sterling. For Education the allotment is £367,700; for Medicine £135,900; for Sanitation £144,000; for Agriculture £96,900; for Scientific and Miscellaneous Expenditure the sum laid apart amounts to £311,300; while the proposed expenditure on Irrigation and kindred works amounts to £400,000 only.

In a country, where according to Mr. Bonar Law, one of the British statesmen of the first-rank and erstwhile Prime Minister of England, owing to the loyalty of the Indians the British garrison could be "enormously reduced" even during the world-war, such abnormally heavy Military expenditure as 48·28 per cent. of the entire outlay budgeted for can by no means be justified by any argument when many other expenditure heads of the Budget have been almost totally neglected.

We could perhaps find some justification for the proposed heavy outlay on Railways which bring in such a large return to the State in the way of profits arising therefrom. But these profits to the State could be enormously increased, but for the railways in most cases being under the management of the companies the share-holders of which are, moreover, people other than Indians. The Government, however, is quite indifferent in respect of the working of the Railways under the direct control of the State, repeated demands of the public notwithstanding. In reply to a question asked by Mr. Sarma, in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 7th March Sir A. R. Anderson said: "Regarding the future management of the East Indian Railway, the present arrangements will continue till the 31st December, 1924, after which the direction will be transferred to India. In the meantime, an inquiry will be set on foot to modify, as may be deemed best, the future of State Railways in India."

we find that the huge labours of the appointed by the Government

of India about a couple of years ago—consider the question of the by the State of the railways owned by have resulted in bringing forth the verbal mouse.

Thus while lavish expenditure marked the Budget in regard to the Railways, the expenditure provided necessary projects of social and material advancement of the people has been miserably below the mark. The prospect of continued starvation of the schemes for improving the condition of the people cannot but be a source of great distress to them.

While thus the serious and most urgent needs of the people have been neglected in the preparations of Sir James Meston's Budget the Finance Member has been careful enough to make ample provision for the prosecution of the New Delhi scheme—a scheme necessitated by the quite unnecessary and uncalled for transfer of the Imperial capital from Calcutta which from its very inception in 1911 has always been condemned from all sides. According to the estimates a sum of £53,333½ will be spent during the current year in sanitation alone in New Delhi while the sanitary needs of the entire India have such a meagre recognition, as indicated above. It will be remembered that with the object of saving money at the crisis of the war the Government had decided to stop work at new Delhi. But this is how it has been saving money. The figures represent initial outlay on the new capital: In 1917-18 they spent £250,543; in 1918-19, £286,700; in and 1919-20 it is estimated to spend £300,000. Lord Hardinge's estimate for building the new Capital was, it will be remembered, £4000,000. Already nearly £3,000,000 has been spent, and the work is scarcely more than begun, and the country will be fortunate if it escapes with less than £25,000,000 if not more on this fad of a new Capital at a time when money is most urgently needed for the amelioration of the unfortunate millions of the people in habiting this vast Peninsula.

The one and only redeeming feature of Sir James Meston's present Budget is his decision to free incomes below two Rs. 2,000 per annum from income tax. The Finance Member said: "There can be no question that the Rs.1,000 minimum is now a serious hardship, and we have decided to raise the taxable limit of income



RAMDAS AND SIVAJI

By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Asit Kumar Halder

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THE MESSAGE OF THE FORTIST

By SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE past not only contains, in its depths the unrealised future, but in part the realised future itself. Everybody admits the truth that, in the grandfather lies dormant the potential grandson who is to carry the growth of his ancestry to a further stage, or in a new direction. But it is also true that the grandson is practically born in the grandfather. New additions are made and modifications effected but some keynote, that is to dominate the racial life, has already been achieved in the life of the grandfather.

This is the reason, why every race of people has its tradition of the Golden Age in the past, because we never can trust our future, if it does not carry some great promise bequeathed to it. It is not enough for us to know, that our future is growing out clearer from the nebulous adumbration of a primitive age. We must also be assured that it has already shown itself distinct in its achievements in the past. Every great people holds its history so valuable because of this because it contains not mere memories but hope, and therefore the image of the future. Man has his instinctive faith in heredity. He feels that, in heredity, that which is to come has been proved in that which has been,—in great heredity, the great conclusion is perpetually present in the process. And all history is man's credential of his future, signed and sealed by his past.

The physical organisation of the race has certain vital memories which are persistent which fashion its nose and eyes in a particular shape, regulate its stature and deal with the pigment of its skin. In the ideal of a race, there also run memories that remain constant or, in case of alien mixture come back repeatedly, even after the lapse of long intervals.

These are the compelling forces, that secretly and inevitably fashion the future of a people and give characteristic shape to its civilization. In our Shastras it is held that our desires are the creative factors which originate and guide our future births. Likewise every race has its innate desires of its former days, leading it through the repeated new births of its history. Any people which lacks in its racial mind these inherited aspirations, merely drifts till it sinks in the current of time. It never creates its own history. In a word it does not renew its birth but is merged in the amorphous vagueness of a ghostly existence.

Therefore it is of great importance for us to know whether as a people, we carry in our subconscious mind some primal aspiration which alone can guarantee us a definite future of our own. If we still have that, strong and living, it will save us from extinction, or from the perpetual shame—worse than death—of the life of imitation, or parasitism. When we are threatened with loss of self respect, when our mind is overwhelmed with the idea that there can be only one type of civilization worth the name, and that a foreign one, when our one conscious desire is to strive with all our might, by begging, borrowing or stealing, towards some ideal of perfection which can only be related to us, as a mask to a face or a wig to a head—then our only hope lies in discovering some profound creative desire persistent in the heart of our race, in the subconscious mind of our people. For, in the long run it is our subconscious nature which wins, and it is the deeper unseen current of the mind which secretly cuts its own path and reaches its own goal—not the conscious waves on the

surface, which clamorously make themselves obvious and vigorously storm at the present time

I have said elsewhere, that the environment in which we see the past of India, is the forest, the memory of which permeates our classical literature and still haunts our minds. The legends related in our great epics cluster under the sublime shade of those ancient forests, and, in the forest, the most intense pathos of human life found its background in the greatest of our romantic dramas. The memory of these sacred forests is the one great inheritance which India ever cherishes through all her political vicissitudes and economic disturbances.

But we must know, that these forests were not merely topographical in their significance. We have seen that the history of the Northmen of Europe is resonant with the association of the sea. That sea, also, is not a mere physical fact, but represents certain ideals of life which still guide their history and inspire all their creations. In the sea, Nature presented herself to these men in her aspect of a danger, of a barrier, which seemed to be at constant war with the land and its children. The sea was the challenge of untamed Nature to the indomitable human soul. And man did not flinch, he fought and won, and the spirit of fight continued in him. He looked upon his place in the world as extorted from a hostile scheme of things, retained in the teeth of opposition. His cry is the cry of triumph of defiant Man against the rest of the universe.

This is about the people who lived by the sea and rode on it as on a wild champing horse, clutching it by its mane and making it render service from shore to shore. But in the level tracts of *Arjya varta* men found no barrier between their lives and the Grand Life that permeates the Universe. The forest gave them shelter and shade, fruit and flower, fodder and fuel. It entered into a close living relation with their work and leisure and necessity, and in this way made it easy for them to know their own lives as associated with the larger life. They could not think of their surroundings as lifeless separate, or inimical. So the view of the Truth, which these men found, was distinctly different from that of those of whom we have spoken above and their relation

ship with this world also took a different turn, as they came to realise that the gifts of light and air, of food and drink, did not come from either sky or tree or soil, but had their fount in the all pervading consciousness and joy of universal life. They uttered quite simply and naturally *सर्विदम् किञ्च यज्जगत् प्राप यजति निवर्तय-* "All that is, vibrates with life, having emerged from the Supreme Life."

When we know this world as alien to us then we know it as a thing mechanical built by a divine mechanic or by a chance combination of blind forces. Then our relation to it becomes the relation of utility, and we set up our own machines or mechanical methods to deal with it and make as much profit as our knowledge of its mechanism allows us to do. Then we are apt to say that Knowledge is power. This view of things does not altogether play us false, for the machine has its place in this world. And therefore, not only this material universe, but also human beings can be used as machines and made to yield results. But the view of the world which India has taken is summed up in one compound word—

सर्विदानम्. Its meaning is that Reality, which is essentially one, has three aspects. The first is *sat*, the principle of Being whose first information comes to us through our senses, it relates us to all things through the relationship of common existence. The second is *chit*, the principle of knowing, it relates us to all things through the relationship of mind. The third is *ananda*—the principle of Enjoying—which unites us with all things through the relationship of love. Our consciousness of the world as that of the sum total of things that exist or that are governed by universal laws is imperfect according to the true Indian view,—but it is perfect when our consciousness realises all things as spiritually one with it and therefore capable of giving us joy. Our text of daily meditation contains the truth of the one and the same creative force appearing in an undivided stream of manifestation in our consciousness and in the world of which we are conscious. They are one, as the East and the West are one which only our self divides into contradictions. For us the highest purpose of this world is not merely living in it, knowing it and making use of it, but realising our own

selves in it through expansion of sympathy and emancipation of consciousness, not alienating and dominating it but comprehending and uniting it with us in blissful union. The Man whom you only use is a machine; the Man whom you only study is a material for your knowledge. But your friend is neither a machine to you nor a psychological curiosity, (though consciously or unconsciously he does take his part as a machine of work and as an object of study for you), his ultimate value lies in his giving you opportunity to lose your self in his love. This is his aspect of *ananda*—his truest aspect for you, which comprehends his other two aspects in harmony. And to know the highest truth of all existence as that of a friend is truly Indian. This view of the world as the world of life and love, as the manifestation of the Supreme Soul whose nature is to realise his unity in the endlessness of the varied, has come to us from the great peace of our ancient forest.

When Vikramāditya became king, Ujjain a great capital, and Kālidāsa its poet, the age of India's forest retreats had passed. Then we had taken our stand in the midst of the great concourse of humanity, and the Chinese and the Hun, the Scythian and the Persian the Greek and the Roman, had crowded round us. But even in this age of pride and prosperity, the longing love and awe of reverence with which its poet sang about the hermitage, shows what was the dominant ideal that occupied the mind of India, what was the one current of memory that continually flowed back through her life.

In Kālidāsa's drama *Shakuntala*, also, the hermitage, which dominates the play, overshadowing even the king's palace, has the same idea running through,—the recognition of the kinship of man with conscious and unconscious creation alike.

A poet of a later age, while describing a hermitage in his *Kadambari*, tells of the posture of devoutness in the flowering leaves as they bow to the wind, of the sacrifice offered by the trees scattering their blossoms, of the grove sounding with the lessons chanted by the neophytes, and the *mantras* which the parrots, constantly hearing had learned to pronounce, of the wild fowl enjoying *Varaha dera bali pinda*—the food offered to the divinity which is in all creatures,—

and of the ducks coming up from the lake, near by, for their portion of the grass seed, spread in the cottage yards to dry; of the deer caressing with their tongues the young hermit boys. It is again the same story. The hermitage shines out, in all our ancient literature, as the place where the chasm between man and the rest of creation has been bridged.

In the drama of other countries, where the human characters violently drown our attention in the vortex of their passions, Nature occasionally peeps in, but she is almost always a trespasser, who has to submit urgent excuses, or bow apologetically and depart. But in all our dramas, which still retain their fame, such as *Mrichchhakatika*, *Shakuntala*, *Uttara Rama Charita* Nature stands on her own right, proving that she has her great function, to impart the peace of the eternal to the human passions and to mitigate their violent agitations which often come from the instability of spiritual lameness.

The frenzied fury of passion, described in two of Shakespere's youthful poems stands isolated upon its own pedestal of unashamed conspicuity. It is wrenched away naked from the cover of the All, it has not the green earth or the blue sky around it, the many coloured veil of nature has been impatiently swept away from its face, bringing to our view the fever which is in man's desires, and not the healing balm which encircles it in the universe.

Ritusamhara is clearly a work of Kālidāsa's immaturity. The song of youthful love sung in it sounds from the fundamental bass notes of human passion,—it does not reach the sublime height of reticence that there is in *Shakuntala* or *Kumara Sambhara*. But the tone of these voluptuous outbreaks, being set to the varied harmony of Nature's symphony, loses its delicious shrillness in the expanse of the open sky. The moon beams of the summer evening, resonant with the murmuring flow of fountains, add to it their own melody, in its rhythm sways the *Kadamba* grove, glistening in the first cool rain of the season; and the south breezes wait into its heart the wistfulness of the scent of the mango flowers.

In the third canto of *Kumara Sambhara*, while describing the boisterous emergence of youth at the sudden coming of *Vadara*

(Eros), Kalidasa has been careful to avoid giving this outburst of passion an abnormal supremacy within the narrow field of view of exclusive humanity. His genius basked in the sunshine of the human spirit, where it pervades the spring flower and the harvest of the autumn, and that genius never played at focussing it into a point of ignition upon the naked fluttering heart. Kalidasa has shown a true reverence to the divine love making of Sati by making his narration of it as a central white lotus floating on the world-wide immensity of youth, in which the animals and trees have their rhythm of life throbs. It is a sacred flame of longing whose lamp is the universe.

Not only its third canto, but, the whole of the *Kumara Sambhava* poem is printed upon a limitless canvas. Its inner idea is deep and of all time. It answers the one question that humanity asks through all its endeavours—How is the birth of the hero to be brought about,—the brave one who can defy and vanquish the evil demon, when he sweeps upon the scene, lying waste heaven's own kingdom? This is the greatest of all problems for each individual, and it forces itself in ever new, ever recurring forms upon each race and nation, and this is the one problem which persists in most of our poet's works—in his *Shakuntala*, *Raghuvamsha* and *Kumara Sambhava*.

It becomes evident that such a problem had become acute in Kalidasa's time when the old simplicity of Hindu life had broken up. The Hindu kings forgetful of their kingly duties, had become self-seeking epicureans and India was being repeatedly devastated by the Shakas.

But what answer does the poem give to the question it raises?—Not that more armaments were needed, or that a league of powers should be formed, or that some mechanical adjustment of political balance had to be effected. Its message is that the cause of weakness lies in the inner life of the soul. It is in some break of harmony with the Good some dissociation from the True. When gain is completed by giving up when love is fulfilled by self-sacrifice when passion is purified by the penance of the soul, then only is heroism born—the heroism which can save mankind from all defeat and disaster. When the ascetic Shiva—the Good—was lost in the passive immensity of his soli-

tude, heaven was in peril. And when beautiful Sati—the Real—was all by herself, in her unwedded self-seclusion, the demons were triumphant. Only from the union of the exuberant freedom of the Real with the tranquil restraint of the Good comes the fullest strength.

Viewed from the outside, India, in the time of Kalidasa, appeared to have reached the zenith of civilization, excelling as she did in luxury, literature and the arts. Kalidasa himself was not free from the prevailing tone, and the outer embellishment of his poetry is as daintily luxurious as must have been the decorative art of the period. This, however, is only one aspect in which his age influenced the poet.

But what sudden passion for sacrifice, for the austere discipline of the life of aspiration, troubled our Goddess of Poesy amidst the luxury of her golden bower? It was the eternal message of the forest, that can never be silenced, and like a refrain, simple in its purity, comes up again and again, through all noisy distractions of discord,—the message to free our consciousness from the accumulations of desire to win our immortality, by breaking through the sheath of self, the self which belongs to death. From his seat beside all the glories of Vikramaditya's throne the poet's heart yearned for the purity of India's past age of spiritual striving. And it was this yearning which took shape and impelled him to go back to the annals of the ancient kings of Raghu's line.

"I fain would sing," says Kalidasa, in his prologue, "of those whose purity went back to the day of their birth, whose striving went forward till attainment, whose empire knew no bounds but the seas, whose adventurous journeys reached up to the high heaven, who offered oblations to the sacred fire in accordance with injunctions made gifts to the needy in accordance with their wants, awarded punishments in accordance with the crime, and regulated every wakeful activity in accordance with the hour,—who accumulated treasure for the sake of redistribution, tempered their utterance for the sake of truth, desired victories for the sake of glory entered into wedlock for the sake of progeny,—who practised learning in their childhood attended to wealth in their youth took to the hermitage in their old age cast away their bodies

when they had attained the supreme union Of these would I sing, though I lack all wealth of language, for their great merits, entering my ears, have disturbed my heart."

But it is not in a strain of praise that his poem ended. What had troubled his heart becomes clear, when we come to the end of his *Raghuvamsha*. What was the life story of the founder of this line of Kings? Where did it begin?

The heroic life of Raghu had its prologue in a hermitage, showing that its origin was in a life of purity and self-restraint, led there by Raghu's royal parents. The poem is not ushered in with the pomp and circumstance befitting the history of a great kingly line. King Dilip, with his consort, Queen Sudakshina, has entered upon the life of the forest. The great monarch is busy tending the cattle of the hermitage. Thus opens the *Raghuvamsha* amidst scenes of simplicity and self-denial. But it ends in the palace of magnificence, in the wealth and luxury which divert the current of energy from the truth of life to the heaps of things. There is brilliance in this ending, as there is in the conflagration which destroys and devastates. Peaceful as the dawn, radiant as the tawny haired hermit boy, is the calm strength of the restrained language in which the poet tells us of the kingly glory crowned with the halo of purity,—beginning his poem, as the day begins, in the serene solemnity of its sunrise. And lavish are the colours in which he describes the end, as of the evening, eloquent for a time with its sumptuous splendour of sunset, but overtaken at last by the devouring darkness which sweeps away all its brilliance into the fathomless abyss of night.

In this beginning and this ending of his poem, lies hidden the message of the forest which found its voice in the poet's words. With a suppressed sigh he is saying, 'Look on that which was and that which is.' In the days when the future glowed gloriously ahead, self-discipline was esteemed as the highest path, self-renunciation the greatest treasure, but when down fall had become imminent, the hungry fires of desire aflame at a hundred different points dazzled the eyes of all beholders."

When the lust of self-aggrandisement is unbridled, the harmony between enjoyment and renunciation is destroyed. By concentrating our pride or desire upon a

limited field, the field of the animal life, we seek to exaggerate a portion at the expense of the whole, the wholeness which is in man's life of the spirit. From this results evil. That is why renunciation becomes necessary,—not to lead to destitution, but to restoration, to win back the All.

Kalidasa in almost all his works, has depicted this break of harmony between enjoyment and renunciation, between the life that loses itself in the sands of the self and the life that seeks its sea of eternity. And this is characteristically represented by the unbounded impetuosity of kingly splendour on one side and the serene strength of regulated desires on the other. I have already given above an illustration of this from the *Raghuvamsha*. Even in the minor drama of *Malavikāgnimitra* we find the same thing in a different manner. It must never be thought that, in this play the poet's deliberate object was to pander to his royal patron by inviting him to a literary orgy of lasciviousness. The very *Nandi* contradicts this and shows the object towards which this play is directed. The poet begins the drama with the prayer, "श्रद्धावादीहियं च यदयं च यद्व्याप्योद्विजिह्वं" "Let God, to illumine for us the path of truth, sweep away our passions bred of darkness." The God, to whom this prayer is uttered, says the poet, is one in whose nature Eternal Woman is ever commingled, in an ascetic purity of love,—who stands in the sacred simplicity of bareness in the midst of his infinite wealth. The unified being of Hara and Parvati is the perfect symbolism of the eternal in the wedded love of man and woman. The poet opens his drama with the invocation of this spirit of the Divine Union. It is quite evident that this invocation carries the message in it with which he greeted his kingly audience. The whole drama is to show in vivid colour the utter ugliness of the treacherous falsehoods and cruelties inherent in all passions that are unchecked. In this play the conflict of ideals is between the king and the queen—between Agnimitra and Dharmī, between the resolute offence against all that is good and true, and the unlimited peace of forgiveness that dwells deep in the self-sacrifice of love. The great significance of this contrast lies hidden in the very names of the hero and

the heroine of the drama. Though the name *Ummat* is historical yet it symbolises in the poet's mind the devastating destructiveness of uncontrolled desire—just as did the name of *Ummat* in *Kaghvamsa Ummat*—the friend of the fire—the reckless person who in his love making is playing with fire not knowing that all the time it is scorching him black till the seed of immortality perishes at the core of his being. And what a great name is *Dharm* signifying the fortitude and forbearance that comes of the majesty of soul. What association it carries of the infinite dignity of love purified by the sacrificial fire of self-abnegation rising far above all insult of base betrayal! Can anybody doubt what effect the performance of this drama produced upon the royal looker on what searching of heart what humility what reverence for the love that claims our best worship by the offer of its patient worship of service!

In *Shakuntala* this conflict of ideals has been shown all through the drama by the contrast of the pompous heartlessness of the king's court and the natural purity of the hermitage the contrast of the arrogance displaying itself upon the hollow eminence of convention and the simplicity standing upon the altitude of truth. The message of the poet is uttered by the two hermit boys when they enter the king's palace just before the impending catastrophe of *Shakuntala*'s life the naked cruelty of which is skilfully hidden by the episode of the curse though it was unbarred a moment before through the shameless self confession of fickleness by the king when he listened to the lamentation of *Hamsapadika* one of his numerous victims. The message is—

अमृतमिव ज्ञातं युधिष्ठिरमिव प्रवक्ष्ये हवः शत्रुम्

वक्ष्ये खेदेतिजनिमिह सुखसन्निभम् अवेदि ।

We look upon these devotees of pleasure as he who has bathed looks upon the unclean as the pure in heart upon the polluted as the wide awake soul looks upon the slothful slumberer and as the one who is free to move looks upon the shackled.

And what is the inner meaning of the curse that follows the hermit girl in this drama till she is purified by her penance? I am sure according to the poet it is the

same curse from which his country at that time suffered. There were two guests who knocked at the gate of *Shakuntala* of whom one was accepted and the other refused. The king as an embodiment of passion and worldliness came to her and she readily yielded to his allurements. But when after that the duty of the higher life the spirit of the forest ideal stood before her in the guise of an ascetic, she in her absent mindedness did not notice him. And what was the result? She lost her world of desire for which she had forsaken her truth. And in order to regain that world as her own by right she had to follow through suffering the path of self conquest. The poet was aware of the two guests who sought entrance into the heart of his country—the devotee of pleasure and power who comes secretly without giving his real name and insinuates himself into trustful acceptance, and the seeker of spiritual perfection who announces himself in a master's voice in clear notes *चमक बो—* 'I am here! And to his dismay he found his country betraying her heart to the former to be betrayed by him. It is evident that kings of that period were deeply drawn into the eddy of self-indulgence and were fighting each other for power the love of which leads men into the insanity of suicide. The fatal curse of falsehood is always generated when power and success are pursued for their own sake when our baser passions shamelessly refuse all claims of justice and self control. The poet had one lingering ray of hope in his heart. He could not but believe that his country had not lost her reverence for her *tapasvi* the guest who brings to her door the message of everlasting life. Only her mind was distracted by some temporary outbreak of temptation. He was certain that she would wake up in sanctifying sorrow and give birth to her *Bharata* the hero who would bring to her life unity and strength of truth. There was a note of assurance in the poet's voice when through his great poems *Kumara Sambhava* and *Shakuntala* he called her to come back once again to her purity of life and realisation of soul the call which is true for other times and other countries also. For the curse still remains to be worked off by humanity for the inoperable insult offered to the Eternal Man.

The drama of Shikuntala opens with a hunting scene, where the king is in pursuit of an antelope. This indulgence in sport appears like a menace symbolising the spirit of the king's life clashing against the spirit of the forest retreat, where all creatures find their protection of love. And the pleading of the forest dwellers to the king to spare the life of the deer helplessly innocent and beautiful, is the pleading that rises from the heart of the whole drama.

न पशु, न पशु, वाच सविपाथोऽयमकिम् ।

सन्निवृत्तयोरे इयं राधाविद्याम् ॥

"Never oh never is the arrow meet for piercing the tender body of a deer, as the fire is not for burning flowers."

The living beauty, whose representative in this drama is Shikuntala is not aggressively strong like the callous destructiveness of lust, but, through its frailty it is sublimely great. And it is the poet's pleading which still rings in our ears against the ugly greed of commercialism in the modern age, against its mailed fist of earth hunger, against the lust of the strong, which is grossly intent upon killing the Beautiful and piercing the heart of the Good to the quick. Once again sounds the warning of the forest, at the conclusion of the first act, when the king is engaged in fateful dalliance with the hermit girl — O Tapaswinis, hasten to rescue the living spirit of the sacred forest for Dushyanta, the lord of earth, whose pleasure is in hunting is come." It is the warning of India's past, and that warning still continues against the reckless carnival of the present time, celebrated by the lords of Earth whose pleasure is in hunting to death with their ruthless machines all that is beautiful with the delicacy of life.

In *Kumara Sambhava* the friend and ally of Indra, the king of the Gods is Madana the god of desire. And he in his blindness imagines that he can unite Shiva and Parvati by the delusion created by the madness of the senses. It is the same as when we try to reach our perfection through wealth and power through the intensity of boisterous self-seeking. That is not to be. At last Parvati's love was crowned with fulfilment through her penance of self sacrifice. The moral of the *Kumara Sambhava* is the same as the teaching of the Upanishat सन्नमस्तुभ्योऽहं, the

"enjoy through renunciation" वा सन्नमस्तुभ्योऽहं 'Enjoyment must not be through greed'.

One thing which we must remember is, that the life in ancient India was not all forest life,—nor is the heart the only organ we possess in our vital organism. But the heart lies in the centre of our body, it purifies our blood and sends our life current through the ramifications of all the channels in our body to the extremities of our limbs. Our *tapovana* was just such a vital centre of our social body. In it throbbed the rhythm of our life's ebb and flow. It gave truth to our thoughts, right impulse to our feelings and guiding force to our work. We distinctly see, from the works of our poet that the teaching of the forest was not towards the inertia of passivity but towards true heroism and victory. It was not towards suppression of action but its purification, towards giving it freedom of life by removing obstructions.

We know of other great systems in which there is a special insistence upon sacrifice and resignation. Just as heat is an important factor in the process of creation so is pain an essential reagent in the formation of man's life. It melts the intractable hardness of his spirit, and wears away the unyielding crust which confines his heart. But the Upanishat enjoins renunciation not by way of acceptance of pain but for the purpose of enjoyment of truth. Such renunciation means an expansion into the Universal a union with the Supreme. It is the renunciation of the cocoon for the freedom of the living wings. So that the ideal hermitage of ancient India was not a theatre where the spirit should wrestle with the flesh or where the monastic order should try conclusions with the social order—it was to establish a harmony between all our energies and the eternal reality. That is why the relations of Indian humanity with beast and bird and tree had attained an intimacy which may seem strange to people of other lands. Our poets have told us that the *tapovana* is *shantarasaspadam*,—that the emotional quality peculiar to the forest retreat is Peace the peace which is the emotional counterpart of perfection. Just as the mingling of the colours of the spectrum gives us white light, so when the faculties

of our mind, instead of being scattered, flow in a united stream in harmony with the universal purpose, then does peace result—the peace which pervaded India's forest retreats, where man was not separate from, and had no quarrel with, the rest of his surroundings.

The two hermitages, which we have in the drama of Shakuntala, serve to give a magnitude to her joy and sorrow. One of these hermitages was on earth, the other on the border of the abode of immortals. In the first, we see the daughter of the hermitage watching in delight the union of the sweet flowering creeper with the mango tree round which it has twined, or busy rearing motherless young deer with handfuls of grass seed, and picking the spear grass out from their tender mouths soothing the pricks with healing oil. This hermitage serves to make simple, natural and beautiful the love of the king for the hermit girl. The other hermitage was on the great cloud like massive Hemakuta peak, standing like Shiva, with his locks of forest growths and tangled creepers, lost in meditation, its gaze fixed on the sun. In this, Marichi, the revered preceptor of both Gods and Titans, together with his wife, was engaged in the pursuit of self-realisation. There, when the young hermit boys would playfully snatch from the lioness her suckling cub, its distress would greatly exercise the tãpasa Mother. The second hermitage, in turn, serves to mellow with a great peace and purity the sorrow and insult which had driven Shakuntala there.

It has to be realised, that the former is of the earth, the region of the mortals, the latter of heaven, the region of the immortals. In other words, the one represents what is the other 'what should be'. The unceasing movement of 'what is' is towards 'what should be'. It finds its true freedom in that movement. The first is Sati—the Real—the last Shiva, the Good. In the life of Shakuntala like wise, the 'what is' had to find its fulfilment in the 'what should be'. What was of the earth had to come through the path of sorrow, to the border of heaven.

Those who have followed the evolution of the principal idea in this drama,—its seed life in the soil of passion, its deliverance of harvest in the sunlight of the purity of self abnegation—will understand the great poet Goethe's criticism of

Shakuntala, so tersely expressed in a single verse—

"Wouldst thou the flower of the spring and
fruit of the mature year,
Wouldst thou what charms and enrap-
tures and what feeds and nourishes,
Wouldst thou heaven and earth in one
name entwined,
I name thee, O Sakuntala, and all is said."

For in Shakuntala the reconciliation is given, through the pittance of pain and sacrifice, to the pair of contraries, that which attracts and that which gives freedom, the limitation of self and the dedication of self to the Eternal. Goethe's own drama Faust, in its first and in its second part, tries to show the same separation and then reconciliation between the Real and the Good, between Sati and Shiva.

However, my point is this, that the scene of such reconciliation is depicted both in Shakuntala and in Kumara Sambhava, upon the background of the *tapovana* showing whence the spring of the ideal harmony welled forth, the harmony between Nature and man, between the life in the individual and life in the All.

In the Ramayana Rama and his companions, in their banishment, had to traverse forest after forest, they had to live in leaf thatched huts, to sleep on the bare ground. But as their hearts felt their kinship with woodland, hill and stream, they were not in exile amidst these Poets brought up in an atmosphere of different ideals, would have taken this opportunity of depicting in dismal colours the hardship of the forest life in order to bring out the martyrdom of Ramachandra in the strong emphasis of contrast. But, in the Ramayana we are led to realise the greatness of the hero not in an unimical struggle with nature, but in sympathy with it.

Sita, the daughter in law of a great kingly house, goes along the forest paths

एकैक पादय युद्धं वती वा युध्यमानिनीम्

अदृष्ट्वा पश्यन्ती रामं पश्यन् सारदा ।

पश्यन्ती यान् बहुविधान् पादयान् कुक्षुमीकरान्

सीतावचनस्यैवानुवाच लक्ष्मण ।

विश्रवाक्षुकाज्जला संघातयनादितान्

इदं जनकालम् सुता मेधा तदा नदीम् ॥

She asks Rama about the flowering trees and shrubs and creepers which she has not seen before. At her request Lakshmana gathers and brings her plants of all kinds exuberant with flowers and it delights her heart to see the forest rivers, variegated with their streams and sandy bank resounding with the calls of heron and duck

दुःखपाशाद्यं तु विवकूटम्

नदीषु तां पाशवतीं सुतोषाम्

नमस्व हृष्टीं दृग्गच्छिष्यताम्

जरी च दुःख उद्विग्राह्यात् ॥

When Rama first took his abode in the Chitrakuta peak that delightful *Chitrakuta*, by the *Mitharati* river, with its easy slopes for landing, he forgot all the pain of leaving his home in the capital at the sight of these woodlands alive with beast and bird

दोषं शब्दो विवक्षितं गिरौ गिरिनम्रिष्य—having lived on that hill for long, Rama who was *girinamrīṣya*, lover of the mountain and the forest, said one day to Sita

न राज्ञाम् वरं भद्रं न दुःखं विवक्षितम्

मनो मे वश्यते दृष्ट्वा रम्योदयिष्य गिरिम् ।

"When I look upon the beauties of this hill, the loss of my kingdom troubles me no longer, nor does the separation from my friends cause me any pang"

When they went over to the *Dandaka* forest, they saw there a hermitage with a halo round it caused by the sacrificial fires blazing like the sun itself. This ash ram was *ब्रह्मचर्यं चर्मभूतानाम्* 'the refuge of all creatures', it was enfolded by *Brahmī Lakshmi*, the Spirit of the Infinite

Thus passed Ramachandra's exile, now in woodland, now in hermitage scenes. The love which Rama and Sita bore each other united them, not only to each other, but to the Universe of life. That is why, when Sita was taken away, the loss seemed to be very great to the forest itself. The extinction of a star is doubtless a mighty event in the world of stars, and we would know, if we had pure vision, that any infliction of injury in the heart of a true lover gives rise to suffering which belongs to all the world. Sita's abduction robbed the forest of the most beautiful of

its blossoms, the ineffable tenderness of human love,—that which imparted the mystery of a spiritual depth to all its sounds and forms

Strangely enough in Shakespeare's dramas like those of *Kalidasa* we find a secret vein of complaint against the artificial life of the king's court the life of ungrateful treachery and falsehood. And almost everywhere in his dramas, forest scenes have been introduced in connection with some working of the life of unscrupulous ambition. It is perfectly obvious in *Timon of Athens*—but there Nature offers no message or balm to the injured soul of man. In *Cymbeline* the mountainous forest and the cave appear in their aspect of obstruction to life's opportunities—which only seem tolerable in comparison with the vicissitudes of fortune in the artificial court life as expressed by *Belarius*

'Did you but know the city's usuries
And felt them knowingly the art o'
the court,
As hard to leave as keep whose top to climb

Is certain falling or so slippery that
The fear's as bad as falling."

In 'As You Like It' the Forest of Arden is didactic in its lessons,—it does not bring peace but it preaches when it says

Hath not old custom made this life
more sweet
Than that of painted pomp? Are not
these woods
More free from peril than the envious
court?"

In the 'Tempest' in *Prospero's* treatment of *Ariel* and *Caliban* we realise man's struggle with nature and his longing to sever connection with her. In "*Macbeth*" as a prelude to a bloody crime of treachery and treason, we are introduced to a scene of barren heath where the three witches appear as the personification of Nature's malignant forces, and in "*King Lear*," it is the fury of a father's love turned into curses by the ingratitude born of the unnatural life of the court that finds its symbol in the storm in the heath. The extreme tragic intensity of "*Hamlet*" and "*Othello*" is unrelieved by any touch of Nature's eternity. Excepting in a passing glimpse of a moonlight night in the love scene in the "*Merchant of Venice*" Nature has not been allowed in other dramas of this series, including "*Romeo and Juliet*"

and "Antony and Cleopatra," to contribute her own music to the music of man's love. In "The Winter's Tale" the suspicious cruelty of a king's love stands bare in its relentlessness and Nature cowers before it offering no consolation. I hope it is needless for me to say that these observations of mine are not for criticising Shakespeare's great power as a dramatic poet, but to show in his works the gulf between nature and human nature owing to the tradition of his race and time. It cannot be said that beauty of nature is ignored in his writings, only he fails to recognise in them the truth of the interpenetration of human life and the cosmic life of the world. When literature takes for its object the exhibition of the explosiveness of a human passion then necessarily that passion is made detached from its great context of the universe and is shown in its extreme violence generated by the instability of equilibrium. And this is what we find in Elizabethan dramas,—the clash of passions in their fury of self assertion. We observe a sudden and a completely different attitude of mind in the later English poets, like Wordsworth and Shelley, which can only be attributed to the great mental change in Europe at that particular period, through the influence of the newly discovered philosophy of India which stirred the soul of Germany and strongly roused the attention of other Western countries.

In Milton's "Paradise Lost," the very subject—Man dwelling in the garden of Paradise,—seems to afford a special opportunity for bringing out the true greatness of man's relationship with Nature. But though the poet has described to us the beauties of the garden though he has shown us the animals living there in amity and peace among themselves, there is no reality of kinship between them and man. They were created for man's enjoyment, man was their lord and master. We find no trace of the love of the first man and woman surpassing themselves and overflowing the rest of creation, such as we find in the love scenes in *Kumara Sambhava* and *Shakuntala* and in our Vaishnava lyrics, where love finds its symbols in the beauty of all natural objects. But in the seclusion of the bower, where the first man and woman rested in the garden of paradise,

"Bird, beast, insect or worm
Durst enter none, such was their awe of man"

At the bottom of this gulf between man and Nature there is the lack of the message,—*ईशावासिमिदम् वक्तुम्* 'know all that is, as enveloped by God.' According to this epic of the West, God remains aloof to receive glorification from his creatures. The same idea persists in the case of man's relation to the rest of creation.

Not that India denied the superiority of man, but the test of that superiority lies, according to her, in the comprehensiveness of sympathy,—not in the aloofness of absolute distinction.

The love of Rama and Sita, in the *Uttara Rama Charita* has permeated the surrounding earth, water and sky with its exuberance. When Rama, for the second time, finds himself on the banks of the Godavari, he exclaims *यच्च द्रुमा यच्च वनम् यच्च वायव्यो ये* "this is the place even whose deer and whose trees are my friends". When after Sita's exile he comes across some former haunt of theirs, he laments that his heart, even though turned to stone, melts when he sees the trees and the deer and the birds which Sita's own hands used to nourish with water, seed and grass.

In the *Meghaduta*, the exiled Yalsha is not shut up within himself in his grief. The very agony of his separation from his loved one serves to scatter his heart over the woods and streams, enriched by the prodigality of the rains. And so the casual longing of a love sick individual has become part of the symphony of the universe. And this is the outcome of the spirit of teaching which springs from the ancient forest.

India holds sacred, and counts as places of pilgrimage, all spots which display a special beauty or splendour of nature. These had no original attraction, on account of any special fitness to be cultivated, or lived upon. Here man is free, not to look upon nature as a source of supply of his necessities but to realise his soul beyond himself. The Himalayas of India are sacred and the Vindhya Hills. Her majestic rivers are sacred. Lake Manasa and the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna are sacred. India has saturated with her love and worship the great nature with which her children are sur-

rounded, whose light fills their eyes with gladness, whose water cleanses them, whose food gives them life, and from whose majestic mystery come forth constant messages of the infinite in music, scent, and colour, bringing awakening to their souls India has gained the world through worship—through communion of soul! And this is her heritage from her forest sanctuary

Learning does not depend on the school alone. Much more does it depend upon the receptive mind of the pupil. There are scholars who win diplomas, but fail to learn. So do many of us frequent places of pilgrimage, but come away from the door of the invisible shrine, where dwells the Eternal spirit of the place. They imagine that the mere journey to a place held sacred is sanctifying, that some peculiar virtues reside in particular soils and waters. Their minds do not shrink at the unspeakable pollution of the water and the air of those places, the pollution to which they themselves contribute, and the moral filth which they allow to accumulate there. The salutation of worship to the all pervading divinity in the fire, water and plants, in all creation has been bequeathed to us by our ancestors in the following immortal verse

यो देवो यो वायसु यो विश्व भुवनमादिदेव

य योविषु यो वनसतिष्ठ तस्य देश्य नमो नम ।

But we seem to have forgotten that all worship has also its duty of service, and in order truly to realise and approach the divine presence in the water and the air we have reverently to keep them clean and pure and healthful. The more our country has lost its powers of soul, the more elaborate have become its outward practices. The inner illumination of consciousness which is not only the object, but also the means of all true worship has, in our case, given place to the grossness of the senses and deadness of mere repetition of habits. But, even in these days of our spiritual sluggishness, I am unwilling to accept these mechanical practices as a permanent feature of India. It is absurd to believe as well founded the idea, that a bath in a particular stream procures for the bather and millions of his ancestors a more favourable circumstance and desirable accommodation in the after life. Nor am I able to respect such a belief as something admirable

But my reverence goes out to the man, who when taking an immersion, can receive the water upon his body, and into his mind as well, in a devout spirit,—for him the grimy touch of habit has not been able to tarnish the everlasting mystery which is in fire and earth water and food, he has overcome, by the sensitiveness of his soul the gross materialism,—the spirit of contempt, of the average man which impels the latter to look upon water as mere liquid matter

So long as man was unable to realise an all pervading law in the material world, his knowledge remained petty and unfruitful. But the modern man feels himself united to the universe by physical laws governing all. This is Science's great achievement

The quest which India set to herself was to realise the same unity in the realm of the spirit, that is to say, in its completeness. Such union enables us to see Him in all who is above all else. And the wisdom which grew up in the quiet of the forest shade came out of the realisation of this Greater than all in the heart of the all

Let no one think that I desire to extol this achievement, as the one and the only consummation. I would rather insist on the inexhaustible variety of the human race, which does not grow straight up, like a palmyra tree on a single stem, but like a banian tree spreads itself in ever new trunks and branches. Man's history is organic and deep seated life forces work towards its growth. It is hopeless to cater to some clamorous demand of the moment, by endeavouring to fashion the history of one people on the model of another,—however flourishing the latter may be. A small foot may be the sign of aristocratic descent, but the Chinese woman's artificial attempt has only resulted in cramped feet. For India to force herself along European lines of growth would not make her Europe, but only a distorted India

That is why we must be careful to-day to try to find out the principles, by means of which India will be able for certain to realise herself. That principle is neither commercialism, nor nationalism. It is universalism. It is not merely self-determination, but self conquest and self-dedication. This was recognised and followed in India's forests of old, its truth was

declared in the Upanishat and expounded in the Gita, the Lord Buddha renounced the world that he might make this truth a household word for all mankind, Kabir, Nanak and other great spirits of India continued to proclaim its message. India's grand achievement, which is still stored deep within her heart is waiting, to unite within itself Hindu Moslem Buddhist, and Christian not by force, not by the apathy of resignation, but in the harmony of active co operation.

An almost impossible task has been set to India by her Providence, a task given to no other great countries in the world. Among her children and her guests differences in race and language, religion and social ideals are as numerous as great, and she has to achieve the difficult unity which has to be true in spite of the separateness that is real. The best and the greatest of her sons have called us in immortal words to realise the unity of souls in all human beings and thus fulfil

the highest mission of our history, but we have merely played with their words and we have rigidly kept apart man from man, and class from class, setting up permanent barriers of indignity between them. We remained unconscious of the suicidal consequence of such divisions so long as we lay stationary in the torpor of centuries, but when the alien world suddenly broke upon our sleep and dragged us on in its impetus of movement our disjointed heterogeneity set up in its lumbering unwieldiness an internal clash and crush and unrhythmic stagger which is both ludicrous and tragic at the same moment. So long as we disregard or misread the message of our ancient forest, the message of all pervading truth in humanity, the message of all comprehensive union of souls which rises above all differences and goes deeper than mere expediency, we shall have to go on suffering sorrow after sorrow and endless humiliation, and in all things futility.

LIFE HISTORY OF FROGS AND TOADS

FROGS and Toads are in many respects intermediate between Reptiles and Fishes. From their mode of life they are very appropriately called Amphibians.

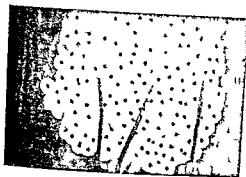
Frogs and Toads are distributed all over the world except the polar regions. They are most abundant in the tropical and sub tropical regions, and as they are not marine in their habits, even a narrow arm of the sea is generally sufficient to limit their habitat. When they occur on islands it is probable either that their eggs have been carried by birds or that there has been a comparatively recent separation from the mainland. In absolutely desert districts also they are unknown, while in countries where there is a long dry season, followed by a period of rains, they are in the habit of being torpid, during the former, the length of the sleep in one Javan species being upwards of five months. In cold climates they become torpid during winter. They are abundant in India and

South America, and it is not a little remarkable that some of the largest forms are inhabitants of islands. They are represented by about a thousand species.

When the autumn sets in Frogs seek out suitable places in which to pass the winter. Moss lined crannies and hollows in the stumps of trees are the places most favored, and there they remain till the spring recalls them to activity.

During this period of hibernation these creatures are in a state of torpor, the mouth and nostrils are closed and respiration is all but absent, being carried on then entirely by means of the skin. Only healthy Frogs can successfully withstand the rigours of the winter, the weaklings die during their hibernation.

With the advent of the spring these Frogs issue from their hiding places and congregate in considerable numbers in the ponds and there they commence to spawn. Curiously enough the same water is chosen year after year, and too, the same part of the pond.



Eggs of Frogs—First stage

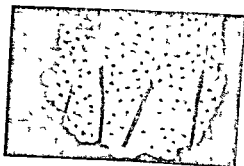
The female frog deposits her eggs in the water in the form of a small black mass not more than an inch and a half in its longest dimension. The mass is tacky like rubber solution, and consists of a quantity of tiny jet black spheres all tightly pressed together. The tackiness is due to a minute coating of a sort of gelatine on each sphere. When laid in water this gelatine rapidly absorbs water and becomes a slippery jelly, becoming thereby a very efficient protective covering of the black tiny eggs. This gelatine covering is very porous and allows the water free access, thereby helping the eggs with a constant supply of oxygen dissolved in water, oxygen being an important factor in the healthy hatching of the eggs. The slippery jelly foils the attacks of birds and fishes which would gladly prey on the black eggs were they not thus prevented. The spawn is always laid in some shallow where it cannot sink more than half an inch or so below the surface, for the eggs require light and heat from the sun to hatch them, and their black color largely aids in this absorption.

In some ten days or more after the eggs are deposited, black bodies appear to unroll and the eggs change their spherical shapes. As the embryo tadpoles develop, the jelly gradually loses its toughness, and becomes slimy and mucilaginous, so that when the young tadpole is ready to leave the spawn it is able to slowly wriggle its way through the jelly out into the water.

The young tadpole is a curious little creature now, jet black and just a head body and stumpy tail, but without a suggestion of limbs. Under its head is a gland which secretes an adhesive sub-

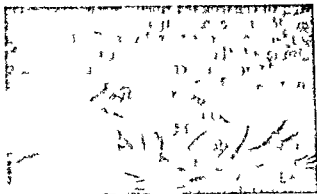
stance that causes the tadpole to stick to anything the gland touches. It has no mouth yet, and is incapable of any movement beyond an occasional wriggle. It breathes by means of tiny gills, which at this stage somewhat resemble ears at the side of the head. In a few days the tail lengthens and the gills grow to be feathery and then the creatures begin to swim freely. Gradually these new gills disappear for a skin grows over them until they are no longer visible, and a horny beak like mouth is formed.

Respiration is carried on now by taking in water at the mouth, passing it over the concealed gills and expelling it at the single gill hole at the left side of the head. Lungs too are now beginning to form and the tadpole frequently visits the surface to exercise its new power. As development proceeds the gills tend to fall into disuse, and the lungs begin to predominate, so that when the creature leaves the water as a Frog the gills will have disappeared altogether. Frogs and Toads have no ribs, and consequently they are unable to breathe in the ordinary way by alternate expansion and contraction of the cavity of the chest and they, so to speak, swallow air, taking in a large gulp, and then closing the mouth. If the mouth of one of these creatures be kept forcibly open death must inevitably ensue, owing to the impossibility of breathing while in this state.



Eggs of Frogs—Second stage. In this stage the black dots have become developed and somewhat elongated.

By this time the part of the pond in which the spawn was laid is a seething mass of wriggling black. They are the scavengers of the pond, feeding on any thing vegetable or animal and on the re-



The Paradox Frog—Only 2 inches when full grown when it remains young it is bigger in size than when it reaches its adult stage. On this account it is known as the Paradox Frog.

The Frogs display remarkable attention and care to their youngs.

The spurtoed frogs lay large eggs singly. The tadpoles which at birth have already lost their external gills, on the third day after leaving the eggs develop



A Whiskered Tadpole and a full grown Frog

a pair of barbels hanging down from the corners of the mouth.

The Toad is a small family of the Frog tribe characterized by the disc like form of the tongue, which may be either free or adherent to the floor of the mouth. Short hind limbs are the distinguishing characteristic of the Toad. It is also distinguishable by the absence of teeth in both jaws, and by the horizontal pupil of the eye. The Toads have an almost cosmopolitan distribution, with the exception of Madagascar, Australia, New Guinea and

the islands of the Pacific. And while the more typical forms are characterised by their terrestrial habits, rough skin, and creeping gait, so unlike that of the frogs, others are burrowing and others again are thoroughly aquatic. Those who are in the habit of burrowing develop a tubercle on the head with a sharp edge and is used in a shovel like manner to excavate the burrow. The disc footed toads are arboreal. They are practically harmless, though it is true that the secretion from its skin is acrid and irritating. When alarmed or threatened with danger a toad immediately stops and puffs out its body to its utmost capacity, at the same time causing the acrid secretion to exude from the pores of its skin, and likewise discharging a pure limpid fluid from a special reservoir, and this is not urine as is commonly believed to be.

The eggs of the Toad differ from those of the Frog in that instead of forming an irregular mass with their enclosing jelly, they are arranged in a regular, double and alternating series in the form of a string which may be a yard or more in length. These strings are generally deposited in the water about a fortnight later than the spawn of the frog, and it is not till autumn that the young toads complete their metamorphosis and forsake the water. From that of the frog, the tadpole of the toad is distinguished by its smaller size and blacker color.

The vocal sac beneath the throat of the male is wanting in the common toad.

There are some toads which have gained some distinguishing names from some of their peculiarities, such as the Green Toad, Natterjack Toad, Sharp nosed Toad, the first named being the handsomest of all.

There is a kind of Toad, the ground color of the under surface of whose body is either yellow or orange, and is therefore known as the Fire bellied Toad. The color of the belly depends on the station, the yellow bellied living in streams at a considerable elevation in the mountains, while the orange bellied inhabits ponds and rivers in the plains. Another peculiar characteristic of this Toad is its death feigning instinct. When it is afraid of any real or imaginary danger it lies sprawling on its back with its limbs as rigid as though in the grip of death. Another peculiarity of the Fire bellied Toad is the great size attained by its tadpole which



Sharp-nosed Triangular headed Frog

is further characterized by the unusual development of its tail fin. This frog is unknown in the British Isles but is common in many parts of the European Continent whence it extends eastwards into Asia. The skin of its back is warty and is of olive-brown color which may or may not be marbled with black; the skin of the under parts is smooth and either yellow or orange with black marblings. It is further characterised by the triangular form of the pupil of the eye.

Many kinds of frogs spend their lives in trees where there is no opportunity for the tadpoles to live in water, but Nature is not to be beaten by trifles of this kind and we accordingly find that the eggs are much larger than usual thus permitting the whole of the tadpole time being passed within the egg, and allowing the young to make their appearance in the world as full blown frogs. Again a frog inhabiting dry districts in the Solomon Islands lays eggs of the size of marbles in rocky situations from which also emerge in due course perfectly formed frogs. Other tree frogs take advantage of the moisture contained in the cavities of the boughs or leaves of the trees in which they dwell, so that the tadpoles may undergo their development either in little pools or in masses of froth.

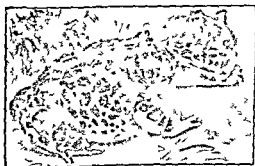
The Piping frogs dig a hole in the ground near water line it with a layer of scum, upon which the eggs are deposited and left to hatch. The nests seem, how

ever always to be so placed that at a certain season they will be flooded by the rise of the neighbouring water.

One kind of Brazilian tree frog makes regular pools of a circular form in the shallow borders of ponds and swamps such pools being surrounded by a narrow mud wall about 4 inches in height and these ponds serve as nests for the tadpoles but what is most astonishing is the manner in which the frog smooths the mud wall with its hands as would a mason with his trowel. The female undertakes the entire task of building.

Another tree frog of Brazil has acquired the remarkable habit of depositing its eggs in the sheaths of old decaying leaves of bananas where even during the hot hours of the day sufficient coolness and moisture are preserved. These lumps are enclosed in a frothy white substance. The tailed larvae are seen struggling in this frothy mass if put into fresh water all will die in a few hours.

Stranger still is the development of the so called marsupial frogs of South America the females of which have a long pouch in the hind part of the back wherein the fifteen or sixteen eggs are placed by the male there to hatch and produce tadpoles which undergo the usual course of development.



Spotted Frogs

These have horns on the heads and poisonous glands in the bodies their temper is very hot and irritable.

Even this is surpassed in the case of Darwin's Frog of Chili the males of which take the eggs into a special chamber in their throats there to remain till they develop into full formed frogs which appear to

fuse which would decay and poison the water were it not removed by them. These tadpoles also constitute the staple food of the carnivorous creatures which share their haunts, such as fishes, newts and the numerous water insects.



Eggs of Frogs—Third stage In this stage the larvæ have become more developed.

With the loss of the external gills the black color of the tadpole begins to change: its body becomes closely dotted with minute golden spots, which as time goes on gradually expand, and give the creature the familiar brown color. This admirably protects it from unwelcome observations while lying at the bottom of a muddy pond.

The tadpole grows very rapidly, and after a few weeks the hind toes become visible at the root of the tail, and the front legs begin to develop within the gill chamber although as yet invisible from outside. Steadily these legs lengthen and grow stouter and by the middle of June the hind pair become folded in the position so characteristic of a Frog. Then the left fore-leg suddenly pushes its way out through the gill hole, but the right one has to forcibly make an exit in the skin, and consequently appears some hours later. The little creature is now a veritable Frog, but with a tadpole's tail. But as soon as it is the proud possessor of four legs the tail begins to wither. A sort of inflammation sets in at the tip and gradually the tail shortens to a stump, and in three or four days is absorbed and so vanishes altogether.

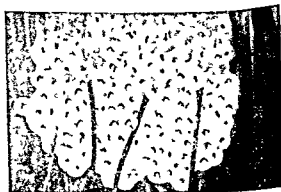
The number of toes in the frogs and toads is always five. In a few frogs the toes are furnished with claw-like nails; the toes are often connected by webs,

sometimes carrying adhesive discs on the lower surface.

The little frog now wanders into the grass at the waterside feeding on the tiny insects it meets with. A summer shower will cause the simultaneous exit of thousands of these young frogs from the ponds. Henceforth it is a terrestrial creature, not an aquatic one.

The frog restricts itself to an animal diet and its food must always be taken alive. He sits with great stolidity until the moving small creature comes within range. Then the tip of the long sticky tongue is shot out with lightning rapidity and returned instantly as if by magic with its quarry adhering. The tongue is well-developed and thick, filling the whole space between the jaws and being capable of a large amount of very quick motion; it is fixed to the inner side of the front of the lower jaw, with its tip pointing down the throat. The tongue is more an organ for holding its prey than an organ of taste. It is wanting in one group of frogs. In some the tip of the tongue is notched.

In Frogs and Toads the lower jaw is very generally toothless; but the upper jaw and even the palate may be armed with teeth. The teeth are small, simple and pointed, being adapted for holding and not for masticating.



Eggs of Frogs—Fourth stage Now the larvæ are about to come out by biting through the tough egg shells.

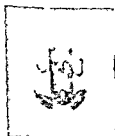
The brain of Frogs and Toads is of a very low type. Their eyes are large and very highly developed, generally possessing two lids, of which the lower one is larger and thinner than the upper, and more or less transparent. In some the

pupil of the eye is horizontal and in some vertical the pupil of the eye of the Fire bellied Frog is triangular and that of the Spur toed tongueless Frog circular

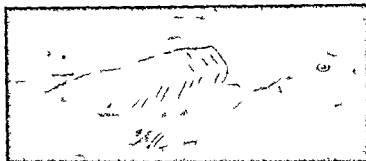


The Evolution of the Frog—(1) Newly laid eggs (2) Developed eggs (3) The developed larva with an egg (4) Newborn tadpoles (5 and 6) Tadpoles with branching gills (7 to 12) Several stages in the evolution of the frog from its tadpole stage to a four footed frog stage

The skin of frogs and toads are porous and they do not drink water through their mouth but imbibe moisture through the pores of their integument. Moisture is essential to their existence and if they be confined in a dry atmosphere they soon

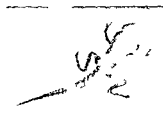


A young frog



A tadpole of the Paradox Frog—10 inches long the tail being 7 inches

ing of the frog is principally uttered. The males have a globular sac on each side of the head opening by a slit behind the angle of the mouth which produces the croaking. The croaking of a number of frogs can be heard from long distances. The croaking of the Bull frog is considerable in volume as other frogs are mere dwarfs compared to their big forms. Their croaking can be heard for a distance of several miles. The Bull frog is upwards of 9 inches in length exclusive of the legs. It takes two years to attain its full growth.



A well developed tadpole

There is a class of frogs called Piping frogs from their loud pipe-like croaking. The Grasshopper Frog derives its name from its piercing strident cry which resembles the noise of its insect name sake. It is fond of resting on the leaves of aquatic plants.

perish. Such members of the class as inhabit dry localities are mostly nocturnal avoiding sunshine and wandering abroad when they can obtain moisture from dew.

In about three seasons if it escapes the jaws of its many enemies our Frog will be full grown and able to breed and then if the Fates are still kind it may live on till it reaches the age of seven or eight years or even more. Toads live up to forty years.

During the breeding season the croak

The male frogs croak in order to make known their presence to the female.

A kind of Frog of South America in the tadpole stage attains the enormous length of ten inches and of this no less than seven inches is taken up by the tail. As the animal nears maturity this tail slowly shrinks so that by the time the adult tailless stage is attained the total length of the animal does not exceed two and a half inches. Thus this creature grows it were backwards that is to

ship the usual tadpole stage and even tully hop out of their father's mouth to try their own luck in the world. The special breeding pouch in the gullet of the Frog communicates with the mouth by means of a pair of slits in the floor of the mouth, one on each side of the tongue.

The nursery arrangement which obtain in the Surinam Toad a Tropical South American species is very peculiar. These toads inhabit the hottest and dampest districts of the Guianas and Brazil and never voluntarily leave the water during the dry season when many of the ponds and pools give out they are compelled to bury themselves in the mud. They awake however with the coming of the rainy season, and then commence the business of spawning in the flooded forests.

In the spawning season the skin of the back of the female becomes very much thickened and softened. After spawning the female by a special arrangement deposits the spawn on the lower part of her own back. The eggs are then pushed forward, one by one by the male and

gradually pressed down so as to cause them to sink into the soft and yielding skin until they become completely buried. When development has taken place the young toad becomes enclosed in a pocket like cavity furnished with a thin lid of a shining horny substance. In these cells the young toads undergo their full development not emerging until they are miniature replicas of their parents. As a rule from sixty to seventy offspring are developed in the back of each female, but in some instances the number may be increased to so many as one hundred and twenty, the whole process of development occupying eighty two days. When ready to emerge, the young toads do not appear to require any assistance, each pushing off the lid of its cell by thrusting forth its head or a leg, and then proceeding to climb out.

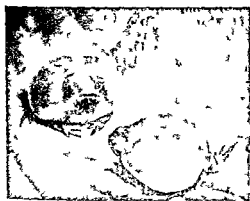
After the young have come forth the outer layer of the skin of the back of the female dries up and is shed, while the honeycomb like cells gradually close up, the position of each being indicated by a small pimple like elevation.

This is an ugly looking creature, being one of the larger members of the group. It has a depressed and triangular head, with small beady eyes and some protruding flaps or filaments of skin on the upper lip, at the gape of the mouth, and in front of the eyes. It has very distinctive star like expansions on the tips of the front toes which are quite separate from each other, and likewise the fully webbed hind toes, each armed with a claw. The skin covering the back of the broad depressed body, like that of the head, is dark blackish brown in color and dotted over with small tubercles, but on the under surface is whitish sometimes with a brown line along the middle. Each of the tubercles or papillae on the skin of both surfaces of the head, body and limbs is armed with a minute horny spine, some of them being also provided with a poison gland at the base. There are likewise four rows of larger poison glands on both aspects of the body.

If the mouth of one of these toads be opened, it will be seen to be completely devoid of both tongue and teeth, although the place of the latter is taken in the adult by horny plates. The lack of a tongue—although not of teeth—is shared by an allied African family of frogs.



The Surinam Toad—On its back are many cells which are the nursery of its young.



Puff Frogs

There exists in the island of Ceylon a species of frog belonging to the same group as the Flying Frog of Java in which the eggs to the number of about a score become attached to the skin of the under surface of the body of the female on which after hatching they leave small shallow pits.

It is a remarkable circumstance that while in some representatives of the great tribe of frogs and toads the care of the eggs is confided to the female who may develop special structural modification for their accommodation in other species this office is undertaken by the male alone who may likewise possess special appliances to aid him in the task. The best examples of this species are Darwin's Frogs of Chili described before and the so called Midwife Toad of France and Southern Europe.

Unlike the great majority of frogs and toads which deposit their spawn in water the female Midwife Toad lays a long string of from about twenty to fifty eggs on land in early spring. As she lays them she is closely attended by her partner who when the whole string is completed proceeds to attach the mass to his hind legs by thrusting his feet into the midst. When the packing is completed the eggs form a grape like mass covering the upper part of the hind legs and loins. In proportion to the size of the parent toads the eggs which are bright yellow in color are remarkably large. When fully laden with his burden with which however he gets about actively enough the male Midwife returns to his usual abode which may be a

hole in the ground or a chink between the stones in a heap or a wall where he has to get through a period of about three weeks before the tadpoles make their appearance.

In order to prevent the precious eggs from drying up the careful parent makes most of his peregrinations abroad in search of food by night and if he finds that even this care does not keep them sufficiently moist he refreshes them by an occasional bath in the nearest stream or pool.

When the three weeks of probation are over some instinct impels the burdened father to take to the water and when once there the tadpoles bite their way through the tough envelope in which the eggs are wrapped and make their appearance in the outer world. Whereas ordinary tadpoles are at first provided with branching external gills in the tadpoles of the Midwife Toad these gills of which there is only one on each side are shed before hatching and replaced by internal ones which again give place in due course to lungs. After the cares of the nursing period are over the male loses his voice.



The Flying Frog of Java

They descend from the tree in a slanting direction as if flying and on this act on the webbed feet are of much help to them which serves the purpose of so many wings.

which is not resumed till the following February when it is continued till August.

The arboreal frogs have large discs at the ends of the toes usually although smaller discs are met with in certain purely aquatic species. One of the most curious and interesting tree frogs is the Flying Frog of Java and Borneo which comes down in a slanting direction from a high

tree as if it flew. Its toes are very long, and fully webbed to their extremity, so that when expanded they offer a surface much larger than that of the body; the fore-legs are also bordered by a membrane, and the body is capable of considerable inflation. The body is about 4 inches long, while the webs of each hind-foot when fully expanded covers a surface of 4 square inches and the webs of all the feet together about 12 square inches.



Tree Frogs.

They can change their colors according to their environments.

One of the Cingalese members of the genus possesses in a high degree the faculty of changing its hues. Where there is the greatest variety and brilliancy of color among the forest trees, the tree-frogs attain their most brilliant and varied tints.

There is a species called Leaf-frogs from their habitation, and the shape and color of their body.

All the Frogs change their colour according to the nature of their habitat; the tree-frogs harmonise with the foliage among which they dwell. In Costa Rica a certain toad simulates to an extraordinary degree the coloration of the

snakes—both poisonous and harmless—of the same country.

In all the frogs and toads the skin is furnished with glands secreting a more or less milk-like fluid; the viscid milky fluid secreted by these glands is exuded during excitement, and is endued with more or less poisonous properties, being intended to serve as a means of defence. When introduced into the circulation this venom acts as a powerful poison, and the secretion of a South American species is employed by the Red Indians to poison spears and arrows used in killing monkeys.

There are various kinds of frogs of very peculiar forms and names after their characteristics, such as the Narrow-mouthed frogs, Short-headed frogs, the Sharp-nosed frogs, the Horned frogs. In the Narrow-mouthed frogs the mouth is extremely narrow. The Short-headed frogs have very plump bodies, indeed, when the body is puffed out to its fullest extent, they more resemble india-rubber balls than frogs. The Sharp-nosed frog has a very large triangular head, ornamented with prominent ridges, and terminating in front in a pointed flap of skin; similar flaps occupying the eyelids and the mouth have an enormous capacity; in color it is very variable. The Horned frogs or toads are remarkable alike for their large size and brilliant coloration, as well as for the enormous dimensions of their mouths and their fierce and carnivorous habits; the Brazilian horned frog is the largest representative of the genus, which attains as much as 8 inches in length, and is one of the most handsomely ornamented of the genus; in some the upper eyelid is produced into a horn-like appendage, and in some it is triangular and only slightly pointed; the skin is covered with tubercles above and granules below, surmounted by a bony shield on the back; they are exceedingly bold and ferocious, flying fiercely at any one who attacks them and maintaining their hold with the tenacity of a bull-dog, at the same time uttering a kind of barking cry; on other occasions they give vent to a peculiarly deep bell-like note; when in repose they are in the habit of burying themselves in the soil with only the top of the back exposed, in which state they are almost invisible; in this position they lie in wait for their prey, which includes other frogs, birds

and small mammals, and at times they capture and attempt to swallow objects too large for their capacity.

One family may be collectively termed Toad-Frogs, since they come neither under the designation of toads nor of frogs. The family is distributed over Europe, the Oriental region, North America, and New Guinea. When an adult toad-frog is suddenly seized or pinched, it utters a cry like the mewling of a kitten, at the same time emitting a pungent vapour with a strong odor of garlic, which makes the eyes water, both these being apparently intended as a means of defence.

Some frogs are edible.

All these characteristics and peculiar-

ities lead us to acknowledge that frogs and toads are really some of the most marvellous of all animals; for what can be more wonderful than the development of the purely aquatic vegetable-feeding gill breathing limbless long-tailed tadpole into the amphibious carnivorous lung-breathing four-legged tailless frog or toad? Not less remarkable is the shortening of the intestinal canal as the creature changes its herbivorous for carnivorous habits.

CHIRU BANDYOPADHYAY.

* Compiled mainly from *The Royal Natural History The Marvels of the Universe*, and *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 10th edition.

PACHMARHI

TO the ordinary untravelled Indian Pachmarhi is a mere name. Every one knows and reads about Darjeeling and Simla, Musourie, Ootcumund and Mahabaleswar as being the summer capitals of the imperial or one or other of the various provincial governments in India. Pachmarhi is no doubt the summer residence of the chief commissioner of the Central Provinces but that has not made it famous to the lovers of hill-stations in India. Yet this picturesque little town situated on a plateau (altitude 3500 feet) in the Mahadeo hills of the Satpura range possesses some very remarkable scenery and deserves well at the hands of lovers of beauty. Pachmarhi is not a hill station in the sense in which Darjeeling and Simla are hill-stations, neither can it, I think, compare with the minor Himalayan heights of Solon, Dharampur or Kasauli from the point of view of climate. It only affords a sort of shelter to Europeans during the not too long summer months of the Central Provinces. Its average temperature is only 10° less than that of the Hoshangabad district in which it is situated and in this respect I think the climatic conditions cannot be much different from Tindheria on the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway. A cool breeze is about the only thing which differentiates

Pachmarhi in summer from the surrounding plains, but September and October are said to be particularly cool and bracing. The place is easily accessible by motor from Piparia on the G I P Railway but the



A Beggar, Pachmarhi.

motor charges are rather high (being 8 rupees per head) and this partially accounts for the comparative oblivion into which this station has been thrown.

Pachmarhi contains some remarkable scenery. The general outlook of the place however is not very prepossessing. Once the town is reached you feel as if you were still in the plains though hills surround you on all sides. The town is situated practically on a flat hill top many square miles in dimensions of which 23 are occupied by this sanitarium. The whole place has the appearance of a big park, extending over many miles, beautifully kept. The roads are nicely laid over a large country covered with green verdure and clumps of Harra (Terminalia chebula) and Jamun (Eugenia Jambolina) trees. The Saj and Sal also abound in the place.



Little Hill During the Rain at Pachmarhi.

If one has been to Darjeeling and seen the Birch hill park he has only to stretch the scenery over a flat country in order to get an idea of the general appearance of the parks of Pachmarhi—though it

must be admitted that there is nothing of the grandeur of the Birch hill park in Pachmarhi.

In describing Pachmarhi one cannot miss the caves of Pachmarhi (the Panch Mathi or five huts) from which the place derives its name. These are a group of fine ancient caves hewn in a small hill rising openly from one open part of the plateau. Hindu tradition claims these caves as one of the places where the Pandava brothers sojourned during the period of their secret wanderings, but some claim for them a Buddhistic origin. The caves have been cut out of solid rock and one wonders whether the Pandavas would have taken so much pains over a temporary hiding place!

The outstanding features of Pachmarhi scenery are however its water falls and Khuds. The water falls are numerous and imposing and I have not seen the like of them in Darjeeling nor heard of any in the other hill stations which could compare with these. These falls are perennial, but in the rainy season they are really superb. In summer it is delightful to sit under one of these jets of water and have a refreshing shower bath.

The Khuds of Pachmarhi are however more remarkable than its water falls or its parks. They are a great deal more than what we understand by the expression in Darjeeling or other hill stations. They are not merely abrupt and precipitous descents on a hillside. They are vast and unexpected ravines or rather clefts in the solid rock which seam the edges of the scarp, some of them reaching in sheer descent down to the level of the plains. They look more like ancient stone built fortresses—so well hewn and symmetrical the rocks look—than a mere freak of dame nature. You come across one of these on the way from Piparia to Pachmarhi about 10 miles from the latter place. It is remarkable for its symmetrical appearance and great perpendicular height.

But the most remarkable is the Andeh Koh (Handi Koh popularly called) which begins about a mile to the east of the village and runs right down into the Deawa valley. Looking over its edge the eye loses itself in the vast profundity. A few dark and go-coloured specks at the bottom represent wild mango trees of sixty or eighty feet in height. A faint sound of running water rises on the soug of the wind from the abyss. The only sign of life is an occasional flight of blue pigeons swinging out from the face of either cliff and circling round on suspended

pa on again to disappear under the cregs. If a gun is fired the echoes roll round the hollow in continually increasing confusion until the accumulated volume seems to bellow forth at the mouth of the ravine into the plain below.

The grandeur of this ravine has been thus described by Captain Forsyth the discoverer of Pachmarhi in The High Land of Central India.

The Jambu Dwip is another remarkable ravine on the opposite side of the plateau from Andeh koh and is considered a sacred place by pilgrims. It is remarkable how these spots of imposing natural grandeur have been marked out by our Hindu forefathers as sacred places to attract people to them in the name of religion. There is no sacrilege certainly if we of the modern age look upon these heights with only a secular eye. But this too is not possible for as Pope says

All are but parts of one stupendous whole
Whose body Nature is and God the soul

I have said that Pachmarhi looks like one big park. It is I think a series of parks systematically laid out and the natural effect would be incomplete if there was no lake to supply the aquatic scenery. But nature has provided for this and the lake with its bridge affords a fine panorama. Pachmarhi affords fine facilities to lovers of what Prof Blackie calls The breezy Scottish game of golf. From the golf links you command a good view of one of the lofty crags of Pachmarhi.

I have said that Pachmarhi is more like a city in the plains and this is true in more senses than one. Not only is its general appearance dissimilar to the other well known hill stations such as Darjeeling or Simla but judged by its flora and fauna it is more like the terai districts at the foot of the Eastern Himalayas than a hill station. You find all the tropical trees flourishing there the Sal the Jamun the Harra the mango the Kathar (jack fruit) and the total absence of the coniferous trees the pines and the Jhows of various description complete the contrast. No doubt a few of these latter variety of trees have been planted near about the Tehsil Court building but the hand of man can be easily seen in them. It is in Olympia alone that these trees would flourish but Pachmarhi is no Olympia though some would feign make it one.

There is also a total absence of those

wild flowers which give Darjeeling for instance such a gay look. There is none of the Dahlia with their resplendent colour nor the wild rose the Foxglove the Daisy the Hydrangea or the Bignonia which abound in every nook and corner of Darjeeling. You find some Dahlias and Orchids in the public garden at Pachmarhi.



Mahadeo Fair at Pachmarhi

but they are mostly foreign only two varieties (of Deurobium and Vanda so far as I could guess) of Orchids were pointed out to me as being native to the Pachmarhi hills. I do not know whether anybody has made investigations in this line and whether a Hooker has been found for the Satpura hills.

I shall now close with a few words about the town of Pachmarhi. The town has no native population one of the chief attractions of the Himalayan hill stations and you don't find the picturesque hill women thronging the streets in their gay attire on market days. Nor do you hear the

solemn music 'of the hill-men echoing in the hills in the evening as they return home after the day's work. In Pachmarhi you find the slovenly and ill-clad labourers from the plains doing all the manual work and there is no respectable Indian population except a few Bohra shop-keepers and contractors. In season time you may come across the secretariat "Baboo" or an occasional Indian sojourner from the plains. No well-to-do Indian (with the exception of one or two gentlemen) has built his own house in Pachmarhi and cantonment authorities would not, I am told, encourage private buildings owned by Indians. The Begum of Bhopal has built a residence here but I do not know of any other Indian potentate having done this. You do not find any trace of the aristocracy of C. P. in Pachmarhi. The Bungalows are mostly owned by Europeans and they are neither cheap nor easily available to Indians. The native part of the town (the portion outside the cantonment limits) is insignificant and it would not be worth while for anybody to go and live there. Nor do I think, are

decent houses available in this part of the town. The few respectable lodging houses are owned by Bohras who live and have their shops there.

The annual Mahadeo fair draws a large number of people to Pachmarhi hills from the neighbouring plains and the picture reproduced shows a characteristic group of pilgrims.

The kind of bullock carts which ply between Piparia and Pachmarhi have low tops and are drawn by trotting bullocks which go very fast and one very different from the bullock carts one comes across in Bengal. Undoubtedly the Bengal vehicles are better built, more commodious, but they are rather slow-moving vehicles compared with the C. P. carts. There is a type of beggars here found in C. P. alone. These people in their begging uniform go about the streets ringing a bell and get doles of flour and grain unasked from householders. The monk has his cowl and the beggar must have his uniform. Respectability is a veritable fetish!

B. C.

THE ENTANGLED ONE

Lo! we are treading the broad and soft
summer road, strong sunlight surging
around us as we go.

Afar we see the glittering ocean, whose
glory hath no end, but melteth into the
blue of heaven.

Afar we see the splendour of high moun-
tains that shine as eternal signals
through the mist of the plains.

And our hearts are so full that our rejoic-
ing ceaselessly overfloweth in song.

Yet thou, dear comrade, art struggling
deep in the thorns, whence is no way
out of darkness and misery. Fighting

the sharp and clutching bonds, thou dost
but wound and fetter thyself the more.

Stand where thou art in great hope, and
we will cut a way for thee with swords
of sunlight.

Wait in good heart and we will bear thee
forth and lay thee by a stream on the
green wayside, that thou mayst wash
away thy pain, and rest, comforted by
them that pass by with shining faces.

For if thou canst not look upon that glory
of the sea, what availeth our going
thither?

E. E. SPEIGHT.

no remedy is of any good after his death. But it may be, and I fear it is, a fact that you and your friends wish for the speedy death of this allegorical man, and you and they have taken every means in your power to see that he is really dead and finished while, at the same time, you think that all sorts of things are to be done for the benefit of the dead body to what end, if there is no life to benefit?

The question of Nurses for plantation Hospitals has been fully discussed between us and you are aware that it is a project that I should like to see put into practice. It is not, as I believe, a project that can in these times be easily inaugurated for several reasons. These are the difficulties in war time of obtaining Nurses at all the grave difficulty of obtaining the services of the right kind of Nurses the difficulty of getting Nurses who will remain and work in plantation Hospitals. These difficulties are not imaginary, they are very real.

On the other side is the point that the indentured people, now remaining to be provided for, are far fewer than they were, and become less in numbers each year, and the employer is thinking that he is not justified in spending money on improvements when he does not see any chance of new arrivals on whom those improvements are to confer a benefit. Desirable though the provision would be one cannot lose sight of the practical difficulty of its being properly carried out at the present time.

In your letter you express the hope that you have made no minor inaccuracies. You will forgive me for saying that your reports bear, in my opinion the stamp of the propaganda of the blind partisan, so eager to show up the evils said to have been wrought in this Colony that you remain purposely oblivious to any benefits or advantages that have accrued to Immigrants in Fiji, or if not oblivious to them, then they are displayed in so grudging a manner as to make it appear that these benefits have resulted in spite of the treatment meted out and not because of any desire or effort on the part of those in authority to compass them. Your readers in India are for the most part those who wish to believe the worst, some, because they are of the party which wishes to put an end to evils which they believe to exist from a

genuine wish to improve matters, others from interested motives.

I must not omit to comment on your remarks on the subject of a Medical Officer's report on Venereal Disease in Council paper No 54. It appears to be fairly obvious that when the writer says what he does he says so having in mind the proportion of women to men amongst those who immigrate, and not that it is his opinion that every Indian woman in Fiji 'has to serve three 'indentured men' as you wish your readers to think that he means, and by so doing gravely aspersing the characters of many hundreds of decent and respectable Indian women in the Colony.

You say that you have seen the Secretary of State while on his visit. I think that it is a misfortune for the Colony that it is not possible for him or for a representative to come and see for himself how matters stand for I do not see how he can form judgment from hearing but one side of the question.

I am Yours faithfully,
G W A LYNCH

P.S. Please make what use you like of this."

Those who have read my published articles will be able to judge whether they implied about health conditions what Dr Lynch supposes. With regard to Council paper No 54, I will simply quote again the words of the Medical Officer which Dr Lynch himself countersigned. They are as follows—When one indentured Indian woman has to serve those indentured Indian men as well as various outsiders'. While the words may not mean that *Every* Indian woman has to do so, they do mean that this is customary and normal.

An anonymous writer in the 'Fiji Times and Herald' calls attention to the fact, that I had not mentioned the remarkably low death rate among Indians in the Colony. I gladly reproduce the figures he quotes which are altogether encouraging—

Death rate	Per thousand
1910	25.91
1911	18.24
1912	16.53
1913	14.10
1914	13.43
1915	10.62
1916	8.69
1917	9.61

It must be remembered that up to the year 1917 large numbers of Indians under indenture were being brought out, in the prime of life, after careful medical examination and that these would naturally keep the death rate low year by year. But, while taking due account of this factor, it is a striking testimony to the work of the Medical Department to find the death rate showing a steady decline. In both Reports published, it had been my own intention to make clear that, with certain exceptions due to moral causes, Fiji was a healthy place for Indians to live in,—much healthier than India itself. I wrote as follows:—

"More and more it has been borne in upon me by what I have seen, that Fiji, as far as the conditions provided by nature are concerned, is a good place for Indians to live in. It is surprising to see the change which has come over the physical growth of the people in a place like Nadi—the breadth of shoulder in the growing lads and the increased stature. Both girls and boys seem to be taller than children of their own age in India. Any one coming from India would be struck by the health and prosperity on every side. It was a pleasure to see the chubby little Indian children in the free Indian settlements so different from those we know in malaria-stricken Bengal and in the upcountry districts of India."

Many other passages of a similar character may be found in the Reports.

The Fiji Legislative Council have recently passed the following resolution:—

"That this Council regrets and disagrees with the reports concerning the condition of Indians in Fiji being circulated in Australia by Mr. C. F. Andrews,—which reports the Council considers highly coloured, misleading and, in parts, untrue."

In addition to this official condemnation of the Council, the following statement was published and laid before the Legislative Council of Fiji by the new Governor in November 1918:—

"I consider that the Reports which Mr. C. F. Andrews has furnished to his leaders in India have cast an unjust and unmerited slur, not only upon the employers of labour and the Government, but upon the European Community of this Colony. I include the European Community, because it is among them that public opinion is formed and I should be very reluctant to think that public opinion would have tolerated a state of affairs such as Mr. Andrews has depicted. At the same time, amid much that is exaggerated and misleading (I abstain from using the word 'disingenuous', for I do

not desire to question the writer's honesty of purpose), Mr. Andrews has made certain criticisms which cannot unfortunately be refuted. In his condemnation, for example, of the Indian labour 'lines' as unfit for occupation by married couples and their families, I find it impossible to disagree with him. It would be unwise, and indeed impracticable, to insist upon the immediate provision of separate married quarters. Reasonable time must be allowed. But the change ought to be effected as soon as possible. It must also be admitted that the hospital arrangements for Indians, and their medical treatment generally, require improvement; and that the care and education of Indian children demand more attention than they have received in the past. The disproportion of the sexes is also an urgent problem."

The Governor, after discussing the question of 'free contract emigration', ends as follows:—

"There are many difficulties. Reforms are necessary, especially in the directions which I have above indicated. Employers may have to make sacrifices. The Government of Fiji may have to face increased expenditure. But what is chiefly required, at the moment, is a sane and temperate appreciation of the facts, a frank recognition of existing abuses, and a definite policy for the future such as will satisfy both Indians here and their friends at home that it is the desire and the intention of the administration to introduce the measures necessary for their social and moral, as well as for their material welfare."

The real issue is contained in the words,—“Reasonable time must be allowed.”

Nearly six years have now elapsed since that terrible record of murder and suicide in the Fiji coolie 'lines' was published in the Government of India's own official Report. More than three years have gone by since the issue of the Government of India Despatch of October 25, 1915,—one of the most scathing condemnations of indenture ever written. In addition two independent enquiries have been instituted and the conclusions reached in them concerning the moral evils in the coolie 'lines', have been identical with those of the Government of India Despatch. Last of all, the Government of India has

promised to negotiate for the early release of those who are still under indenture, and has recommended to the Fiji Government drastic changes. Yet, up to the present, very little indeed has been done to rectify the moral evil. While privately admitting that the evil exists, any publicity is at once met with the cry of 'exaggeration', and when it comes to a question of a definite payment of sums of money (in reconstruction) out of the enormous war profits, which have been amassed, the plea for delay is put forward even by the Governor himself. It is for this very reason that I have been fully convinced that the Fiji Islands should be placed as soon as possible under Australia or New Zealand. The Australian Government has been able to keep a check on the C S K Company with regard to the management of their estates in Queensland, and no delay has been ever allowed where reform is needed but the weak Colonial Government of Fiji has had very little power of resistance in the face of the Company Directors. The virtual ruler in Fiji for many years has been the C S K Company, with its millions of invested capital and its enormous profits. Planters, officials and Governments alike have had to bow before its sway.

With regard to the repeated charges of 'exaggeration' brought forward by the Governor and his Council, I would simply state the fact that I did my utmost to get my opinions corrected by the authorities while I was in the Islands. I explained personally what my opinions were to the leading men in Fiji, official and non official alike, and circulated them in type, asking that any errors might be pointed out. But only two definite corrections came to me and these I immediately accepted. I was constantly told by planters and missionaries that what I had written about the morals of the coolie 'lines' could not be denied and that they themselves knew what was going on. One of the oldest residents, who had been engaged in planting interests for thirty six years, told me that every one knew how the things I had mentioned were happening daily and that there was no exaggeration in what I had said. At two large gatherings of Planters (where I put quite bluntly and plainly the evils of the coolie 'lines') not a single voice was raised to dispute the facts. These were acknowledged in the most open manner, and speaker after speaker got up and

asked me the one pertinent question,—
"How can we get out more Indian women?"

I was urged, at the same time, to make known in India the more encouraging side of Indian life in Fiji and if I have failed in doing this I express regret. I would most gladly bear witness (as I have done both in public and in private a thousand times) that the material prospects and the climatic conditions of Fiji are extremely good and the race prejudice is very small.

But on the moral side, I cannot, with any truthfulness, make the picture less dark than I have drawn it. And when the Governor of Fiji has had a longer experience, I feel certain that he will come to know what I myself have found to be the truth.

Miss Garnham, the representative whom the women of Australia sent out to make a new independent enquiry, has fully borne out the main facts. Her Report, which has been published, is in some ways stronger than my own in its statements concerning the hopelessly corrupt conditions of the Fiji coolie 'lines' and her recommendations for the improvement of the present situation are almost identical.

Though this corroborative testimony of Miss Garnham is of the greatest value, as confirming the facts, I can only repeat that planters, missionaries and government officials alike have themselves acknowledged to me personally the very same things.

It is a fact, that under the conditions of living in the coolie 'lines' it has been, for more than 30 years practically impossible for an Indian woman, coming out without a husband, to lead a decent life. It is a fact, that women who have either come out with husbands, or who have mated themselves with some man on the boats, find it very difficult indeed to remain faithful to one man, and that they are constantly solicited and cohabited with by other men,—their husbands finding themselves unable to prevent this. It is a fact, that very young Indian girls in Fiji are in constant danger of contamination, owing to the shortage of women, and that they are constantly being bought and sold in an abominable traffic. It is perfectly useless to deny these facts, or to talk about 'exaggeration' when they are mentioned. The one thing needed is to

I have a definite appeal to make, and I venture to make it to the planters themselves and to the companies, as well as to the general public. It is this: There are now, held down by indenture in the coolie 'lines', a number of women who will not be released, in the ordinary course of things, for another two years. They are bound by law to remain in the coolie 'lines', whether they like it or not. These coolie 'lines' are now being used by unindentured as well as by indentured Indian men. These unindentured labourers come, in a great number of cases, without their wives,—with the full intention of using the women who are bound down by indenture in the 'lines'. These indentured women have complained to me of this very thing happening to them in the past. They have complained to Miss Garnham also. The missionaries know well their fate. This fate is becoming more hateful, year by year. Last September, the lot of these women (who still remain under indenture) was brought before the Government of India and the promise was made by Sir George Barnes in the Imperial Council that negotiations should be entered into for their early release. But nothing as yet has transpired.

I had intended to deal fully (in the conclusion of this Report) with the questions of education and franchise, but it seems best to leave the details of these subjects, which are somewhat technical, out of public discussion. I wish, if possible, to concentrate attention on the one main issue, namely, the condition of the life lived in the coolie 'lines' in Fiji and what is still going on to day.

With regard to education, it may be stated briefly, that after a long delay (which has put Fiji far behind all other Crown Colonies where Indians have settled) education is now being taken up in earnest. The Government has also accepted the principle of grants being given to vernacular schools, which was at first refused.

With regard to the franchise, an important step was taken when one nominated Indian member was allowed by statute upon the Fiji Legislative Council. It should not be difficult for the Indians in the islands still further to improve their position by obtaining elected instead of nominated Indian members. Such fuller

franchise would probably come more rapidly, if Fiji were placed under the jurisdiction either of Australia or New Zealand.

In this connexion, it is a very great satisfaction to be able to place on record, as I have done so many times before, that the social and racial treatment of Indians by Europeans in Fiji is far in advance of that which I have witnessed in Natal and better than the common experience in India itself. Quite recently I met an Indian who had been many years away from India, resident in Fiji, and he told me, that it had been a very great shock to him to see the treatment of Indians by Europeans in his own country of India. He was astonished to find, in India, the growing aloofness between European and Indian which existed on all sides, he contrasted this with the comparative friendliness of the two races in Fiji and in Australia. The scene which I have related as taking place in Nadi, Fiji, on the Indian Red Cross Day, may be remembered, and it was by no means exceptional.

I return in my last paragraphs, to the one outstanding fact, which must be insisted on, in spite of all attempts to conceal it or to deny it. It is this: The immediate gravity of the situation in Fiji does not lie on the material side, but on the moral side. Until the moral evil due to the shortage of women is seriously and effectively met, until some clear and definite acts of reparation (at whatever monetary cost) have been made, it is wholly and entirely futile and vain for the Fiji Government to plead for an immediate reopening of the emigration question.

On the other hand, if the steps, which each enquiry in its turn has emphasised more and more strongly, be taken,—if the indenture is immediately closed down, if the separate married quarters are erected, if the hospitals are provided with matrons, if Indian education is pressed forward, if passages are provided for Indian men to bring back wives from India—if these things are undertaken in real earnest, then the question of emigration might be reopened with some chance of a hearing in India, and I should personally welcome it under wholesome conditions for, as I have so often said, there are few places more healthy and prosperous for intending Indian emigrants than Fiji.

C F ANDREW

CAUSES OF FREQUENT FAMINES IN BANKURA

THE geology of the district of Bankura makes the region naturally liable to famines. Hardly had the famine relief measures of 1915-16 been suspended, their accounts adjusted and reports published, when the world-wide scourge of Influenza took its toll of human life, resulting in privations and utter devitalisation of the survivors. The last famine was terrible enough, but with these records of the immediate past what the coming one forebodes imagination shudders to depict. That immediate relief work is imperative will be realised from the following appeal of the District Magistrate of Bankura to the general public:—

You will doubtless have noticed the Government Communique which was recently issued drawing attention to the failure of the winter crop in the Bankura District last year. At present the part most affected is the South and West of the Sadar Sub-division, particularly those portions where there is high land. In these places a great part of the Winter crop withered and what survived was only fit for use as fodder. The estimated outturn of this crop was only 4½ a., and consequently distress prevails in some of the thanas.

You will not have forgotten the great famine of 1915-1916. The majority of the distressed people were then saved by the relief given by the Government and by the charity of the Public. But though good harvest have obtained in the last two years yet the people have not been able to recover altogether from the effects of the famine as much of the surplus has been absorbed by the repayment of loans and arrears of rent, and the price of most necessities of life as you are aware has been abnormally high.

In order to relieve the present distress the District Board have already opened some centres for gratuitous relief and are providing work for the labouring classes with the intention of gradually extending such work to the cultivators and people of the middle class. Government are issuing Takavi loans but there are many who have no land or whose land owing to the previous famine is already mortgaged. Such people cannot obtain any loans and they are therefore in a helpless condition.

A Public Meeting was held at Bankura on the 18th instant (February 1919) under the Chairmanship of the District Magistrate in which it was resolved to collect additional funds. Subscriptions have been promised by the local public, but we feel that the state of things calls for an appeal to a wider public. The Committee have decided to spend their funds in the following ways:—

1 In giving help to the Indigent "Bhadrolak" who otherwise starve in secret as they have too much self-respect to beg.

2 In the free distribution of cloth and medicine.
3 In making advances to artisans etc etc.
For these objects the District Board have as yet been unable to make any provision. We therefore appeal to the public.

In surveying the history of Bankura, its prosperous past, and its gradual decline, culminating in the present acute state of distress, one at once realises the thesis of Professor Geddes of how Place determines the Work, and this in turn the People, who in their turn react on these, which he has explained in his numerous Regional Surveys and in his recent lectures at the Bose Institute.

According to the *Bankura Gazetteer*, the present district formed a part of the old Bishnupur Raj, whose territory included portions of the Santal Parganas in the north, of Midnapur in the south, of Burdwan in the east, and of Chota Nagpur in the west.

Thus the history of the present district of Bankura is identical with the history of the Bishnupur Raj. "The ancient Rajas of Bishnupur trace back their history to a time when the Hindus were still reigning in Delhi." * * Indeed they could already count five centuries of rule over the Western frontier tracts of Bengal before Bakhtiyar Khilji wrested that province from the Hindus" (R C Dutt). Leaving the narration of the decline of the Bishnupur Raj to the historians, let us see what determined the growth and development of the regional industries and agriculture with attendant prosperity and their civic and artistic achievements.

Bishnupur must have been selected for the stronghold and seat of the Raj for its admirable defences, natural and possible. The turbulent Damodar guarded the northern side, the main direction from which invasions were likely to come, while other rivers and extensive jungles protected different sides. The immunity of the region from floods and its hard laterite soil were suited for the construction of a very strong fort. The jungle flood was utilised to the utmost advantage in making a series of artificial lakes, alike for

defence and for irrigation. The seven lakes apart from removing the scarcity of water, have long been the pride and beauty of the place. Adequate alluvial deposits being absent, this region could not develop to agricultural importance. Yet through the encouragement of the Raj, with needed irrigation works the flower and fruit gardens were fostered. Even so late as 1872 over half the adult men were non agriculturists. But the stretch of extensive jungles produced silk, tussur, cocoon, lac, varied kinds of vegetable dyes, medicinal herbs, wax and other forest products, which determined and developed the industries for which the place was famous.

The seat of the Raj established order and security, which must have made the different caravan routes to Ghatal (a big centre of commerce) and Tamluk (the great sea port of Bengal) converge there. Given law and order, exchange of commodities and ideas intercourse friendly and competitive. Bishnupur soon grew to a great centre of industry and culture. Thus for the military needs they had a very remarkable gun foundry to which the cannon *Dalmadal* of non rusting wrought iron (12 ft 5½ in long diameter of the bore 11½ in) of which a picture has been given in the March issue of this Review, bears eloquent testimony. To meet the varied demands of agricultural, domestic, religious and artistic needs other metal industries flourished. Weaving must have been the chief industry, as could be seen from its survival even up to the present time. Industries were hereditary family occupations in which the different members of the family took their respective parts according to age and sex. Thus reeling is done by the old women winding of the reeled silk to different degrees of fineness is done by the boys, women help in dressing and bleaching while the men do the actual weaving. Similarly with other industries.

Unlike the existing state when with freedom of occupation all the ability of the literate people is being directed in swelling the already over crowded ranks of clerks and lawyers and of the illiterate in increasing the number of peasants, the caste system despite its limitations, compelled the people to get distributed in different activities.

The up and down traffic secured an

extensive market for raw materials and industrial products. New demands stimulated fresh efforts, and each of these secured further income and enterprise. Their prosperity and immunity against hostile attacks afforded opportunity to develop their social and industrial organisation. Art rose to a high degree of perfection. The place is still famous for its artistic silk weaving and clay modelling. In music it still leads Bengal. The numerous temples, which writes Dr Bloch, * 'represent the most complete set of peculiarly Bengali style of architecture', whose photographs have been published in a previous number of this Review, record the religious zeal of the people and their architectural achievements.

Thus we see that it was to the seat of the Rajas, who encouraged the industries and arts and maintained a balanced co operation between the industrial and agricultural activities of their territory that the region owed its prosperity. The industries supplied the needs of the agricultural district while its fertile eastern portion provided against the scarcity of food to which the western region is naturally liable, especially as in those days there was neither the necessity for the export of grains nor the present alluring facilities. The harmonious relation between the landlords and the tenants secured an active interest in increasing the productivity of the land, which fostered irrigation and other agricultural activities. Cows as the indispensable animals of every Hindu household and bullocks for carts and *chhala* (pack bullocks), the chief means of transit, adequately supplemented the output of manure. The use and hoarding of corn were limited as experience and even the standard of respectable ability and commonsense demanded every respectable agriculturist to have a granary which contained provision against failure of crops even for two successive years.

The tenets of religion, then strictly observed were potent in maintaining a high standard of personal hygiene. The religious merit and social respectability attached to the excavation and repairing of tanks, improvements and conveniences of public thoroughfares by planting shady

* Report Arch Surv Ind for 1903-4

trees and digging of wells encouraged and obtained adequate civic activities Religious festivities, *jastras* and *kathakatas* popularised the great epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, which had a great cultural influence, alike intellectual, romantic and spiritual

Thus we see with their growing industries the people were prosperous, and their civic activities increasingly improved the region alike in productivity, health and beauty

The excessive religious tendency of the saintly Raja Gopal Singh who reigned between 1730 and 1745, made him neglect his administrative duties and military requirements He was unable to cope with the ravages of Mahratta intrusions, and the lawlessness and disorder that followed

'Already impoverished by the Mahratta raids the resources of the (Rajas') family were still further reduced by the famine of 1770 during which more than half of its estate relapsed into jungles The earlier years of the British administration in tenured rather than relieved its difficulties Its ruin was completed by family dispute, costly litigation and crushing revenue'

The fate of the region followed that of its Rajas, since it was to the seat of the Raj that Bishnupur owed its prosperity To begin with, the passing of the fertile eastern portion of the territory into the hands of the Bardwan Raj destroyed the balance which the Raja maintained between the agricultural and industrial activities, and made the region more liable to famines The subsequent conditions which developed may be summarised as follows The bulk of the region passed into the hands of the Bardwan Raj and other non resident proprietors, of whose effect Mr O'Malley writes —

He (Maharaja of Bardwan) parcelled out his vast estate into tenures known as *pattar-talukas* the grantees of which not only gave him a high premium but covenanted to pay an annual rental in perpetuity This system left him a mere annuity on the land The *pattardars* again sublet on similar terms, and the result has been to create a class of persons living on small fixed incomes and without interest in the tenure This has caused the disappearance of the old feudal spirit and disintegration of the relation between landlords and tenants who no longer have that common solidarity of interest which used to exist. The surplus grain in former days was spent in works of public utility and a large village would have good tanks and

* L. S. O'Malley—Bengal District Gaz.—Bardwan p. 35
† Ibid, p. 62

bathing ghats while its temples were carefully kept up and religious festivals lavishly observed

Hitherto all the landlords were resident, and the code of administration, and the old social and religious culture made them responsible for the health and well being of tenants for the right of rental Now the remarkable order and peace established by the British Government has made the realisation of rent very exact, while the corresponding activities of the landlords, which their rental entails, have not been forthcoming The landlords increasingly becoming non resident spend their incomes elsewhere in luxuries which do not help any section of the community The resident ones such as are still surviving spend their incomes in fighting law suits Thus not only has no fresh irrigation enterprises been undertaken but the existing tanks and bunds are allowed to get silted up and worse — being definitely filled up where possible for cultivation with diminishing water area every year Further, for the establishment of two railroads through the district, a considerable portion of good arable land had to be acquired For each acquisition there has been a definite shortage from which it could not revive to the former acreage, even with favourable distribution of rainfall Thus from the Government statistics available we find that the agricultural area has diminished considerably The average normal net area cropped has diminished by about 16 per cent since 1890 to 1915

1890 to 1895, the normal average of net area cropped was 640 680 acres
1910 to 1915 536,200

Diminution 104 480 acres

Industries —The causes of the decline and ruin of Indian industries are too well known for repetition The belated survivors of such industries as the people's religious beliefs and artistic demands still maintain and whose limited demand alone does not encourage their production by machinery, are suffering from lack of proper marketing and from the effects of war The local industries used to supply almost all the demands of the people Thus in 1813 Warren Hastings when asked about the probability of demand for European commodities by the Indian population, replied :

"The supplies of trade are for the wants and luxuries of a people. The poor in India may be said to have no wants, their wants are confined to their dwellings, to their food and to a scanty portion of clothing, all of which they can have from the soil they tread upon"

In succeeding years the luxuries and wants of the people have increased on the one hand, and their industries been ruined on the other. Of the existing condition of cotton weaving and spinning I have already spoken in a previous article in this Review,[†] and its general condition is well known. In the district, of all the varied industries which once flourished, only silk-weaving, conch-shell, and bell-metal still struggle on. Conch-shell industry is being affected by the introduction of glass bangles. Tin trunks have replaced bamboo and cane *pantras*. Artistic bamboo and cane thatch-workers, who were the better class of *pantra*-makers, have lost their living. The high price of raw materials due to excessive speculations of the capitalists, and the exorbitant profits of the middlemen, the general rise of prices all around on account of the War, the frequent famines, malaria and, lastly, the present epidemic of Influenza have brought on an alarming condition of the industrial people.

The earnings of the silk-weavers of Bishnupur, one of the best class of industrial people of Bengal, has been reduced on an average to 12 as. a day, half of what it used to be in pre-war days. Their present daily expenditure for a family of an average of 3 adults and two children is about annas 12-6 pies, without taking into consideration the doctor's bill, *sraddh*, marriages and other items. The daily earnings of the Bankura weavers are barely enough for their food, being on an average as. 9 only. The condition of the tussar workers is worse still, their earnings being reduced from 11 as. to 5 as. per day. The earnings of the brass and bell-metal workers have been reduced by 50 per cent being now as. 4, 5, and 7 only according to the class of workers and this has made about 25 per cent. of these workers to give up their profession.

Thus the number of persons dependent on agriculture is increasing. In the year 1872 less than 50 per cent. of the popula-

tion were dependent on agriculture, in 1901, 60 per cent. and while in 1911 it has gone up to 73.9 per cent.

While on the other hand, the average net area of cultivation has diminished by 16 per cent. Thus the number of persons depending on agriculture increasing on diminishing area of cultivation has brought on the inevitable consequences.

Railroads:—Acknowledging all the necessities and obvious advantages of the Railways one can not help observing how they have affected the people. With the first establishment of a railroad from Ranigunj to Howrah, though outside the district boundary, the seasonal navigation ceased, and the boat-builders and boatmen, though in a minority, have lost their living. Importation of cheap machine-made goods was facilitated and exportation of grains increased. For the establishment of the Bengal-Nagpur and the Bankura-Damodar Railways through the district, the acquisition of land affected agriculture seriously. Cattle traffic is increasingly diminishing, with loss of occupation of the cartmen and bullock-owners and deterioration of cattle. The railroads have disturbed the natural water-courses of the district and caused the lodgment of necessary water in pools, which is very insanitary. They have not helped the local industries in any way, on the contrary the import of cheap luxuries and export of grains have enormously increased. They have given rise to a new class of speculators who are artificially keeping up the prices of food stuff. Thus the price of fish in town has gone up from 4 as. to 8 as. per seer. Good cow's milk is hardly obtainable. While the speculators buy 6 seers of buffalo milk per rupee, the local retail price is 2 seers per rupee. Undoubtedly the railways could relieve distress by the import of grains provided the people had the means.

Administration. The existing system of settlement of disputes in law-courts situated as they are several miles away from the villages, is not suited to the life and requirements of the people. Besides having to maintain a growing crop of lawyers for the settlement of disputes, the loss of time and money is very great, to say nothing of the vices of litigation and perjury learned in law courts.

To provide against future famine the

* Minutes of Evidence, etc., on the Affairs of the East India Company (1813) p. 3

† Bengal Weavers and Their Industry—Modern Review, —July, 1918.

first thing necessary is proper irrigation. The undulated surface of the district and the numerous streams make the reservation of water easy enough by damming the natural water drainage. The reexcavation of the existing tanks, bunds and *khals* should be undertaken at once as a relief work on a larger scale than hitherto. This alike for sanitation and agriculture. Well irrigation is necessary in certain parts of the district which will mainly help the aboriginal population of the district and this should be introduced by the Government. About canal irrigation in general Mr R. C. Dutt writes

"The discussion about the comparative merits of canals and railways was carried on, and as might be expected preference was given to railways which facilitated British trade with India and not canals which would have benefited Indian agriculture. £2,000,000 were spent on railways resulting not in a profit but in a loss of £40,000,000 to the Indian taxpayer up to 1900. And so little were the interests of Indian agriculture appreciated that only £2,000,000 were spent on irrigation up to 1900."

Since this district is liable to such frequent famines and the population dependent on agriculture is increasing and the average of net area cropped decreasing the question of canal irrigation ought to engage the immediate attention of the Government despite the cost. The reexcavation of tanks and ponds should be made compulsory by issuing loans where necessary. The present activities of the District Agricultural Officer are inadequate and require further extension. The export of foodstuffs must be controlled and definitely prohibited till the final forecast of crops becomes available.

The agricultural improvements alone cannot effectively meet the situation. Industries must be revived along with it. For this we require Co-operative Societies with the following definite objects

- (1) To reduce the cost of articles by supply of raw materials at the cheapest possible rates to the workers directly.
- (2) To improve the method of production by introduction of such improved machinery and implements as are possible under the existing conditions.
- (3) To secure a better market by introducing improved patterns and designs of varying sizes and qualities to meet modern

demands alike Indian and foreign for useful and artistic purposes.

(4) When necessary to establish workshops on contract labour system with improved machinery and methods of production which would be the best means of their introduction.

They will also have a separate branch for the following purposes. To undertake the reexcavation of such tanks as the proprietors could not or would not undertake. The yield of fish and the produce of the vegetable garden on the excavated silt will give a reasonable return for their investment subsequently these to be made over to the proprietors as soon as the expenses are realised. They should also start poultry farming on a small scale at the beginning. With the help of the Government cattle breeding should be undertaken by this Society since the breed of cattle of the district is the most deteriorated in India so much so that they do not earn their keep. They should start a Co-operative granary in each village and deal with the surplus grains. They should export raw materials such as forest products and hides which are profitable business. Thus in this organisation there will be scope for the activities of the different sections of the community.

The habit of co-operation which the life of the people determined and their old society maintained has been destroyed by the advent of the modern mechanical age. As such Co-operative organisations have to be started by the Government with the help of philanthropic bodies as the Ram Krishna Mission and the Social Service League and local public spirited persons. Once started with forethought and care it will increasingly be able to recruit members from the workers themselves. An experienced and impartial local business man should be in charge to make the undertaking a business success.

The Society has to be registered for a fairly large number of shares of not exceeding Rs 5 the bulk of which should be reserved for the agricultural and industrial people. To start with the Government and the landlords should be asked to advance loan to this Society at the minimum possible rate.

The researches of scientific bodies being inaccessible to the people their conclusions should be popularised in the vernacular and introduced as text books in the

local *pathshalas* and schools. These should contain the fundamentals of agriculture, local method of production, its defects and merits, if any, compared with those of other countries, and the line of possible improvements and also giving a small summary of the work that is being done in India along the line. For these and other real educational purposes every *pathshala* and school should have garden-excursions to the neighbouring fields and gardens would be most helpful. For the existing industries similar textbooks should be introduced, with demonstration of the improved methods of production and by taking the boys round the workshops of the best worker of the locality. In this way it will be possible to bring the modern education to some definite relation with the life activity of the people. With the help of the experienced local agriculturist and industrial worker, these could be easily introduced and with very little additional expenditure.

Establishment of industrial and technical schools in large numbers may not yet be possible, but the most practical method of improvement of the industries would be to send experienced local industrial workers to different industrial schools, and to places where improved methods of manufacture have been introduced. These experienced workers will be able to pick up within a very short time the necessary improvements which could be effectively carried out in their local conditions. Moreover the suggestions of one of their own members stand a much better chance of acceptance than those of lear-

ned specialists. The expenses and allowances of these people are to be met by the District Board. The Co-operative Society should advance loans for the introduction of improved machinery.

An annual scholarship for the best District report in the vernacular on the industrial and agricultural conditions and their possible lines of development will be the best means of spread of industrial and agricultural information to the workers, and would also create an intelligent interest among the educated people in the activities of the region, which is at present amazingly rare.

Scholarships should be established by the Government for sending students abroad on the merit of their knowledge of the existing local industries and their possible developments by introduction of modern scientific appliances and organisation.

With these enterprises, started on the lines indicated above, the people will begin to realise what the modern age has brought and benefit therefrom. Proper irrigation enterprises will improve agriculture; Co-operative societies will increasingly revive the possible industries with corresponding prosperity, health and happiness. The Regional interest, initiated in schools, developed through youth by the demands of the Co-operative organisation, and maintained by the experience and wisdom of age, may evolve a new order of life surpassing the little village republics of old in wider interest and intelligent co-operation.

MOTISWAR SEN.

HISTORY OF SHIVAJI, 1671-74

1

THE second sack of Surat and the Maratha ravages in Baglana roused Aurangzib to a sense of the gravity of the situation in the Deccan. As early as 28th November, 1670, he had issued orders transferring Mahabat Khan from Afghanistan to the supreme command in the Deccan. The events of December

only deepened the Emperor's anxiety. On 9th January 1671, he sent orders to Bahadur Khan to leave his province of Gujrat and command one of the imperial army corps in the Deccan, Dilir Khan being ordered to accompany him. The Emperor also repeatedly talked of going to the Deccan and conducting the war against Shivaji in person, but the idea was ultimately dropped. Daud Khan was

instructed to attack Shiva wherever he was reported. Amar Singh Chandawat and many other Rajput officers with their clansmen were posted to the Deccan. Reinforcements, money and provisions were poured into Baglana in Jan 1671 (*Akhbar*, 13 1 2, 8 14 16, *M A* 107).

Mahabat Khan left Burhanpur on 3rd January 1671 with Jaswant Singh and reached Aurangabad on the 16th paid his respects to the viceroy Prince Muazzam and set out to join the army near Chandor. Daud Khan had been appointed his chief lieutenant and commander of his vanguard, but he despised this office as below his rank, and begged the Emperor to recall him (*Akh* 13 12 *Dil* 102).

We shall now trace the history of the war in the Chandor range. Late in December 1670 Shivaji's men had laid siege to Dhodap and Daud Khan had started on the 28th of that month to relieve the fort. But the qiladar Muhammad Zaman, successfully repelled the attack without his aid. Daud Khan had next advanced to the relief of Salhur but had been too late to save it as we have already seen. In January 1671 he held a fortified base near the Kanchan pass from which he sallied forth in every direction in which the Marathas were heard of as roving. From the Emperor's letters it appears that Daud Khan was under a general order to right everything that might go wrong in Baglana. Once after a night march he fell on a body of the enemy near Hatgarh and slew 700 of them (*Dil* 101, *Akhbarat*, 13 15).

Late in January 1671 Mahabat Khan joined Daud Khan near Chandor and the two laid siege to Ahirant which Shivaji had recently taken. After a month had been wasted in a fruitless exchange of fire the fort was entered from the trenches of Daud Khan and the garrison capitulated to him. Mahabat Khan became furiously angry at losing the credit of this success. He had been previously treating Daud Khan as a *5-bazari* with discourtesy, and now the relations between them became strained to the utmost. Leaving a garrison to hold Ahirant Mahabat passed three months at Nasik and then went to Parnir (20 miles west of Ahmadnagar) to pass the rainy season (June to September) there while Daud Khan was recalled to Court (about June).

* 17 102 104 106 *Sabb* 7 Mahabat Khan

There was excessive rainfall that year and many men and cattle perished of pestilence in the camp at Parnir. But while his troops were dying Mahabat Khan attended daily entertainments in the houses of the nobles by turn. There were 400 dancing girls of Afghanistan and the Punjab in his camp, and they were patronised by the officers (*Dil* 106).

II

The Emperor was dissatisfied with Mahabat Khan for the poor result of his campaign in the first quarter of 1671 and his long spell of inactivity afterwards and suspected him of having formed a secret understanding with Shivaji. So he sent Bahadur Khan and Dilir Khan to the Deccan next winter. They marched from Gujrat into Baglana, laid siege to Salhur (now in Maratha hands), and leaving Ikhlas Khan Miana, Rao Amar Singh Chandawat and some other officers to continue the siege proceeded towards Ahmadnagar (*Dil* 107 *O C* 3567).

From the environs of Ahmadnagar, Bahadur Khan advanced to Supa (in the Puna district) while Dilir Khan with a flying column recovered Puna, massacring all the inhabitants above the age of 9 years (end of December 1671). Early in January 1672 Shivaji was at Mahad draining his forts of men to raise a vast army for expelling the invaders from the home of his childhood. But the pressure on Puna was immediately afterwards removed and Bahadur Khan was recalled from this region by a severe

Is come as far as Nasik Trimbak and bath taken 4 castles. Haturant (=Ahavant) and Salhur are the names of two of them. (F R Surat 105 Bomb. to Surat 8 Apr 1671. But the Mughals did not recover Salhur though Sabb (3) says so.

* 1 K Surat 106 Bombay to Surat 13 Jan. an 1
a) Jan 16 2 The town taken by Dilir Khan is spelt in the English Factory Records as Puna Chakine and Puna Chakus and described as a place of great concern in a very large plan in the heart of all Shivaji's upper country. This description suggests Puna and not Chakan but we have no direct evidence that Shivaji got back Puna and Chakan from the Mughals by the treaty of 1665 or that of 1668. The English record rumours that place Dilir Khan killed Kartaji Gujar the Maratha Lieutenant General (the Pratap Rao). Supa a few lines above may easily be a copyist's error for Puna in the Pers as Ms of *Diksha* 107 which Chitals 119 says that the Marathas recovered Chakan by force in 1666 or later.

disaster to Mughal arms in Baglana. There, the division left to besiege Salhir was attacked by Shiva himself with a large force. After an obstinate battle, Ikhlās Khan and Muhakam Singh (the son of Rao Amar Singh Chandawat) were wounded and captured, with 30 of their principal officers,* while Rao Amar Singh and many other commanders as well as several thousand common soldiers were slain, and the entire siege camp was taken by the enemy. Shortly afterwards Shivaji captured Mulhir, and then putting fresh men, munitions and provisions in the two forts, he hurried back to Konkan unmolested. This took place in the second half of January 1672. Shivaji's prestige and confidence in his own power were immensely increased by these successes. Surat was now in constant terror of him, as he entirely dominated Baglana. (*Dil.* 107; Ishwardas, 60 b; F. R. Surat 87, M. Gray to Bombay, 15 Feb. Vol. 106, Bombay to Surat, 16 Feb. 1672; Sabh. 74; K. K. ii. 249.)

From the English records we learn that Shiva now "forced the two generals (*viz.*, Bahadur and Dilir), who with their armies had entered into his country, to retreat with shame and loss."† But the Persian accounts are silent about it. We can, however, be sure that the Satnami rising of March and the rebellion of the Khaibar Afghans in April next, made it impossible for the Emperor to attempt the recovery of his prestige in the Deccan, and Shiva was therefore left the master of the situation throughout the year 1672. (*M.A.* 115-116).

Bahadur Khan returned with failure from Baglana, encamped for some time on the bank of the Bhima, and then went back to Ahmadnagar to canton for the rains. About May 1672 Mahabat left the Deccan for Hindustan, and a month later Prince Muazzam did the same. Bahadur Khan was appointed commander-in-chief and acting viceroy of the Deccan, in the place of these two, becoming substantial *Subahdar* in January 1673 and

holding that office till August 1677. (*Dil.* 108-109; *M. A.* 121).

III

So greatly was the spirit of the Marathas roused by their victory over Ikhlās Khan, capture of Mulhir, and the expulsion of Bahadur and Dilir from Puna that their activity continued unabated even during the hot weather and the rainy season of this year. About 5th June, a large Maratha army under Moro Trimbak Pingle captured Jawhar from its Koli Rajah, and seized there treasure amounting to 17 lakhs of Rupees. The place was only 110 miles from Surat, and adjoined the Nasik district, from which it was separated by the Western Ghats. Advancing further north, he threatened the other Koli State of Ramnagar which is only sixty miles south of Surat. The Rajah fled with his family (about 19th June 1672) to Chikli, six miles S. E. of Gandavi. Even Gandavi was deserted by the people in fear of the coming of the Marathas. But the invaders speedily retreated from Ramnagar on hearing that Dilir Khan was assembling his forces for a campaign. Heavy rain stopped the activity of the Marathas for a few days. But soon afterwards Moro Pant, with his army raised to 15,000 men, returned to the attack, and took Ramnagar in the first week of July.

The annexation of Jawhar and Ramnagar gave the Marathas a short, safe and easy route from Kalian up Northern Konkan to Surat, and laid that port helplessly open to invasion from the south. The city became subject to chronic alarm, whenever any Marathas were heard of even 60 miles off, at Ramnagar.

From the neighbourhood of Ramnagar, Moro Trimbak Pingle sent three successive letters to the governor and leading traders of Surat demanding four lakhs of Rupees as blackmail, and threatening a visit to the city in the case of their refusal. The third of these epistles was very peremptory in tone; Shiraji wrote, "I demand for the third time, which I declare shall be the last, the *chanth* or quarter part of the king's revenue under your government. As your Emperor has forced me to keep an army for the defence of my people and country, that army must be paid by his subjects. If you do not send me the money speedily, then make ready a large house for me, for I shall go and sit down

* They were released after a time and returned to Ahmadnagar (*Dil.* 116). On the Maratha side also many soldiers were slain and only one chief of note. Sarya Rao Kakre, a comrade of Shiraji's youth.

† O. C. 36 33, Surat to Co. 6 Apr. 1672. Ramaji Panzre's heroic battle with Dilir near fort Kanera (Sabh. 73) must be placed here.

there and receive the revenue and custom duties, as there is none now to stop my passage."

At the first news of the arrival of the Maratha army in Ramnagar, the governor of Surat summoned all the leading Hindu and Muhammadan merchants and proposed that they should subscribe Rs 15 000 for engaging 500 horse and 3 000 foot to defend the town for two months. Officers were immediately sent to make a list of all the Hindu houses in the town for assessing this contribution. But no soldiers were enlisted, and the governor pocketed whatever money was actually raised for the defence.

On the receipt of the third letter from Shiva, the helpless citizens were seized with a panic. The rich went to the governor that very night and wanted permission to remove their families to Broach and other towns for safety. He kept them waiting till after midnight gave them the permission but retracted it next morning, when he held a second conference with the townsmen asking them to raise the black mail demanded — the merchants paying one lakh and the *desais* raising two lakhs from the cultivators of the villages around. After a discussion lasting a day and a night, in which he reduced his demand to Rs 60 000, the people finally refused to pay anything as they knew too well that he would appropriate the money instead of buying the enemy off with it. Thereafter, every time that there was an alarm of the approach of Shivaji's troops the citizens of Surat hastened to flee from the town, but the governor shut the gates to keep them in!^{*}

IV.

From their base in the Kol country of Jawhar and Ramnagar, a Maratha force under Moro Trimbak easily crossed the Ghats into the Nasik district, in the middle of July 1672 plundered and occupied it. Jadun Rao Deccani, a great grandson of Lukhji Jaday (the maternal grandfather of Shivaji) with 4000 men was the Mughal thanahdar of Nasik Trimbak. He was defeated and captured after losing

many of his troops in battle. Siddi Halal, the thanahdar of Vani Dindori (or North Nasik), was also defeated and his charge looted by the Marathas. For this failure, both officers were sharply reprimanded by Bahadur Khan, and in anger they deserted to the Marathas, with two other officers and all the men of their "four great regiments of horse" (October). Other desertions were apprehended, and Dilir Khan was left in great danger with a weakened army to defend the province of Gujrat against the exultant enemy (*Dil* 116 *F R* Surat 87 Surat to Bombay 20 July 1672 *Vol* 3 Surat 26 October, Bombay to Surat 18 October, in *F R* Surat 106 *T S* 33 *b* for the 2 deserters).

On 25th October a large Maratha army appeared at Ramnagar again, and Surat trembled in alarm, especially as a party of Shivaji's horse advanced past Gandhari to Chikli, 12 miles further towards Surat. But that city was not Shivaji's objective now. He made a lightning raid into a different corner of the Mughal Empire.

He sent his light cavalry to plunder Berar and Telugana*. The viceroy Bahadur Khan on hearing of it, set out from Ahmadnagar due eastwards, left his heavy baggage at Bir (70 miles to the east), and Qandahar and arrived as fast as he could near the fort of Ramgiri (18 35 N. 79 35 E) in pursuit of the raiders. But they had been two days beforehand with him, looted the village at the foot of the fort, and carried off the families of most of the inhabitants for ransom. So the baffled Mughal general returned by way of Indar (90 miles due west). Entering the Quth Shahi territory, he ravaged the land of the instigation of Dilir Khan. The Marathas in their retreat divided into two bodies, one escaping south into the Golkonda State and the other turning northwards to Chanda, and thence westwards into Berar proper. Dilir Khan was sent off to pursue the first division while Bahadur Khan tried to cut off the retreat of the second.

Sending his heavy baggage back to Aurangabad from the neighbourhood of the village of Khair, (?) the viceroy hastened by way of Partur, Sheldode and Peddola, and arrived near the pass of Antur (38 miles north of Aurangabad). Here the

* Conquest of Kol country. *F R* Surat *Vol* 3, consult Surat 21 June 1672 *Vol* 8. Surat to Bombay 21 and 22 June, *Vol* 106, Bombay to Surat, 5 July. *O C* 3049, *F R* Surat, *Vol* 8, Surat to Persia, 1 November 1673. *Sabb* 72.

* *Dil*, 116 120 122 (full).

Marathas turned at bay, and attacked the Mughal Van under Sujan Singh Bundela. But they were repulsed and pursued till evening many of the horses of traders and other kinds of booty were recovered from the enemy and restored to their owners. Next day the Mughals crossed the pass and encamped at Durgapur four miles from the fort of Antur.

The following day, when they were marching to Aurangabad in rather straggling groups before the time fixed for the starting of the general, one division of 10 000 imperialists was charged by 750 picked Maratha cavalry on the left of the pass of Bakapur, six miles (from Durgapur?). After an obstinate battle, in which the Mughals were reinforced by their general, the Marathas retreated, leaving 400 of their number dead in the field. The credit of this victory belongs to the Bundelas under Subh Karn, whose son Dalspat Rao was wounded in the fight.

The division under Dilir Khan headed the other Maratha band off into Bijapur territory, capturing much booty and rejoining Bahadur Khan. That general cantoned his troops at Pathri, 76 miles S. E. of Aurangabad. This Maratha raid into Khandesh and Berar, unlike their first incursion in December 1670, was completely foiled, and the Mughal troops showed commendable mobility and enterprise (Nov-Dec 1672)*.

To guard against a repetition of these two Maratha penetrations into Khandesh from Balaghat Bahadur Khan set up gades across the tops of the chief passes† and posted troops with artillery at each of them. Bijaji Nayak, Nimbalkar, a great Deccan zamindar, and father of Shirsas son-in-law Mahadji, with his family, was now won over by the Mughals (Dil 122 '3, 125).

V

Maratha activity, thus shut out of Khandesh and Berar, burst forth in

another quarter (Jan 1673). They next raided the Puna district. Bahadur Khan left his baggage at Chamargunda, hastened to meet the invaders, and defeated them after a severe battle. Then he encamped at Pedgaon on the north bank of the Bhima, eight miles due south of Chamargunda. This place became the residence of his army for many years afterwards, and here a fort and town grew up from their cantonment, which the Emperor permitted him to name *Bahadur garh* (Dil 126).

Pedgaon occupies a position of great strategic importance. It stands on the plain just clear of the long mountain spur running eastwards from Puna. From this place the Mughal general could at will move westwards along the north of the range to protect the valleys of the Mula and the Bhima (the North Puna district), or along the south of it to guard the valleys of the Nira and the Baramati (the southern portion of the district). Northwards he could communicate with his great depot of arms and provisions at Ahmadnagar, without having to cross any river (except at the foot of that fort), and southwards he could easily invade Bijapur through the Sholapur district. In short the cantonment at Pedgaon served as the Mughal advanced base for some years after this time, exactly as Aurangzib's camp at Brahmapur, 90 miles S. E. of it, did twenty-two years later, when the Mughal empire had extended further south.

It was most probably in this year (1673) that Shivaji met with a sore disappointment. The fort of Shivnir, a mile west of Junnar, was no doubt of strategic importance, as it guarded the Mughal frontier in the north of the Puna district and blocked the shortest route by which he could sally out of North Konkan to overrun Mughal Deccan. But what gave it the greatest value in Shivaji's eyes was that it was his birth place. The Mughal governor of Shivnir was Abdul Aziz Khan, a Brahman convert to Islam and one of the most faithful and valued servants of Aurangzib. Shivaji promised him 'mountains of gold' for surrendering the fort into Maratha hands, and he, pretending consent, received the money, appointed a day for the delivery, and asked Shivaji to send 7000 cavalry to take the fort over. But Abdul Aziz at the

* It is probably this campaign that is referred to in M.A. 175 among court news of 1673 in the following terms: "Bahadur Khan has defeated Shirsas after a forced march of 120 miles, made large captures of spoils and sent them with Dalspat to the Emperor who viewed them on 22 Oct."

† They are named in D'Assis as Yardapur, Tanagar, Malkapur, Harsapur, Rajdhar, Lahanwar, Deogaon, Kharwa, Dharpur &c.

same time secretly informed Bahadur Khan of the plot, the Maratha army fell into an ambushade planned by the Mughals, and retired in disappointment with heavy loss (Fryer, I 339-340)

VI

In another direction, however, a wide door of conquest was now opened to the Marathas. Ali Adil Shah II died on 24th Nov 1672, and in a few months the government of Bijapur fell into disorder and weakness. This was Shivaji's opportunity. On 5th March 1673, he got possession of Panhala a second time by bribery, and early in September he secured the hill fort Satara by the same means. In May his men under Pratap Rao Gujar burst into the inland parts of Bijapur, Kanara, looting Hubli and many other rich cities. But they received a great check from the Bijapur general Bahlol Khan, who repeatedly defeated the Maratha rovers and expelled them from Kanara, and then (in June 1673) took post at Kolhapur, to watch the road and prevent their return. Soon afterwards the rains put an end to military operations and Maratha activity in this region was checked but for a time only (B S 397-399 O C 3779 F R Surat 106 Bombay to Surat 16 Sep 1673, Dutch Records vol 31 No 805, O C 3800)

As Mr Gerald Aungier, the English President of Bombay, wrote on 16th Sep 1673 'Shivaji bears himself up manfully against all his enemies and though it is probable that the Mughal's army may fall into his country this year and Bahlol Khan on the other side yet neither of them can stay long for want of provisions and his flying army will constantly keep them in alarm, nor is it either their design to destroy Shivaji; totally, for the Umarabs maintain a politic war to their own profit at the king's charge and never intend to prosecute it violently so as to end it' (F R Surat, 106)

Shivaji took full advantage of his enemies' moral and political weakness. Early in October 1673 he was reported to have made 20,000 sacks 'ready to convey what plunder he can get, having

also a considerable flying army ready for that action. Soon afterwards this army, 25,000 strong, led by Shivaji in person, burst into west Bijapur territory, plundering many rich towns and then passed into Kanara for more plunder. This work occupied him till the end of December. In the first week of that month he was at Kadra with 6,000 men, and stayed there only four days. But his detachments were twice defeated at this time by Bahlol Khan at Bankapur and by Sharza Khan at Chandragara and forced to quit Kanara.

VII

It was probably in November or December of this year, while Shivaji was campaigning in Kanara, that Bahlol Khan* marched from Bijapur with a large army (12,000 men according to the Maratha chronicle) to protect the Miraj-Kolhapur district, and cut Shivaji's northern line of communication with his dominions by the Satara-Panhala route. If this strategic move had succeeded the road for Shivaji's return from Kanara through the Southern Deccan country would have been closed, while the Portuguese State of Goa would have barred the land route west of the Ghats and he would have been compelled to make the journey in ships or make a wide detour eastwards and try to force his way between Miraj and Bijapur and run the risk of attack on both flanks by the large Adil Shahi forces at these two places.

Pratap Rao Gujar the Maratha commander-in-chief was detached with a slightly larger force and artillery, to meet the danger. He tried to envelop Bahlol's army near Umbran, between

* Battles of Umran and Jesar. Sabh. 78-79 B S 399-400 (full but a little about Jesar). Chit 126 (has Bahlo Navari for Jesari). D G 271 (meagre). Narayan Shenvi writes from Raigadh 4 April 1674. Pratap Rai fell in the encounter of Shivaji's army with Bahlol Khan in a narrow passage between two hills, who with six horsemen more were slain being not succoured by the rest of the army, so that Bahlol Khan remained victorious (F R Surat vol 88). The place of the first battle is named Umbran in Sabh and Umran in Chit. The *Indian Atlas* says we see there a *Amrat* 4 m east of Jath and 34 m N.W. of Bijapur, which may have been the place. I have failed to trace Jesari. According to Duff's authorities, Pratap Rao's appearance near Bijapur induced the Regent to recall Bahlol from Kolhapur and the latter general was intercepted by the Marathas on the way to

* F R Surat 106 Bomb to Surat 10 Oct 1673 G C 3910 F R Surat 83 Karwar to Surat 17 Dec

Miraj and Bijapur, cutting him off from his water supply. The battle raged all day with intense ferocity. Many were slain on both sides, the Marathas suffering less than the Bijapuris. After sunset, Bahlol induced Pratap to grant a truce, while he promised not to commit any further hostility against Shivaji. So, the Maratha army withdrew, instead of following up their success and capturing the whole of the stricken enemy force.

The Bijapuris with their numerous wounded, fell back on Tikota (13 m. west of Bijapur); but being reinforced appeared in the Panhala district again a few months later (Feb. 1674). Shivaji sharply censured Pratap Rao for having let Bahlol Khan escape, when he could have easily crushed him and ended for ever his frequent menace to the Maratha possessions in the Southern Desh tract and the roads leading across the Ghats to South Konkan. Pratap Rao, immediately after the battle of Umbrani, had dashed off to plunder parts of Golkonda, Telingana and Berar. On returning from this raid, which was utterly useless from the military point of view, he found Bahlol back near Panhala and received an angry message from his master saying, "Bahlol has come again. Go with your army, destroy him and win a complete victory. Otherwise, never show your face to me again!"

Stung to the quick by this letter, Pratap Rao sought Bahlol out at Jesari (near Panhala), "in a narrow passage between two hills." Smarting under his master's censure, he threw generalship to the winds, and rushed upon Bahlol followed by only six horsemen, the rest of his army hanging back from the mad charge. The gallant seven were cut down by the swarm of foes, and much havoc was done among the Marathas who were disheartened by the fall of their leader; "a river of blood flowed." Shivaji greatly mourned the death of Pratap Rao and repented of his angry letter. The dead general's relatives and dependents were well provided for, and his daughter was married to Raja-Ram the favourite son of the king.

Anand Rao, a lieutenant of Pratap Rao, rallied the disheartened army of his chief. Shiva appointed him* commander-

* I here follow the account of Narayan Shenvi, written at Raigarh, only a month later, on in-

in-chief in succession to Pratap Rao, gave him the title of Hambir Rao, and ordered him not to return alive without defeating the enemy. At this Hambir Rao went off with the whole body of his cavalry far into Bijapur territory in search of Bahlol. Dilir Khan with the Mughal army advanced promptly to the succour of his brother Afghan, Bahlol Khan. But Hambir Rao, not daring to fight two such large forces, retreated towards Kanara, making forced marches of 45 miles a day. The two Khans, unable to overtake the mobile Marathas, gave up the pursuit and turned,—Bahlol to Kolhapur and Dilir to Panhala, whence, after a 5 days' halt with the intention of besieging it, he fell back on his base [Parnir?].

Hambir Rao, penetrating further into Kanara, robbed the city of Pench,* 24 miles from Bankapur, in Bahlol's jagir, looting at least 150,000 *hun* worth of booty. Thence he returned with 3000 ox-loads of plunder. Bahlol and Khizr Khan, with 2000 cavalry and many foot soldiers, tried to intercept him near Bankapur, but were defeated after a desperate battle and put to flight with the loss of a brother of Khizr Khan. Hambir Rao robbed the entire Bijapuri army, captured 500 horses, 2 elephants, and much other prize. (March, 1674) †

But the Bijapuris had their revenge immediately afterwards. Bahlol Khan, "regarding the loss [of the elephants] as

formation supplied by Shiva's ministers. The new commander-in-chief's name is given Hansaji (Hansaji) Mohite by both Sabhasad and Chitnis. The latter adds (p. 126) that Hansaji attacked Bahlol's army when dispersed in pursuit, converted the defeat into a victory, and chased Bahlol back to Bijapur. *B. S.* 429 names Shiva's general Anand Rao, but in 1679.

* The whole of this paragraph and the next is based upon Narayan Shenvi's letter of 4th April 1674 (*J. R. Surat*, vol. 88) and the Dutchman Van Riebeeck's letter of 15th Dec 1674 (*Dutch Records*, vol. 32, No. 824), which latter calls the pillaged bazar "*Honspant*, situated on the borders of Bijapur near Bankapur." (*Honspant* near the ruins of Vijaynagar cannot be the place meant).

† Sabhasad refers to this campaign on p. 90, but gives other names to the place of battle and the Bijapuri general: "Hambir Rao went with his army to Samppaon [19 m. s.e. of Belgaum] Husain Khan Mianna, a great Bijapuri general, with 5000 Pathans marched against Hambir Rao. A severe battle took place between them, from noon till next morning. Many men horses and elephants were slain in Husain's army. He was captured with 4000 horses, 12 elephants, many camels and property beyond calculation. His whole army was destroyed." See also Chitnis, 146 *Shiva-dig*, 339.

a great disgrace to him became desperate attacked the robbers again and being reinforced secured such a victory that the robbers had to abandon 1000 horses and were pursued for a long distance. It was not the Maratha policy during a raid to fight pitched battles. So Hambir Rao rapidly retreated with his booty to Shiva's dominions left it there in safety and then (Apr 1) burst into Balaghat.

VIII

Late in January 1674 a Mughal army tried to descend into Konkan and cause a diversion in that quarter simultaneously with the Bijapuri invasion of the Panhala region. But Shiva stopped the paths by breaking the roads and mounting a passade and keeping a constant guard at various points where the route was most difficult. And the Mughals had to return baffled. It was probably this expedition to which the English merchants refer in a letter written at the end of January 1674 in the following words: "Dilr Khan hath lately received a rout by Shivaji and lost 1000 of his Pathans and Shivaji about five or

six hundred men. If so Dilr Khan had either made a rash frontal attack on, one of the entrenched passes or fallen into an ambuscade of the Marathas. Throughout these months (December 1673 to March 1674) Shivaji's wars with Adil Shah and the Siddis were carried on languidly with only occasional outbreaks of vigour. The soldiers on both sides were weary of war and their commanders not in earnest to end this paying business. The winter rains of this year were very heavy and bred pestilence. Shiva in December and January was compelled to distribute his horses throughout his dominions in order to stable them in comfort.*

Soon afterwards the Mughal power in the Deccan was crippled. The rising of the Khaibar Afghans became so serious that Aurangzib had to leave Delhi (7th April) for Hassan Abdal in order to direct the war from the rear and next month Dilr Khan was called to the North western frontier. Bahadur Khan was left alone in the Deccan with a greatly weakened force. This lull in the war was utilised by Shivaji to crown himself with the greatest pomp and ceremony. M. A. 132 F. R. Surat 88 Oxinden's Letter 21 May 1674.)

JADUNATH SARKAR

* Sabbasad 81 says that Hambir Raos raid extended over Khandesh Baglana Gujrat Ahmadabad Burhanpur Berar and Mahur to the bank of the Narmada and that the 1000 Mughal prisoners always lagged 30 or 40 miles behind so that the Marathas returned home unmolested and with all the booty.

* Naayan Shenvi's letter from Raigarh (F. R. Su at vol 88 O. C. 3906 and 3939) Datch Records vol 34 No 840.

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC SCRIPT

"THERE are many phonetic alphabets all else being equal the one most widely used is clearly the most valuable. We have therefore chosen for this book the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association which is already well known in England. It will commend itself by its great simplicity. So writes Mr. Walter Rappmann M.A. in his *Sounds of Spoken English* (New Version 1914 p. 23). Why should there be many phonetic alphabets all based though on the Roman? Would it not be a gain to the world if the leading schools of phonetic writing in Europe and America arrived at

a consensus about the representation of simple sounds of human speech by means of small Roman characters and supplementary modified small Roman characters so that a phonetic system of writing might be devised which could win its way to universal acceptance? On obvious grounds of utility capital letters must be discarded.

The three prominent schools of phonetic writing at present are the following:—(1) Orientalists who follow the system of transliteration which has come down from the time of Sir William Jones receiving slight modifications from time to time

and which has been employed in transliterating Oriental writing and in writing hitherto unwritten languages (2) Esperantists who follow the alphabet very simply devised by the late Dr Zamenhof, the founder of Esperanto (3) The adherents of the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association of Paris

Lepsius's Standard Alphabet, which in point of time came next after Sir William Jones's system of transliteration, though elaborately devised with a vast wealth of linguistic lore and acumen, has proved a practical failure on account of its complexity

The Phonetic Association of Paris which calls itself International, should take the lead in the devising of a phonetic script which may ultimately be accepted as a common script by all the world Its present script is open to some very serious objections I mention here certain prominent defects of the script, and give later on a detailed criticism of some of the characters given by Mr Rippmann on pp 24-25 of his book

1 The script has so many as five vowel characters and five consonantal characters for the English language as given by Mr Rippmann, that are widely different from Roman characters Why then not give up the Roman characters altogether and have in their place their uncouth broad Romic equivalents, which however serviceable they may be for a scientific handling of phonetics cannot answer well for the practical needs of life?

2 It calls itself phonetic, and yet anti-phonetically draws from Anglo Saxon the complex symbol, æ, for expressing the simple sound of a in the English word *bat*, and thus in face of the fact that the same complex symbol very properly expresses the diphthongal sound æ in Latin, as in the word *Cæsar* (sounded *kæ sar*)

3 It follows the wrong principle of representing kindred sounds by quite unlike characters in the case of the English *s* and *sh* sounds The Orientalists' *ś* and the Esperantists' *ŝ* with an angular mark over it are far preferable to the International Phonetic symbol for the English *sh* sound

4 It makes the sign indicate full length of a vowel sound and half length Could not the three grades of quantity—short, medium or half long, and long—of

the letter *a*, for instance, be indicated thus—*ā a ă*? A departure from old venerable usage is justifiable only under absolute necessity No innovation is admissible which is not clearly an improvement Another objection to the signs and *·* is that a vowel without either of the signs would stand for the short sound of the vowel and be the name of the vowel The name of a vowel with its short sound is practically very inconvenient.

Simple sounds wanting in the Latin language and so unrepresented by any existing Roman letter must have to be represented by modified Roman small letters It is difficult to settle how modifications may best be made It is desirable indeed that the modifications should be of a simple and uniform character Dotting is historically the oldest method of modification It is simple enough, but it has been objected to as being inconspicuous* A far more serious objection is that the use of more than two dots is noway convenient, and two dots cannot satisfy international requirements An international alphabet must have a stock of letters sufficient for all human languages It must have symbols besides for indicating Mongolian intonations and Hottentot clicks

Extension of a method of modification which has been adopted by both the International Phonetic Association and a section of Orientalists may perhaps have a favourable consideration from both the schools The same symbol is used by the International Phonetic Association and by Orientalists of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for signifying the English *ng* sound in *king*, which is wanting in Latin Now this symbol is but *n* with a little curve ending in a dot attached at the end Nay, the Roman letter *n* itself has a similar appendage at the top An extension of the method of attaching a dot ended curve, as shown below may not be unacceptable to the International Phonicians and the Orientalists The letter *d* with its dental Italian sound, which is the same as that of the Devanagari *ḍ*, being taken into consideration, there are, within my knowledge four other sounds that have to be represented by modifications of it, viz, the sound of the English *th* in *then*, which is the same as that of the Arabic letter called *zāl* in India and Persia, the sound of the

* The unnecessary dots in *i* and *j* are not discarded though

English *d* (not dental but alveolar) the sound of the Devanagari ढ (cerebral or front palatal and so somewhat different from that of the English *d*), the sound of the Devanagari ढ (which approaches the sound of the English *r* in *bird* and is transcribed as *r* or *r* by Orientalists though its sound is nearer to that of their *d* [= *v*] than of their *r* [= *r*]. By an extension of the dot-ended curve method *d* with a figure like a comma attached to it *d* with a figure like a reversed comma attached to it *d* with a figure like the Bengali letter ङ attached to it and *d* with a figure like the Bengali letter ञ reversed attached to it may respectively represent the four sounds mentioned above. Four appendages can not fully meet all requirements it may be urged. Requirements beyond the number four can be but few and they can be met by inserting under the letter concerned the initial letter of the name of the language to which any peculiar sound may belong.

There are eleven Latin vowels *a* *ā* *e* *ē* *o* *ō* *i* *y* *u* *ū* *ɥ* a sound unknown in common Latin and imported into the learned language from Greece it answers to French *u* or to German *u* in Müller with however a tendency to pass into *i*. Letting alone the imported *y* with its dubious sound the five Latin vowels each with its long and its short sound have not the same powers in all the languages that are written with Roman letters. In the English language, for instance the letter *a* has in addition to the proper long and short Latin sounds as in the words *father* and *maica* respectively so many as five other distinct sounds as in *any* *hate* *hat* *what* and *all*. In French the simple Latin *u* sound is represented by *ou* while *u* is used for expressing a peculiar French vowel sound. In English German and French *s* has sometimes the *s* and some times the *z* sound and in German *w* has always the *v* sound and *v* the *f* sound. Such divergences can have no place in a system of phonetic writing. Such writing justly demands that the Latin sound of every Roman letter should be recognized as its normal sound and that every variation from this normal sound should be represented by the Roman letter marked somehow.

* Brachet's *Etymological Dictionary of the French Language* Clarendon Press Series 2nd Edition Introduction p. xlv.

No country in the world is yet prepared to give up its established system of writing and adopt a purely phonetic system in its place. The International Phonetic Association of Paris very properly therefore does not aim at dethroning conventional French or English spelling and seating in its place its own phonetic system. It means its system to be a common instrument for phonetically representing the sounds of all languages for a special end viz the proper comprehension of the sounds by learners native or foreign. But it does not like Orientalists deal only with non European languages written in Oriental character or hitherto not written at all. It deals with the world's foremost languages—English French and German—which are written in Roman character (the German Black Letter Alphabet being substantially the same as the Latin and now on the way to yield place to it). It is quite legitimate therefore to desire that its system should be as faultless as possible and as well fitted for the daily purposes of life in writing and printing as to induce English speakers French speakers German speakers Spanish speakers Portuguese speakers and speakers of minor languages written in the Roman character to give up their particular conventional systems and adopt the phonetic system instead. The International Phonetic Script has however numerous faults and I state below in detail what appear to me to be faults in the phonetic signs for the sounds occurring normally in standard English given by Mr Rippmann on pp. 24-25 of his *Sounds of Spoken English* New Version 1914.

1 The first fault is that consonants are given together first and vowels afterwards. Vowels as capable of being sounded by themselves, should certainly come before consonants which cannot be sounded without the help of vowel sounds. Indian grammarians of a very remote past classed together vowels first in scientific order and consonants afterwards in like scientific order. In Mr Rippmann's lists of consonants and vowels there is not the good comprehensive scientific order found in the Devanagari alphabet which drew forth high encomium from the great philologist Lepsius.

2 The English *d* and *t* have not the same sounds as the Continental *d* and *t* of which the Italian sounds corre-

to those of the Devanagari ञ and ण, respectively, may be taken as the typical representatives. The English *d* and *t* are not dental, as the Italian *d* and *t* are, nor are they cerebral or front palatal like the Devanagari ञ and ण. They are alveolar, and so intermediate in sound between the dental and the cerebral. European scholars generally make no distinction between the English *d* and the Continental *d*, and between the English *t* and the Continental *t*. But an alphabet which claims to be phonetic and international is bound to make a discrimination in this matter. Even in English as spoken by Scotsmen, *d* and *t* are given their Italian sounds. The Scotsman's English does not indeed come under the head of "Standard English", but one who wants to study English phonetics scientifically is bound to recognise the Scottish sounds of *d* and *t*.

The order in which the letters *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*, *g* and *k*, *v* and *f*, etc., are given by Mr Rippmann, the letters for the voiced sounds preceding the letters for the unvoiced sounds calls for remark. The order is the reverse of that followed in the Devanagari alphabet. Which is the better order? The Devanagari order seems to be the better of the two.

3 The symbol for the *ng* sound in *sing* is far from being objectionable. Indeed it is commendable, it is a deft modification of the practice of dotting. The symbol has been adopted also by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

4 The *w* in *when* is represented by *Λ* (*w* turned upside down) with the remark that "it is doubtful whether this can be called a sound of standard English". What this supposed sound may be I am unable to guess. As I have heard the word pronounced by Englishmen, it has always sounded to my ears as *hwen*, and I am glad that *wh* is symbolised by *hw* in the system of respelling in the Oxford English Dictionary.*

5 If *v* be recognised as the Latin equivalent of the Devanagari ञ and the English *w*, the English *r*, which is equivalent to *ϑ* plus *ϑ* or *w* plus *h*, should be represented by *ϑh*.

6 Instead of the awkward Anglo-Saxon character, which is quite inimical to facile writing, *d* simply marked some

how, would be a better representative of the *th* sound in *clothe*.

7 Instead of the Greek letter *theta* for the sound of *th* in *cloth*, *t* somehow marked plus *h* would serve better, and this not only for convenience of writing, but also for the reason that this English *th* sound is not a simple sound but a compound of a modified *t* or *ϑ* sound and an *h* sound. It may also well be emphasised that the Greek letter *theta* cannot well fit into English writing.

8 The symbol given for the sound of *s* in *leisure* is not a newly invented symbol, but it is a big symbol. *Z* marked somehow would be a handier and so a better symbol.

9 The symbol given for the English *sh* sound is, as has already been remarked, very objectionable, as being quite unlike in shape to the letter *s*, which usually expresses a kindred sound but expresses also the same sound in *sugar*.

10 The analysis of the English *ch* sound into *tsh* and of the English *j* sound into *dzh* is accepted by Mr Rippmann. "The analysis has the support of such high authorities as Sir James Murray and Prof Whitney, and has evidently its origin in the French *tch* and *dj*." "Even though we accept the analysis (which some persons are not inclined to do)," says Mr J C Nesfield, M.A., "it would be very inconvenient to write *tsh* for *ch* and *dzh* for *j*. Moreover, the sounds in question are of such frequent occurrence in our language, that *j* and *ch*, even if they are diphthongal, deserve a place in our list of consonantal symbols."

"The compound consonants *ch* and *j*, in *church* and *judge*, have also strictly a right," says Prof Whitney, "to separate representation, since, though their final element respectively is [*s*] and [*z*] with an angular mark over each in the original, for *sh* and *zh*, their initial element is not precisely our usual *t* and *d*, but one of another quality, more palatal."†

If men of such high eminence as Prof. Whitney and Sir James Murray have held *ch* and *j* to be compound consonants, "some persons", we are told by Mr Nesfield, who is not one of them, "are not inclined" to accept this view. Among Mr Nesfield's "some persons" must be in

* Guide to Pronunciation in New International Webster's Dictionary 1912 p 161.

* Idiom Grammar and Synthesis 1914 p 434

† Language and Its Study 1880 p 02

cluded, I think, great English philologists from Sir William Jones down to Sir George Grierson, who have identified *ch* with *ʃ* with its modern sound and the corresponding Bengali and Persian letters, and *j* with *ʃ* with its modern sound and the corresponding Bengali and Persian letters. Nay all Englishmen in India who have been concerned with the spelling of such proper names as Chy't Singh Chunar, Chittagong, Jai Singh, Jodhpur and Punjab must come under the same category as the great philologists. I know also that a very clear-headed Englishman of high distinction, now spending the evening of his life in his native land after conspicuously meritorious service in India who holds the view that the *ch* and *j* sounds in English are simple sounds corresponding respectively to particular Bengali and Hindustani simple sounds. I do not mention his name here because I have not sought and obtained his permission to do so. It seems clear that all cultured men who speak English as their vernacular do not pronounce the English *ch* and *j* sounds in the same way. Some pronounce them as simple sounds, and others as compound sounds the elements of which cannot clearly be given, for the English *t plus sh* cannot in any way give the English *ch* sound, and the English *d plus zh* (= *z* in *azure*) cannot in any way give the English *j* sound. Nor is it at all clear to me that the Italian *t* sound or the English *t* sound in *thin* compounded with the English *sh* sound, could give the English *ch* sound or that the Italian *d* sound or the English *th* sound in *then* compounded with the sound of *z* in *azure* could give the English *j* sound. It is for the English-speaking world to settle how the English *ch* and *j* sounds are to be properly graphically represented. Perhaps *c* for *ch* and *j* marked somehow (to distinguish it from the German *j*) for *j* might answer. *ʃ* is already used by Orientalists for *ʃ*.

A foot note on p. 5 of Mr Rippmann's book contains a pregnant remark. 'It might be thought that reference to a dictionary would be sufficient to settle disputed points. However it may be said that no dictionary—not even the familiar Webster or the great Oxford English Dictionary, now in course of publication—can be implicitly trusted in matters of pronunciation. On the whole our dictio-

naries strive to record educated southern English speech with some concessions to Northern English.' A standardisation of the pronunciation of English for all English speaking lands appears to be desirable.

11 *ʃ* is given its German sound, the sound being said to be the same as that of *y* in *yes*. But can *y* be rightly recognised as a consonant in English, and does it not deserve to be rejected as a vowel, on the ground of its being superfluous?

12 Representation of the English *r* sound by the same symbol as the Continental *r* sound and the Devanagari *र* sound is bad. There should be a differentiating mark for the English *r* sound.

13 A word here about the *f* sound. Is it not a compound of a modified *p* sound and an *h* sound? This modified *p* sound does not indeed exist independently in English, and other languages that have the *f* sound. But this cannot make *f* a simple sound.

Though not connected particularly with Mr Rippmann a remark I have to make here about the practice in Europe of making *ts* stand for a simple sound. It is held to be equivalent to the German *z* and so the East Bengal *s* and to *ʃ* with its ancient sound. The sound of *ts* in *Tsar* is a simple and not a compound sound. So it should be represented by a single letter and not a combination of two letters. There is a close relation between this *ts* sound and the sound which *c* has partially in Italian as in the name *Medici*. *C* with this sound has been appropriated by Orientalists for the representation of *ʃ* with its modern sound. If *c* stands for this sound *g* would be a very appropriate substitute for *ts*.

Coming now to Mr Rippmann's list of vowels the first remark I have to make is that in giving pairs of vowels as consisting of a long and a short one each Mr Rippmann follows a method which is the reverse of that followed by Indian grammarians. The question is a physiological one. Did the long vowels originate first, or the short ones? The short ones appear to have originated before the long ones as is evidenced by the fact of the earliest alphabets being without vowel symbols. The Indian Grammarians appear, therefore, to have followed the right track.

I come now to details —

1 It is not at all clear to me that the first vowel sound in *bury* is organically different from that of *e* in *bet* and not a lengthening of it, so as to make it necessary to represent it by a new letter.

2 The impropriety of the symbol *æ* for the vowel sound in *bat* has already been shown.

3 It is not at all clear to me that the first vowel sound in *bite* is not simply the short of *a* in *father*, as is the first vowel sound in *house*, sounded *haus* (German *haus*), but an organically different sound that requires to be represented by a letter different in shape from *a* in *father*. I see no reason, again, why the historical hooed *a* should not be used in *father*, but be used for the first vowel sound in *bite* while the *a* in *father* should be represented by a new unhooded *a*. The unhooded *a* may well be used for the vowel sound in *pot* and *fun*.

4 The vowel long in *law* and short in *pot*, is represented by a new character quite different in shape from *o*, which in English and also in German has in some cases the sound of *o* in *pot*. Besides the objectionable shape of the letter, there is the further objection against it that it is very ill adapted for writing.

5 The inverted *e* adopted for representing the second vowel sound in *better* and the supposed long of this vowel sound in *burn* calls for a good deal of comment. Mr Nesfield, in his *Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis* 1914 p 431 calls the inverted *e* an "awkward looking symbol," and this awkward looking symbol and its doubling for indicating its long sound (the doubling not adopted by the International Phonetic Association) have the support of great names—Skeat, Sweet and Murray. But great men do sometimes fail to grasp all aspects of a question. The invention of the inverted *e* symbol has its origin in the English convention of expressing the sound of the symbol by *e*. The sound of *e* in the words *gather* and *confer* (Mr Nesfield's examples) has no affinity to the Latin sound of *e* but has affinity to the short sound of the Latin *a* and the

English sound of *u* in *hut* or *but*. Instead of an *e* inverted, a marked somehow would be a better means of representing the second vowel sound in *better*.

6 As for the new symbol for "the vowel sound" (evidently meant for the first vowel sound) in *butter*, I am unable to understand in what the sound of *u* in *butter* differs from that of *u* in *bun* and *burn*. Here one is reminded of what Max Müller says about Sir John Herschel's bearing "but the same sound in *spurt*, *assert*, *bird*, *dove*, *oven*, *double*, *blood*," and Sheridan and Smart's distinguishing "between the vowels in *bird* and *work*, in *whirl* and *world*." * It is not for a foreigner to venture to say anything about a question like this in which native Englishmen differ among themselves. But the recognition of *e* in *clerk* as having an *ā* sound, the transformation of *university* into *varsity* and the vulgar or provincial pronunciation of *sir* being written *sah* and of *sisters* being written *sistahs* † indicate even to the foreigner that the *e* in *her* and the *i* in *sir* have the short sound of the Latin *a* modified a bit. Mr Nesfield gives *e* in *confer* as the long of *e* in *gather*. Now the *fer* in *confer* is certainly not the same in sound as *far*. The *e* in *gather* and *confer* can thus be held to have a modified sound of the Latin *ā* and *ā* respectively.

The International Phonetic Association's method of nasalising vowels is the same as that of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The method is exceedingly good.

Who can say that one system of weights and measures, one system of coinage, and one common alphabet would not benefit the world? The world would take time indeed to attain these benefits. The dreams of to-day become the realities of to-morrow. Hope lies in this.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI

* Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language* 2nd Series 1864 p 112.

† Under the head of *Varieties* in the *Calcutta Statesman* of July 27 1902.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA*

I.

SWAMI Vivekananda who died in his fortieth year in 1902 is the greatest moral force in modern Hinduism and though his active life of preaching was confined to the last ten years of his crowded existence, thanks to his speeches pamphlets, letters and the books about him by his disciples of whom Sister Nivedita is the best known his ideas have now been widely disseminated in India and this work has been helped by the several organisations established at Belur (Calcutta), Mayavati (Almora) Benares Madras and other places to carry on his propaganda. The recently completed Life of the Swami in four volumes by his eastern and western disciples is a monumental work in which the story of a noble life has been ably told and in spite of its obvious deficiencies chief among which is too great an idealisation of the picture which is common to most biographies the spiritual side of the Swami's development and activities has been narrated in these volumes with a comprehensiveness and philosophic grasp which make them a standard work of reference for all students of Hindu religion and spiritual culture Indian and foreign.

The fifty seventh anniversary of the Swami's birth has recently been celebrated in all the centres associated with his name and it is a fitting occasion for taking stock of the character of the man and the ideas he stands for in modern Indian thought. As is well known he imbibed his religious ideas at the feet of his Master Paramhansa Ramkrishna for whom he

entertained the highest reverence. From his master he learnt the great lesson of his spiritual life—renunciation of lust and gold. By austere psychic practices deep and prolonged meditation continued for years' severe thought control and ascetic self discipline he totally crucified his flesh and attained a passionate purity of thought which wonderfully developed his will power and was the secret of his magnetic personality and of his great influence over men and women all the world over. Years of meditation and spiritual austerity were behind him and hence his very words were living potencies. One of his western lady disciples who knew him intimately for years said 'I never thought it possible for man to be so white so Christ as he was. It set him apart from other men. Another said that his presence was a perpetual benediction.' He literally radiated spirituality. Throughout his life as he says in one of his letters he strictly observed the ideal monk that he was the two great vows of the Sannyasin's life—poverty and chastity. He was a scholar mystic and philosopher. The great American mystic philosopher William James was his devoted admirer, Professor Wright of Harvard wrote to him 'To ask you Swami for your credentials is like asking the sun to state its right to shine.' The Chairman of the Committee for selecting delegates to the Chicago Parliament of Religions said of him 'Here is a man who is more learned than all our learned professors put together. While his learning attracted men of his type his character gained the admiration of scientists like Sir William Maxim the inventor of Maxim guns and world renowned actresses and artistes like Sarah Bernhardt and Madame Cécile. He had penetrated more deeply into the ancient scriptures of the Hindus than any other Hindu of the modern times and could hold learned discourses in Sanskrit with orthodox pundits. As a wandering monk who did not know where to lay his head, unburdened with any worldly possessions and enduring the severest privations, he

* The materials for this article have been collected and all the extracts made from the following books: (1) Life of Swami Vivekananda by his eastern and western disciples 4 vols. (2) Epistles 5 vols., (3) Bartaman Bharata (Modern India) (4) Prachya O Paschatya (East and West) (5) Bhad-bar Katha (Things which should make one think) (6) Parabrahma (Wanderer) (7) Speeches and Writings of Swami Vivekananda Nateson & Co. (8) Inspired Talks (9) The Master as I Saw Him by Sister Nivedita. Many of the extracts are from the published translations of the Swami's Bengali works but a few of the translations have been made by the compiler himself.

traversed the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, studying the manners, customs and religion of the people at first hand, and gaining thereby a wonderful knowledge of Indian sociology and of the cultural unity of Hinduism. A brilliant conversationalist and debater, a sweet singer of devotional songs, he was yet the ideal *Karma* yogin, a born leader and organiser. As a youth he had developed his muscles by gymnastic and athletic exercises. In him strength of character and devotional ardour and soft sympathy were blended in a rare union. He was the patriot saint of Modern India. Certainly none loved India more passionately than he. "My life's allegiance is to my Motherland, and if I had a thousand lives, every moment of the whole series would be consecrated to your service, my countrymen, my friends." He was the interpreter of the soul of India to her own children and to the world, the spirit incarnate of the culture of the Hindu race, the embodiment of its religious ideal before the modern world. By long and intense self-discipline and intimate acquaintance with all the varied aspects of religious India, he had earned his credentials to stand forth as the accredited champion and representative of Hinduism before the powerful and aggressive West.

The Swami was a philosopher, but in him philosophy was not confined to mere book learning, as is usually the case in the West. Philosophy and religion are one in Hinduism. "Religion is not in books, nor in theories, nor in dogmas nor in talking, not even in reasoning. It is Being and Becoming." Philosophy is not so much a process of ideas as of experience. It is the doorway to vision, to spiritual illumination. Mystical experience is the only guarantee of spiritual certitude. Religion is realisation. The end of philosophical concentration is insight. The superconscious state of ecstasy, trance, beatitude, is the true goal of religious experience. The training of the spiritual self by intense meditation and philosophic study, the transfiguration of personality, —these are the objects of religious exercises. The wandering monk—the *sannyasin*—is the apex of the social and spiritual aspirations of the Hindu race.

The mission of Vivekananda was summed up in two words—*Sera* and *Siva*—the life of meditation upon God

and service unto man. Of the latter, we will speak fully later on. Renunciation was his watchword in regard to the former. But as Sister Nivedita says: "Towards the end of his life I told him that renunciation (a life of poverty and silence, free, undimensioned, sovereign in its mastery) was the only word I had heard from his lips. And yet, in truth, I think that 'conquer!' was much more characteristic of him." Like all great men, he had immense faith in himself. "Really, there is so much power in me, I feel as though I could revolutionise the world." "I shall burst upon society like a bombshell and it shall follow me like a dog." "If I get only five hundred men in all India who understand I shall shake India to its foundations!" "India will hear me!" he used to exclaim. The Ramkrishna Mission embodies his ideal of *Sera*, and the Math at Belur was intended to work out his ideal of *Siva*. When the foundation of the Math was laid, Vivekananda said that it "will be the central institution for the practice of religion and the culture of knowledge. The spiritual force emanating from here will permeate the whole world." Let us hope that he has left worthy successors to carry on this high ideal.

In his posthumous 'India's Message to the world' he said that India's destiny was the regeneration of man the brute into man the God through renunciation. The conquest of the world by Indian spirituality was his favourite aspiration. Expansion is life, contraction is death. As a nation we must either expand or die.

Up India and conquer the world with your spirituality! Materialism and all its miseries can never be conquered by materialism. Armies when they attempt to conquer armies only multiply and make brutes of humanity. Spiritual by must conquer the West. We must go out we must conquer the world through our spirituality and philosophy. There is no other alternative, we must do it or die. The only condition of national life, of awakened and vigorous national life is the conquest of the world by Indian thought.

The expression 'Indian spirituality' has often been misunderstood, but the Swami used it in an all-comprehensive sense. As his biographers put it:

He knew already that the spiritual impetus once given would diversify itself into many channels of national usefulness and activity and would unify the Indians into a nation. This he knew would cement the fibres of the millions into one common purpose—the regeneration of the mother

universal toleration, the spiritual oneness of the whole universe. It is wonderfully rationalistic. It exactly harmonises with the aspirations of the age and with the conclusions of modern science.

But the distinguishing feature of Vivekananda's religious message is his insistence on making the Vedanta practically fruitful in life, or his doctrine of Practical Vedantism. India is full of Vedantists who have abjured the world for their own salvation, or who revel in the philosophic vision of the oneness of the Self with the Absolute, without allowing it to affect their notions of ordinary social life, divided into a thousand water-tight compartments by castes, customs and prejudices by a jot or tittle. It is Vivekananda who taught that, corresponding to the Vedantic ideal of oneness in the abstract, there should be a Vedantic social body, imbued with the doctrines of equality, fraternity and equal privilege, in the concrete. The historian Seely, who was a profound student of the political relations between India and England, pointed his unerring finger to the peculiarity of Hindu civilisation which "arrested and half-crushed" this "gifted race," viz., its pre-deliction for "reverie and the luxury of unbounded speculation." Vivekananda saw this vital weakness, and tried to apply the necessary corrective.

"Aye you may be astonished to hear but as practical vedantists the Europeans are better than we are. I used to stand on the sea-side of New York and look at the emigrants coming from different countries crushed down trodden hopeless. And mark you in six months those very men were walking erect well-clothed looking everybody in the face, and what makes this wonderful difference? Say this man comes from Armenia or anywhere else where he was crushed down beyond all recognition where everybody told him he was a born slave and born to remain in his low state all his life and at the least move he made they would crush him out. There everything told him, Slave! you are a slave, remain there. Hopeless you were born hopeless remain. Even the very air murmured round him. There is no hope for you hopeless and a slave remain. And when he landed in the streets of New York he found a gentleman well-dressed shaking him by the hand. Perhaps he went to Washington, shook hands with the President of the United States and perhaps there he saw men coming from the distant villages, peasants and ill-clad all shaking hands with the President. Then the veil of Maya slipped away from him. He is Brahman who has more awake and he rises up and finds himself a man in the world of men. Aye in this country of ours the very birthplace of the Vedanta our masses have been hypnotised for ages into that very state. To

touch them is pollution! Hopeless you were born, remain hopeless and the result is that they have been sinking, sinking, sinking, and have come to the last stage to which a human being can come. For what country is there in the world where man has to sleep with the cattle? And for this blame nobody else do not commit the mistake of the ignorant. The effect is here and the cause is here too. We are to blame stand up be bold and take the blame on your own shoulders. Do not go about throwing mud at others, for all the faults you suffer you are the sole and only cause. Young men of Lahore understand this, therefore—this great sin hereditary and national is on your shoulders. There is no hope for us

until there is that sympathy that love, that heart that thinks for all until Buddha's heart comes once more into India until the words of Lord Krishna are brought to their practical use, there is no hope for us. Therefore young men of Lahore, raise once more that wonderful banner of Advaita for on no other ground can you have that wonderful love until you see that the same Lord is present in the same manner everywhere. Unfold the banner of Love. Arise awake, and stop not till the goal is reached. At the present time there are men who give up the world to help their own salvation. Throw away everything even your own salvation, and go and help others. Here is practical Vedanta before you. This nation is sinking, the curse of unnumbered millions is on our heads to whom we have been giving ditch water to drink when they have been dying of thirst and when the perennial river of water was flowing past, the unnumbered millions whom we have allowed to starve at sight of plenty, the unnumbered millions to whom we have talked of Advaita and whom we have hated with all our strength the unnumbered millions against whom we have invented the doctrines of *lokshara* [local customs] to whom we have talked theoretically that all are same that all are the same Lord without even an ounce of practice. Our insincerity in India is awful what we want is character, that steadiness and character that make a man cling on to a thing like grim death. What we want is not so much spirituality as a little of bringing down of the Advaita into the material world first bread and then religion. We stuff them too much with religion when the poor fellows have been starving. No dogmas will satisfy the craving of hunger. There are two curses here first our weakness secondly our hatred our dried up hearts. You may talk doctrines by the millions you may have sects by the hundreds of millions aye but it is nothing until you have the heart to feel for them as your Veda teaches you, till you find they are parts of your own bodies till you and they, the poor and the rich the saint and the sinner all are felt to be parts of one Infinite whole which you call Brahman.

Vedantism teaches self reliance, it gives man faith in himself

Faith faith faith in ourselves faith in God this is the secret of greatness. If you have faith in all the 300 millions of your mythological gods and in all the gods which foreigners have now and again sent into your midst and still have no faith in yourselves there is no salvation for you. Have faith in your selves and stand up on that faith and be strong; that is what we need. Why is it that we 300 millions of people have been ruled for the last 1000 years by any and every handful of foreigners who

chose to walk over our prostrate bodies? Because they had faith in themselves and we had not. What did I learn in the West and what did I see behind those talks of frothy nonsense of the Christian religious sects saying that man was a fallen and hopelessly fallen sinner? There inside the national hearts of both Europe and America resides the tremendous power of the men's faith in themselves. An English boy will tell you, 'I am an Englishman, and I will do anything.' The American boy will tell you the same, and so will every European boy. Can our boys say the same thing here? No, not even the boys' fathers. We have lost faith in ourselves. Therefore to preach the Advaita aspect of the Vedanta is necessary to rouse up the hearts of men, to show them the glory of their souls. Arise, awake, awake from this hypnotism of weakness. None is really weak; the soul is infinite, omnipotent, omniscient. Stand up, assert yourself, proclaim the God within you, do not deny. Too much of inactivity, too much of weakness, too much of hypnotism, had been and is on our race. O ye modern Hindus, dehypnotise yourselves. The way to do that is to be found in your sacred books. Teach yourselves, teach every one his real nature, call upon the sleeping soul to see how it rises. Power will come, glory will come, goodness will come, purity will come, and everything that is excellent will come when this sleeping soul is roused to self-conscious activity.

Again,

"Would you believe me, you have less faith than the Englishmen and women, thousand times less faith! These are plain words, but I say them, can not help it. You are more wise than is good for you that is your difficulty. It is all because your blood is a pint of tar, your brain is sloughing, your body is weak!"

Vedantism teaches strength, and the first thing it should teach us is to acquire physical strength.

'I must tell you in plain words that we are weak, very weak. First of all is our physical weakness. That physical weakness is the cause of at least one third of our miseries. We are lazy, we cannot work, we cannot combine; we do not love each other, we are immensely selfish. That is the state in which we are, hopelessly disorganised mobs, immensely selfish, fighting each other for centuries, whether a certain mark is to be put this way or that way, writing volumes and volumes upon such momentous questions as to whether the look of a man spoils my food or not! These we have been doing for the last few centuries. We cannot expect anything more except what we are just now of a race whose whole brain energy has been occupied in such wonderfully beautiful problems and researches! And we are not ashamed. What is the cause of that? Physical weakness. This weak brain is not able to do anything; you must change that. Our young men must be strong first of all. Religion will come afterwards. Be strong, my young friends, that is my advice to you. You will be nearer to heaven through football than through the study of the Gita. Bold words are these. I have to say them. I love you. I know where the shoe pinches. I have got a little experience. You will understand the Gita better with your biceps muscles a little stronger. You will understand the mighty genius and the mighty strength of Krishna better with a little of strong blood in

you. You will understand the Upanishads better and the story of the *Atman* when your body stands firm upon your feet and you feel yourselves as men. You talk of reforms, of ideals, and all these for the last hundred years and when it comes to practice, you are not to be found anywhere. What is the cause? Is it that you do not know? You know too much. The only cause is that you are weak, weak, weak, your body is weak, your mind is weak. You have no faith in yourselves! Centuries and centuries, thousand years of crushing tyranny of castes and kings and foreigners and your own people have taken out all strength from you, my brethren! Like the trodden down, and broken and backbowed worms you are, who will give us strength? Let me tell you strength, strength, strength, is what we want. And the first step in getting strength is to uphold the Upanishads and believe that I am the soul. I wish that faith would come into each of you and every one of you would stand up a gigantic intellect, a world mover, a giant, an infinite god in every respect, that is what I want you to become.'

To Sister Nivedita the Swami said,

I preach only the Upanishads. If you look you will find that I have quoted nothing but the Upanishads. And of the Upanishads it is only that one idea, strength. The quintessence of the Vedas and the Vedanta and all lies in that one word. 'The longer I live, the more I think that the whole thing is summed up in manliness.'

In justification of his strong denunciations of Hindu society, he wrote

I have not been imported from foreign parts to do good to you so that I must perforce invent scientific explanations even for your follies. But what are such considerations to the foreign friend? All that he wants is cheap notoriety, what of the fact that whatever blackens your face also covers me with shame?

It is not our purpose in this article to enter into the spiritual side of the Swami's teaching. We shall now proceed to discuss his social views, which, in our opinion, are the most fruitful part of his teachings, as well as the ones which lay nearest to his heart. Since the Swami expressly repudiated politics as having anything to do with his activities, it is by his social exertions chiefly that his title to rank among the foremost of Indian patriots must be justified. His views on social questions are all the more deserving of consideration as they proceed from a fullness of love and knowledge rarely, if ever, equalled by his countrymen. In a fine passage, Sister Nivedita says

The thought of India was to him like the air he breathed. True he was a worker at foundations. He never used the word 'nationality' nor proclaimed an era of 'nation making.' 'Man making,' he said, was his own task. But he was a maker, a lover, and the queen of his adoration was his Motherland. Like some delicately poised bell

thrilled and vibrated by every sound that fell upon it, was his heart to all that concerned her. Not a sob was heard within her shores that did not find in him a responsive echo. There was no cry of fear, no tremor of weakness, no shrinking from mortification, that he had not known and understood. He was hard on her sins, unsparing of her want of worldly wisdom but only because he felt these faults to be his own. And none, on the contrary, was ever so possessed by the vision of her greatness. His country's religion, history, geography, ethnology, poured from his lips in an inexhaustible stream. Like some great spiral of emotion, its lowest circles held fast in love of soil and love of nature; its next embracing every possible association of race, experience, history and thought, and the whole converging and centering upon a single definite point, was the Swami's worship of his own land. And the point in which it was focussed was the conviction that India was not old and effete, as her critics had supposed, but young, ripe with potentiality, and standing, at the beginning of the twentieth century, on the threshold of even greater development than she had known in the past."

Unfortunately for this land, where centuries of slavery to caste and custom have annihilated free thought and freedom of action, the social reform movement inaugurated by Swami Vivekananda, which constitutes, as we have said, his best title to be counted among our greatest patriots, seems to us to be already on the wane; his biographers do not lay that emphasis on it which it deserves, and love rather to idealise the Hindu cult and customs, sometimes beyond recognition; his followers, at anniversary memorial meetings, prefer not to court unpopularity by dwelling too pointedly on the Swami's outspoken observations on social matters; and the general Hindu public, deceived by the fact that "to the customs of his own people, the Swami brought the eye of a poet and the imagination of a prophet," are being left more and more under the impression that the patriotism of the Swami consisted in his exaltation of Hinduism above other religions, his occasional defence of Indian society, and his denunciations of blind foreign imitation. The Swami realised that "when a man loses faith in his own historic past, he cannot have any self-respect and faith in himself. He realised that conquest is not of the body, or by the sword, but in the infusion of a foreign culture. When the mind of a people is conquered, then is there conquest in fact. And so he used to say that 'India can never become Europe until she dies.' And his faith in India's mission and her

place in world-civilisation will appear from the following extract from one of his speeches :

"Shall India die? Then from the world all spirituality will be extinct; all moral perfection will be extinct; All sweet souled sympathy for religion will be extinct; and in its place will rule the duality of lust and luxury as the male and female deities, with money as its priest, fraud, force and competition its ceremonies, and the human soul its sacrifice. Such a thing can never be."

The Swami was of opinion that conservative methods should be employed to bring about radical reforms. Assimilation was good, but mere metherking imitation was to be avoided. "And when," says Sister Nivedita, "he would lose himself, in splendid scorn of apology for anything Indian, in fiery repudiation of false charge or contemptuous criticism, or in laying down for others the elements of a faith and love that could never be more than a pale reflection of his own, how often did the habit of the monk seem to slip away from him, and the armour of the warrior stand revealed!" The average man in the street cannot be blamed if in this 'aggressive Hinduism' of the heroic monk he fails to recognise the ardent social reformer that Vivekananda really was, specially as some of his own utterances tend to obscure our vision in this respect in no small degree. In order to proceed along the line of least resistance, in the hope of obtaining the greatest result thereby, the Swami sometimes exhorted his disciples * not to preach directly against caste and social customs, and sometimes he even said things to suit the temper of his audience which, we know, did not represent his own real attitude. This mental reservation he probably justified by the logical process which he was often fond of quoting—the Arundhati Nyaya, which means adapting the truth to the intelligence of the audience. For instance, in his lecture on 'The Mission of the Vedanta,' he says :

"I must frankly let this audience know that I am neither a caste breaker nor a mere social reformer. I have nothing to do directly with your castes or with your social reformation."

That the Swami was both a caste-breaker and a social reformer, will be proved to demonstration from his own utterances quoted in the following pages.

Describing the influence of the Swami's wanderings all over India on the formation of his character, his biographers observe

"He had developed wonderfully. The caste-consciousness had been completely obliterated and the provincial consciousness in him had been superseded by that of the ethnological and racial oneness of the land. The Swami had grown from a Bengali into an Indian."

In the same lecture, again the Swami says:

"I have not one word of condemnation even for the most superstitious or the most irrational of its institutions for they also must have served to do us good in the past."

It is only necessary to observe with regard to this injunction, that the Swami's own public life was one long contradiction of this precept. Elsewhere the Swami says

"To the reformers I will point out, I am a greater reformer than any one of them. They want to reform only little bits. I want root and branch reform. Where we differ is exactly in the method. There is the method of destruction mine is that of construction. I do not believe in reform, I believe in growth. There is, then, another great consideration. Here in India, we have always been governed by kings. Kings have made all our laws, now the kings are gone and there is none left to take their place. The Government dares not it has to fashion its ways according to the growth of public opinion. It takes time quite a long time, to make a healthy strong public opinion which will solve its own problems and in the interim we shall have to wait. The whole problem of social reform therefore resolves itself into this: Where are those who want reform? Make them first. Therefore even for social reform the first duty is to educate the people and you have to wait till that time comes."

It is undoubtedly necessary to educate the masses in order to foster the growth of a healthy public opinion in favour of social reform, but it is also necessary, at the same time, to prepare the classes which are equally averse to such reform, by preaching its necessity, and pointing out, as the Swami himself has done, the gross abuses at present prevailing in society. It is moreover true that successful reform can only proceed from true sympathy, from one who passionately loves the people, knows all their failings and the causes to which they are due. But the extreme caution sometimes displayed by the Swami in order not to offend an ignorant mass among whom public opinion is yet to be developed has been mistaken for apathy to social reform on his part, and as the result of this we find orthodoxy exulting over his aggressive advocacy of Hinduism, which the

reforms which he preached with such burning eloquence, and without which he considered Hinduism as doomed, are as far off as ever. Following in his wake, we are now having a class of pseudo philosophic exponents of Hinduism whose stock in trade seems to be a mongrel sentimentalism which seeks to clothe in a poetic garb of justification even the most flagrant abuses prevailing in Hindu society under the guise of sympathetic interpretation and who preach the necessity of national evolution in accordance with the genius of the race unhampered by the superimposition of foreign ideals. The result of all this mystery mongering is that, what between the Scylla of the deadweight of popular apathy and native inertia, and the Charybdis of the *laissez faire* policy of sentimental nationalists who thought themselves seceders from orthodoxy in their social life are fond of obfuscating the Hindu public by their esoteric interpretations, the cause of social reform has progressed very little since Vivekananda burst upon society like a bombshell and shook India to its foundations, confident that India should hear him. This meagre achievement has convinced us that the Swami's occasional attempts at compromise with the orthodox and unreasoning section of his community by offering them bitter pills of reform in a sugared coating of flattering pictures of ancient glory, largely overdrawn, with a view to evoke their national self-confidence and win their allegiance to the cause of reform, was a mistake, and that had he confined himself in all cases to the truth as he had found it, and allowed it to tell its own sad tale, without being influenced by any questions of policy or expediency in the presentation of the case, his efforts at social amelioration would have stood greater chances of success. For the class whom he wanted to conciliate is represented in Hindu society by the Pundits, the custodians of the ancient culture, of whom, according to his biographers, Vivekananda thought that they "had become mere chattering of Sanskrit, grammar and philosophy and were only as so many phonographic records of its past, without being possessed of its spirit and of the sense of responsibility as to their adding to that culture the fruits of original intellectual and spiritual researches." Nor is it the

fact that Vivekananda had a blind admiration for Hindu philosophy and the Hindu sages

In one of his letters he says.

'The Hindu mind was ever deductive and never synthetic or inductive. In all our philosophies, we always find hurr-splitting arguments, taking for granted some general proposition, but the proposition itself may be as childish as possible. Nobody ever asked or searched the truth of these general propositions. Therefore independent thought we have almost none to speak of.

The personality of Krishna has become so covered with haze that it is impossible to day to draw any life giving inspiration from that life. Moreover, the present age requires new modes of thought and new life."

Sankara "was a tremendous upholder of exclusiveness as regards caste." He and Ramanuja were dry intellects, without the heart that feels for all. In the Vaishnav reformers "we find a wonderful liberalism as to the teaching of caste questions but exclusiveness as regards religious questions." "Dualists naturally tend to become intolerant. The Vaishnavs in India, who are dualists, are a most intolerant sect." Even Buddhism itself, of the founder of which Vivekananda always spoke with the greatest reverence, had one great defect. It introduced many wild and uncivilised races into the Aryan fold, who brought their superstitious and hideous worship with them, "and thus the whole of India became one degraded mass of superstition." The simple worship of the Vedic times vanished along with the Vedic sacrifices against which Buddha preached, to be replaced by 'the gorgeous temples, gorgeous ceremonies, and gorgeous priests' of the Buddhists. Thus Buddhism created Brahminism and idolatry in India." In a letter to a learned Hindu for whom the Swami had a high regard, he says

'One absolute Brahman without attributes I fairly understand and I see in some particular individuals the special manifestations of that Brahman. If those individuals are called by the name of God, I can well follow, otherwise the mind does not feel inclined towards intellectual theorisings such as the postulated Creator and the like.'

Such being some of the views of the Swami, it will be easily understood that in his attempt to walk in company with the orthodox he was soon bound to come at the parting of the ways, and reveal his real self by outspoken denunciations of orthodox customs and hoary abuses.

Let us now examine the views of the Swami, the apostle of modern Hinduism,

on the keystone of the faith—the caste system. We shall find that however carefully the Swami tried at times to speak guardedly in order not to give a rude shock to the orthodox section of his co-religionists, both in his speeches and letters and other writings, from which the following extracts have been made, the Swami has made it abundantly clear to every discerning reader capable of penetrating beneath the surface that he considered the caste system to be the greatest stumbling-block to Indian advancement and heartily wished for its death.

'With the question whether caste shall come or go I have nothing to do. My idea is to bring to the door of the meanest, the poorest, the noble ideas that the human race has developed both in and out of India, and let them think for themselves. Whether there should be caste or not, whether women should be perfectly free or not, does not concern me. Liberty of thought and action is the only condition of life, of growth and well being.' Where it does not exist the man, the race, the nation must go down. Caste or no caste, creed or no creed, any man or class, or caste, or nation, or institution which hars the power of free thought and action of an individual—even so long as that power does not injure others—is devilish and must go down.' "We preach neither social equality nor inequality, but that every being has the same rights, and insist upon freedom of thought and action in every way."

[To his disciples] "Preach against nobody, against no custom. Preach neither for nor against caste or any other social evil, preach to let "Hands off," and everything will come right." "In spite of all the ravings of the priests, caste is simply a cry of tallied social institution, which after doing its service is now filling the atmosphere of India with its stench, and it can only be removed by giving back to the people their lost social individuality. Every man born here [in America] knows that he is a man. Every man born in India knows that he is a slave of society. Now freedom is the only condition of growth. Take that off, the result is degeneration."

'I believe that the Satya Yuga will come when there will be one caste. This idea of Satya Yuga is what would revivify India. Believe it.'

'I fully agree with the educated classes in India, that a thorough overhauling of society is necessary. But how to do it? The destructive plans of reformers have failed. My plan is this. We have not done badly in the past, certainly not. Our society is not bad but good, only I want it to be better still.'

Now take the case of caste. The original idea of jati was the freedom of the individual to express his nature his Prakriti, his jati his caste, and so it remained for thousands of years. Not even in the latest books is intermarriage prohibited, nor in any of the older books is intermarriage forbidden. Then what was the cause of India's downfall?—the giving up of this idea of caste. The present caste is not the real

* Observe the Swami's pathetic attempt to conciliate society by smooth phrases and pleasing flatteries while enunciating new doctrine of caste, which is really the negation of all hereditary caste distinctions.

caste, but a hindrance to its progress. It really has prevented the free action of *jati*, i. e., caste, or variation. Any crystallised custom or privilege or hereditary class in any shape really prevents caste (*jati*) from having its full sway, and when ever any nation ceases to produce this immense variety, it must die. Therefore what I have to tell you, my countrymen, is this. That India fell because you prevented and abolished caste. Every foreign aristocracy or privileged class is a blow to caste and is not caste. Let *jati* (i. e. individual variations) have its way, break down every barrier in the way of caste and we shall rise. Now look to Europe. When it succeeded in giving free scope to caste and took away most of the barriers that stood in the way of individuals—each developing his caste—Europe rose. In America there is the best scope for caste (*real jati*) to develop, and so the people are great. Every one knows that astrologers try to fix the caste of every boy or girl as soon as he or she is born. That is the real caste—the individuality—and astrology recognised it. And we can only rise by giving it full sway again. This variety does not mean inequality nor any special privilege.

After thus expelling away caste to his own satisfaction, the Swami says

"This is my method—to show the Hindus that they have to give up nothing but only to move on in the line laid down by the sages and shake off their inertia, the result of centuries of servitude.

Had the Swami been alive today, he should have felt the futility of this method, for it has not gained a single adherent to the cause of reform which he had so much at heart, while it may possibly have strengthened in some minds the authority of the Shastras against the dictates of reason and humanity. Writing later in the same year, the Swami expresses himself much more vigorously and plainly in the following lines :

"Do you mean to say I am born to live and die one of those caste ridden, superstitious, merciless hypocritical atheistic towards that you find among the educated Hindus? I hate cowardice.

Now and then the Swami emphasised the evils of caste by referring to the activities of the Christian missionaries, specially in Deccan.

"They are converting the lower classes by lakhs and in Travancore the most priest ridden country in India—where every bit of land is owned by the Brahmins and where the females even of the royal family hold it as high honour to be in concubinage with the Brahmins—nearly one fourth has become Christian! And I cannot blame them. When, when O Lord, shall man be brother to man?"

In practical life, the Swami advocated the social equality of Islam.

"... Advaitism is the last word of religion and thought. We believe it is the religion of the future enlightened humanity. Yet practical Advaitism, which looks upon and behaves to all mankind as one's own soul, is yet to be developed among the

Hindus universally. On the other hand our experience is that if ever the followers of any religion approached to this equality in an appreciable degree in the plane of practical work a-day life, it is those of Islam and Islam alone. Therefore we are firmly persuaded that without the help of practical Islam, theories of Vedantism, however fine and wonderful they may be, are entirely valueless to the vast mass of mankind. For our own Motherland a junction of the two great systems Hinduism and Islam—Vedantic brain and Islamic body—is the only hope I see in my mind eye the future perfect India rising out of this chaos and strife glorious and invincible, with Vedantic brain and Islamic body."

Writing, after his judgment had attained full maturity, to a gentleman and scholar for whom the Swami had the greatest regard and whom he had approached in his younger days for the solution of many doubtful points in our Shastras, he says

The conviction is daily gaining on my mind that the idea of caste is the greatest dividing factor and the root of Maya,—all caste either on the principle of birth or of merit is bondage. Over and above, I come to see from my studies that the disciplines of religion are not for the Sadra, if he exercises any discrimination about food or about going out to foreign lands: it is all useless in his case, only so much labour lost. It is in the books written by priests that madnesses like that of caste are to be found and not in books revealed from God. Let the priests enjoy the fruits of their ancestor's achievement while I follow the word of God, for my good lies there.

In the Belur Math, the Swami, during the last years of his life, invested many non Brahmins with the sacred thread. A Kayastha lady disciple having signed her name as Dasi, which is a humble form of address literally meaning 'maid servant' he replied

"Why have you signed yourself as Dasi? The Brahman and the Kshatriya should write Deva and Devi [meaning god and goddess]. Moreover, these distinctions of caste and the like have been the invention of our modern sapient Brahmins. Who is a servant and to whom? Every one is a servant of the Lord." The Kshatriyas are the fathers of all that is noble and beautiful in Hindunism. Who wrote the Upanishads? Who was Rama? Who was Krishna? Who was Buddha? Who are the Tirthankaras of the Jains? Wherever the Kshatriyas have preached religion they have given it to everybody, and wherever the Brahmins wrote anything they would deny all right to others."

Turning now to Vivekananda's speeches, we find the same attempt to soothe the susceptibilities of the orthodox, but for a man of the Swami's genius and passionate humanitarianism, it is difficult to maintain the mask long, and his real views are soon apparent.

"Caste is good. That is the only natural way of solving life. Men must form themselves into

groups you cannot get rid of that. Wherever you go there will be caste. But that does not mean that there will be these privileges. They will be knocked on the head. If you teach Vedanta to the fisherman he will say, I am as good a man as you, I am a fisherman, you are a philosopher, never mind I have the same God in me as you have in you. And that is what we want, no privilege for any one, equal chances for everyone, let everyone be taught the Divine within and everyone will work out his own salvation. Liberty is the first condition of growth.

Not the English, no, they are not responsible, it is we who are responsible for all our misery and all our degradation, and we alone are responsible. Our aristocratic ancestors went on treading the common masses of our country under foot, till they became helpless, till under this torment the poor, poor people nearly forgot that they were human beings. They have been compelled to be merely hewers of wood and drawers of water for centuries, so much so that they are made to believe that they are born as slaves, born as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Not only so, but I also find that all sorts of most demoniacal and brutal arguments, culled from the crude ideas of hereditary transmission and other such gibberish from the western world are brought forward in order to brutalise and tyrannise over the poor all the more. Ye, let every man or woman and child without respect of caste or birth or weakness or strength, hear and know that behind the story of the weak, behind the high and the low, behind everyone, there is that infinite soul assuring the infinite possibility and the infinite capacity of all to become great and good.

In the Satya Yuga there was only one caste to start with and that was that of 'the Brahman.' We read in the Mahabharata that the whole world was in the beginning peopled with Brahmins, and that as they began to degenerate they became divided into different castes, and that when the cycle turns round they will all go back to that Brahmanical or gun. This cycle is now turning round, and I draw your attention to this fact. The command is the same to you all and that command is that from the highest Brahmin to the lowest Pariah, every one in this country has to try and become the ideal Brahmin.

The days of exclusive privileges and exclusive claims are gone gone for ever from the soil of India and it is one of the great blessings of the British rule in India. Even to the Mahomedan rule we owe that great blessing destruction of exclusive privilege. The Mahomedan conquest of India was as a salvation to the downtrodden to the poor. This is why one-fifth of our people have become Mahomedan. And one-fifth—one half—of your Madras people will become Christians if you do not take care. Yet with all this there ought to be no more fight between the castes. The solution is not by bringing down the higher, but by raising the lower up to the level of the higher the whole work is to raise the Chandala up to the level of the Brahmin. There are books in which you read such fierce words as these: 'If the sudra hears fill his ears with molten lead, and if he remembers a line, cut him to pieces.' If he says to the Brahmin you Brahmin, eat his tongue out. Diabolical old barbarism no doubt it goes without saying, but do not blame the law givers simply for recording the customs of some section of the community

what prevents any caste from declaring they are Brahmins? Thus caste with all its rigour, has been made in that way—Say there are castes here with ten thousand people each. If these put their heads together and say 'we will call ourselves Brahmins,' nothing can stop them, who is to say nay? those great epoch makers, Sankaracharya and others, were the great caste makers. I cannot tell you all the wonderful things they manufactured, and some of you may be angry with me. But in my travels and experiences I have been tracing them out, and most wonderful results I have arrived at. They would sometimes get whole hordes of Beluchis and make them Kshattriyas in one minute, whole hordes of fisher men and make them Brahmins in one minute. They were all Rishis and sages and we have to bow down to their memory. Well, be you all Rishis and sages. That is the secret. I am extremely sorry that in modern times there is so much fight between the castes. This must go. It is useless on both sides on the side of the higher caste, specially the Brahmin, because the day for these privileges and exclusive claims is gone. The duty of every aristocracy is to dig its own grave and the sooner it does, the better. The more it delays, the more it will fester and die a worse death. It is the duty of the Brahmin, therefore, to work for the salvation of the rest of mankind in India. So this accumulated culture of ages of which the Brahmin has been the trustee, he must now give to the people at large, and it was because he did not give it to the people at large that the Mahomedan invasion happened. It is because he did not open this treasury to the people at first that for a thousand years we have been trodden under the heels of everyone who chose to come to India the Brahmin must suck out his own poison.

Elsewhere the Swami spoke of 'the crushing tyranny of caste,' and he repeatedly pointed out that the soul has neither caste, nor creed, nor sex, and in one of his letters he advocated perfect freedom of marriage as well as food and dress, but it is needless to dilate at greater length on the subject. As there is nothing in the world which is wholly evil, caste has one good point which did not escape the Swami's notice. In his "Modern India" he says "The sages Vasistha and Narada, who were sons of prostitutes, Satyakama Jabala, the son of a female slave, Vyasa the fisherman, Kripa, Drona, and Karna, of unknown paternity, were raised to Brahmanhood or Kshattriyahood on account of their knowledge or heroism, what the communities of prostitutes, slaves, fishermen, or chariot drivers gained thereby, is to be considered. On the other hand those who had fallen from the Brahman, Kshattriya, and Vaishya castes were constantly accepted in Sudra society. In Modern India, not even a great scholar or a millionaire sprung from the ranks of the Sudras has the right to leave his own society. Consequently the influence of

their intelligence, learning, and wealth, being confined to their caste is being applied to the improvement of their own social circle. In this way the hereditary castes of India, unable to alter their social

status, are slowly raising the individuals within the boundaries of each district caste group."

(To be concluded)

A HINDU ADMIRER

THE CHOICE BEFORE THE WESTERN WORLD

By MRS ST Nihal SINGH

ALLIED Europe, as well as America is passing through a great moral and spiritual crisis. In essentials they are seeking to get out of the same darkness—they are struggling against narrow mindedness and selfishness. But outwardly they are attempting to solve problems that, to a casual observer, bear no relation to each other.

For Allied Europe the struggle is to achieve a peace of justice and not of conquest. Her higher impulses tell her she must not let her land hunger or vindictiveness dictate the terms. She can either abuse her late enemies, increase their hatred for her, and drive them to resort to cunning to encompass her downfall, or she can pave the way for reunion, make reconstruction possible in countries that, not so very long ago, were bent upon destruction as well as in lands that have been wantonly devastated, make it possible for democracy to prevail in communities that have tasted the bitterness of defeat, and help those nations towards the old ideal, rediscovered during the war, of human fellowship and co-operation.

Which alternative will she choose?

The last election in England was fought on such cries as "Kill the Kaiser," "Make the Hun pay," and "Banish the Hun." The same sentiments prevail now though not with quite the same intensity. The same is true of the other Allied countries. Throughout the war Imperialists everywhere in Europe saw the chance to extend their territories and, under the guise of one pretext or another, or quite openly, agitated for annexations.

The French, not content with "dis-annexing" Alsace Lorraine, laid claim to the rich Saar coal fields, to Syria, and to

a share of the ex-German colonies in Africa. When reminded of the formula of national rights on which the war was fought, they quickly shifted their ground to economic necessity—the Saar coal fields might be given to them as a compensation for the havoc wrought by the Germans in the French coal fields under their occupation. In regard to Syria, the expansionist party set up the cry for what it called *La Syrie Integrale*, that is to say, Palestine as well as Syria and based its claims upon 'historic grounds' and "community of culture." By historic grounds the expansionists meant that the French had taken part in the Crusades, and by community of culture that they had a few missionaries in the Levant who had established a few churches and schools and converted some of the population. Ever since Togoland was wrested from the Germans in 1914, it has been almost equally divided between the British and the French while German South West Africa and German East Africa have been administered by the British. The French expansionists desired, no doubt, the extension of their half of Togoland, and slices of the other territories, if not "compensation" for them.

Belgium, too, has pressed her claim for the rectification of her boundaries. She has been anxious not only for slices of contiguous land, but also for bits of Africa.

Italy's ambitions have, likewise, been whetted by the war. Her claims for Austrian territory have brought her into conflict with the Czechs-Slovaks—a conflict that statesmen are finding it most difficult to settle. Her Imperialists have desired to extend and improve their

African Empire, and have staked out claims in the Eastern Mediterranean, basing such claims upon historic and other rights

Signor Girodani says, for instance, in his book, "The German Colonial Empire, Its Beginning and Ending," that the remembrance of "the tradition of Imperial Rome and that of the maritime and colonizing supremacy of" the Italian Republics, has not yet been extinguished in these places. He adds that "until a few years ago the only European language spoken along the whole Asiatic coast and even in upper Mesopotamia, in the Vilayet of Orfa besides Greek, was Italian, and Italian is still the language used by sailors." He further says that Italy has convent schools, hospitals, and religious institutions throughout the Turkish Empire, and that the guardianship of the Holy Land was founded by St Francis of Assisi and despite French claims to the contrary is entirely Italian. He claims that even more than tradition, religious institutions, military occupation, and industrial concessions, Italy derives her right to the Mediterranean territory from the emigration of her sons to those parts Italian "Artisans, navvies, masons," he says, have given their hand—badly recompensed for the most part—to the construction of French harbours, the work of English railways and mines, and to the German *Bagdadban*. He further asserts that Italian engineers have given their best talents, and humbler merchants and employees are in every town of the Turkish Empire very indifferently protected. Hence Italy must have a slice of Turkey.

How bitter indeed, is this writer against the Japanese! He exclaims "Think of the dark and tragic situation created by the Japanese occupation of

Chao, which took place with the assistance rather than with the effective participation of England, but which for Japan has been the key, robbed from Europe, for the conquest of the greatest colony of the world—China." He dislikes Japan not because that country is aggressive and expansionist, how could he indeed? but because it is not European, and because the Japanese hegemony in the Far East bodes no good for European influence in Asia.

Greece, from the moment she came into the war, has clamoured for choice bits of

Turkey. M Venizelos, her trusted leader, is a "strong man" and the claims that he has put forward certainly show extreme candour.

British Imperialism has not been so blatant as Imperialism on the Continent, but that does not mean that British expansionists are not anxious to get the lion's share out of the scramble. The bulk of the African and Asiatic territories wrested from the enemy has been in their possession. They are pressing for the conversion of Jerusalem into a British Dominion colonized by Jews and governed on the "Crown Colony model" by Jews, preferably British Jews. They desire the new Arab State to be under their protection. Little is said about the future of Mesopotamia, which is, in effect, an "Indian" province, and the claims of the Egyptians who demand that their country be returned to them are condemned by British Imperialists as extravagant.

Perhaps the most illuminating statement that has been made on the subject is contained in an article recently contributed to the *Pall Mall Gazette* (London) by Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, whom Lord Curzon chose to head his Tibetan Mission. Sir Francis writes that in addition to the satisfaction and pride resulting from the good work done in India and Egypt, the British got considerable material benefits from increased prosperity, which efficient administration brings. Increased production, he says, enables the British to obtain more raw materials and food. The rise in the standard of living and greater purchasing power enable the British to sell more manufactures, especially cotton goods. Capital investments yield good interest. He urges, therefore, the taking over of Palestine and Mesopotamia, where heavy cost has been incurred upon military operations, roads, and railways.

If Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and India are considered together, Mr Francis Younghusband declares, and troops are properly distributed and means of quick transport made abundantly available, the British garrison for all four lands need not exceed the pre-war garrison in India and Egypt.

Unlike Europe, America has no ambition for territorial expansion or for any other sort of aggrandisement or gain.

She is however in the throes of a struggle to look beyond the American Continent.

America waited and watched the course of the war year after year hoping against hope that she would not be drawn into the European welter of blood. When Germany made it impossible for her to remain an onlooker she took up the weapons of war in the spirit of a crusader to deliver European peoples from militarist madness. Most Americans looked upon it as an adventure—noble but limited—and they felt that after it was over their country would be able once again to slip back into that state of lofty detachment from which she had emerged for a specific object.

With the defeat of Germany and her satellites Americans who believed in keeping America free from the muck of the Old World returned to their charge with increased vigour. As the days lengthened into weeks and months after the signing of the armistice their campaign became more intensified and at the time of writing Dr. Wilson and all the other Americans who can see beyond the Monroe Doctrine find themselves assailed by these forces.

The President and other far-sighted Americans fully realized however that in undertaking a large honourable and determining part in the conflict the United States was committing herself to responsibilities from which it would be impossible for her to extricate herself. Even those who were opposed to the President's way of thinking not necessarily for party reasons had a shrewd idea of whether participation in the European war was leading their country and that was perhaps the most potent reason why they fought to the last moment to keep the United States neutral.

It was a correct reading of American character that led Dr. Wilson to declare war and it was an equally correct reading of American character that has made him commit his country to the League of Nations idea. Whether the present United States Congress will or will not endorse the President's policy in this respect is problematical but it is pretty certain that the American people outside Congress will accept the responsibility to which he has committed them.

Americans are an emotional idealistic and imaginative people and this expan-

sion of what they regarded as a noble but limited adventure into permanent responsibility for the peace of the world will captivate them. While they will undoubtedly insist upon a special guarantee for the perpetuation of the Monroe Doctrine and also for the preservation of American freedom to deal with such questions as immigration the agitation against any participation in world responsibilities whatever will die out in course of time.

Is it not significant that Dr. Wilson some of whose people are clamouring for isolated existence should have been the man but for whose influence the Peace Conference at Versailles may not have given precedence to the consideration of ways and means to secure international co-operation and to ensure permanent peace over the discussion of all other issues? In doing so the American President has shown that he possesses the rare faculty of discriminating between clamant rival interests and assigning to them values in strict relation to their effect upon human well-being and progress. Had he lacked strength of will his power of perception would have been of little avail for friend and foe alike clamoured for the solution of other problems.

The presence of the New World at the Peace Conference has certainly imposed some check upon the European appetite for expansion. The American President supported by European democracy has already succeeded in moderating the demand for indemnities and has been able to prevent conquered territories in Asia and Africa from being annexed by European Powers.

The Conference has however refused to arrange for international control of these territories providing for a system of administration by trustees each portion of such territories being entrusted for administration and development to one or the other of the Powers (or Dominions) acting as the League's agent. Even that compromise has rendered the expansionists of all nations speechless.

It is now an open secret that the President was not able to persuade the Commission over which he presided to adopt the scheme that the American delegation presented to it. The draft on which the Covenant of the League of Nations published on February 14th, 19

based was British. It appears to me to be a cross between the scheme propounded by the League to Abolish War, of which Mr F Harbet Stead, a younger brother of the late W T Stead, is the convener, and the Rt Hon George N Barnes of the British War Cabinet, is Chairman, and the plan elaborated by the Rt Hon General Smuts in the pamphlet that he recently issued through Messrs Hodder and Stoughton London.

The authorship of the covenant does not matter so long as the machinery designed by it is international and democratic in character and so long as it is capable of working efficiently and smoothly. Does the covenant fulfil these conditions?

The Executive Council that will dominate the League, as at present designed, will be unsatisfactory from the international point of view. Only one seat out of nine is earmarked for the United States—all the other American countries are left to scramble for one or more of the four unassigned seats. Similarly, only one seat is set aside for Asia—and that for Japan, whose ambitions lay her open to Asiatic suspicion. Africa has no place whatever in the Executive Council. No definite place has been set aside for Germany, Russia and whatever may remain of Austria Hungary after the former dual monarchy has been reorganized. The enemy countries and neutrals have not been debarred, but their election depends upon the votes of the five associated Powers which so long as the covenant is not amended, will enjoy a clear majority.

The constitution is moreover, undemocratic. As at present contemplated the Executive Council will be composed of Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers

of various nations and not of representatives specially chosen by the various peoples themselves. Besides, the Council will not be responsible to the body of Delegates, to be composed of representatives of all the nations admitted into the League.

The League of Nations is not prepared to make its own arrangements for the administration of territories wrested from the Germans and the Turks and not to be returned to them. Some of them are to be organized into States which will be subject to advice and assistance from individual members of the League, while the others will be administered, in nearly every case, as if they were integral parts of territories belonging to one or the other members of the League.

The Covenant does not forbid the manufacture of arms by separate nations, or even compel nations to nationalize such industries. It does not call, with a clear voice for the reduction of armies, navies, and air forces to mere police establishments. It is silent about the creation of an international police force that would exclusively be responsible to the League, and would be used against recalcitrant nations as it might direct.

Since the constitution adopted for the League follows lines of the British Empire, the League will closely follow the pattern of the Imperial Conference and Imperial Cabinet. It is not to be a real federation, not a supernational authority or World State. Therein it falls short of the ideal, and may fail to be an efficient organ for the management of international affairs, about which the Covenant has very little to say. Democrats all over the western world are pressing for drastic amendment and I hope they will succeed.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

JOHN CHRISTOPHER *By M Romains Rolland*

This remarkable novel is the product of the pen of the celebrated French author M Romains Rolland a Nobel Prize winner. A cultured English lady who has never seen India but whose

sympathies are wide enough to embrace the world thus wrote from Scarborough to an Indian friend some time ago — War is terrible! No good thing can come out of it I feel convinced; but I suppose it must be the natural result of causes we have ourselves set in motion. At any rate it should do us good one would think. But if it is

going to introduce a cast iron military system in Great Britain, it will only have plunged us further into the mire. I don't know what you think of our European civilisation: it shows how far we have wandered from the teachings of Jesus." The gospel of love which Jesus taught is indeed utterly repugnant to the spirit of rivalry and hatred which prevails in Christian countries and which was undoubtedly at the root of the recent Armageddon. There was no more earnest champion of Christianity in all Europe than the megalomaniac of Potsdam who brought about the dreadful conflagration; and it cannot be denied that there was ample inflammable material all round him when he struck the match. How is this condition of things to be accounted for? It may at first sight look as if Christ was in sober earnest when he said "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword." But as a matter of fact we know that the whole tendency of his teachings is towards humanity. For the Gospel of Hatred we must indeed turn not to the New but to the Old Testament. The feeling of pity (not unmixt with contempt) for pagans and unbelievers which finds place in the new book can only be regarded as a survival of the baneful teachings of the old Hebrew chroniclers.

The foregoing paragraph is only intended to draw the reader's attention to an illuminating page in 'JOHN CHRISTOPHER,' dealing with this subject. Christopher, the German musician, stands for the worship of force, *Taatsrecht*, he is a disciple of Nietzsche and a believer in the power of the mailed fist. He is imbued with the Old Testament spirit and he wants his friend Olivier, the generous young Frenchman to adopt the old device of hate. *La loi Barbare*, or "France for the French." Olivier is a typical Frenchman to whom all questions of race superiority are repulsive. He is in rapport with all humanity and his emphatic reply is "No. Such a device is not for the French. Any attempt to propagate it among our people under cover of patriotism must fail. It is good for barbarian countries! But our country has no use for hatred. Our genius never yet asserted itself by denying or destroying the genius of other countries, but by absorbing them." The book was written and published before the war broke out and to the student of history as well as to the general reader the following dialogue cannot fail to be interesting and instructive.

"There is no blood in your veins" said Christopher, "and on top of that all sorts of Christian ideas! Your religious education in France is reduced to the Catchism—the emasculate Gospel, the tame boneless New Testament Humanitarian clap-trap always fearful. And the Revolution Jean-Jacques Robespierre, 48 and, on top of that, the Jews! Take a dose of the full, wonderful Old Testament every morning."

Olivier protested. He had a natural antipathy for the Old Testament, a feeling which dated back to his childhood when he used secretly to pore over an illustrated Bible, which had been in the library at home, where it was never read, and the children were even forbidden to open it. The prohibition was useless! Olivier could never keep the book open for long. He used quickly to grow irritated and saddened by it, and then he would close it; and he would find consolation in plunging into the *Iliad*, or the *Odyssey*, or the *Arabian Nights*.

"The gods of the *Iliad* are men, beautiful, mighty, vicious. I can understand them," said Olivier. "I

like them or dislike them. even when I dislike them I still love them. More than once, with Patroclus, I have kissed the lovely feet of Achilles as he lay bleeding. But the God of the Bible is an old Jew, a maniac, a monomaniac, a raging madman, who spends his time in growling and hurling threats and howling like an angry wolf, raving to himself in the confinement of that cloud of his. I don't understand him, his perpetual curses make my head ache, and his savagery fills me with horror.

'The burden of Moab ..

'The burden of Damascus ..

'The burden of Babylon ..

The burden of Egypt ..

"The burden of the desert of the sea ..

"The burden of the valley of vision ..

'He is a lunatic who thinks himself judge, public prosecutor and executioner rolled into one, and, even in the courtyard of his prison, he pronounces sentence of death on the flowers and pebbles. One is stupefied by the tenacity of his hatred which fills the book with bloody cries, a cry of destruction... the cry is gone round about the borders of Moab the howling thereof unto Eglaïm, and the howling thereof unto Beerelim.

Every now and then he takes a rest, and looks round on his massacres and the little children done to death, and the women outraged and butchered and he laughs like one of the captains of Joshua, feasting after the sack of a town.

'And the Lord of hosts shall make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wine on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wine on the lees well refined. The sword of the Lord is filled with blood, it is made fat with fatness, with the fat of the kidneys of rams ..

"But worst of all is the perfidy with which this God sends his prophet to make men blind, so that in due course he may have a reason for making them suffer.

'Make the heart of this people fat and make their ears heavy and shut their eyes. Let them see with their eyes and hear with their ears and understand with their heart and convert, and be healed.—Lord, how long? Until the cities be wasted without inhabitants, and the houses without men, and the land be utterly desolate.

'Oh! I have never found a man so evil as that! I am not so foolish as to deny the force of the language. But I cannot separate thought and form and if I do occasionally admire this Hebrew God it is with the same sort of admiration that I feel for a viper or a (I'm trying in vain to find a Shakespearean monster as an example I can't find one even Shakespeare never begat such a hero of hatred—monstrous and virtuous hatred). Such a book is a terrible thing. Madness is always contagious. And that particular madness in all the more dangerous inasmuch as it sets up its own murderous pride as an instrument of purification. England makes me shudder when I think that her people have for centuries been nourished on no other fare. I'm glad to think that there is the dyke of the Channel between them and me. I shall never believe that a nation is altogether civilised as long as the Bible is its staple food.

"In that case," said Christopher, "you will have to be just as much afraid of me, for I get drunk on it. It is the very marrow of a race of lions. Stout hearts are those which feed on it. Without the antidote of the Old Testament the Gospel is tasteless and unwholesome fare. The Bible is the

bone and sinew of nations with the will to live, A man must fight, and he must hate.

Have we here a part of the secret of the white man's race pride which manifests itself in his relations with 'coloured' people all over the world and is probably seen at its worst in the United States of America which lead the van of Christian civilisation?

S. H.

CIVIC AND NATIONAL IDEALS by Sister Nivedita, second Edition Price Re 1 1918. Udbodhan Office, Calcutta.

The distinctive quality of Sister Nivedita's writings—that which gives them their peculiar charm—is their intense suggestiveness. Often as we read the sentences one after another, they fail to carry any distinct, definite, clear cut meaning to the mind. But the impression produced by the whole lingers in the brain, and gradually becomes more and more distinct, and gives an altogether new orientation to our thoughts, radically transforming our entire attitude, our whole outlook, and when, after a considerable lapse of time, we watch the result, we find that we have learnt to judge everything from the national point of view. And this national standpoint, at first intensely aggressive, gradually takes on a more sober hue, and on second reading we lay the emphasis on many points which had escaped our notice in the first flush of our enthusiasm, and which show that though the Sister had so strong an admiration for India and her civilisation, she was not, in spite of occasional exaggeration and idealisation, unconscious of the serious drawbacks which must be overcome if India is to take her rightful place among the living nations of the world.

The little book under review is a collection of short essays on civism, nationalism and painting, and like all other writings from the same pen, amply repays perusal. We shall cull a few sentences by way of present to the reader. "The age which is discovering nothing new, is already an age of incipient death. That philosophy which only recapitulates the known, is in fact a philosophy of ignorance. It is because in our country [India] to-day great thoughts are being born because new duties are arising, because fresh and undreamt of applications are being made of the ancient culture, that we can believe the dawning centuries to be before us." "Not in history alone, but in history in common with every form of classical learning Indian criticism has to be redeemed from the elaborate pursuit of trifles. It is common enough to find that the study of the Bhagavad Gita has become mere hair splitting about a noun here or a preposition there. But this failure to see the forest for the trees cannot in any true sense be considered knowledge of the Gita. The power and habit of making large generalisations has to be recaptured by the Indian mind. And nowhere more so than in dealing with history." "Buddhism was, in fact, simply Hinduism nation altered, that is to say, Hindu culture plus the democratic idea. Hinduism alone, in its completeness, can never create a nationality, for it then tends to be dominated by the exclusiveness of the Brahmin caste.

And to-day the last trace of religious and social prejudice is to be swept away, and the idea of nationality itself, pure, radiant, and fearlessly secular, is to emerge in triumph, giving meaning and consistency to the whole of the previous evolution." The beneficial influence of caste in the development of art

industries has often been dwelt upon, and Sister Nivedita also admits that "caste education has the advantage of causing accumulation of skill from generation to generation." But she also points out the bankruptcy of creative imagination that resulted from the same cause, and ultimately led to their ruin. "For an art that is followed by a hereditary guild tends to an unendurable sameness tends to become ridden by conventions, till at last the mind of the community revolts, and seeks new ideals." Alluding to the tradition that royal ladies of the Mughul Court used to spend fabulous sums in the purchase of illuminated manuscripts the artistic value of which is appreciated only by trained connoisseurs, the authoress says: "In great ages, woman is always educated, always competent, and often literary. Her ignorance marks the on-coming of national decadence." "It was a Mahomedan who composed the Ascription to the Ganges that every Hindu child in Bengal learns in his boyhood. In doing so, he was the forerunner of a new era in literature. Even now we are only on the threshold of that great age. But many who are young to-day will not have grown old before these things shall come to pass. To Indian hearts, Hindu and Mahomedan alike, high caste and lowly born, woman and man, there will be no symbol so holy as, firstly, their mother land, and secondly, their city. The civic life will offer a conception as clear as that of family and home. The duties of citizenship will seem not less precious than those of *jati* and *samaj*."

The getup of this little book is all that could be desired. The paper, binding and letter press are all excellent, and we have noticed very few printing mistakes. In its present shape, it forms a beautiful prize book for freshmen in our colleges, especially as the price is quite moderate.

Q

THE SILKEN TASSEL by Ardeshr T. Khabardar (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar).

Mr J H Cousins in his Introduction to this book says of the author: "He has lived and listened so closely to Keats and Francis Thompson and other masters of lyrical English, and he has made their speech and method so fully his own—in these English poems of his—that it is only on the rarest occasion that a close reader comes on an account which discloses the foreign lip." This is high praise. But the reader of these poems will acknowledge that there is little of exaggeration in it. We have been familiar with some of Mr Khabardar's productions through the pages of the 'East and West'. But one can never understand him truly without going through a connected series like the present one. He has tasted of the joy of human love and Divine vision and through these poems he gives us ample evidence of his genuine emotions. Like every truly feeling person he wavers between darkness and light, between tears and smiles. He is puzzled by the "Riddle of Life."

'Duty feels but it can move not,
Love appeals but it can prove not,
Hope entreats but Reason hears not,
Hope doth tremble but Truth fears not
Life is virtue, Life is Duty,
Life is but one painful beauty.
Then in all your curled pleasure
Keep for aye its central measure."

In this mood "When hopeless fancy finds a trembling fate and all—the world a starless darkness seems" he welcomes "sweet death" to approach

"Soft as the starry footsteps of the Night." He then feels "What are your smiles of the golden morn?" and "what are your strides for a hope forlorn?" "The world is all but a dream!" He looks forward to a release from these prison walls, to a journey to the "Life Beyond" where "Life is real, Life is true." He thinks of the "Kiss of kings" and remembers the "Plate of Krishna" and the tale of Radhika, "thence he drifts away to thoughts of earthly love and feels that here is ground to take shelter in from the storm of worldly life, that here is "A rainbow bright between a smile and frown." Addressing time, Love laughs and says, "This fleeting world be thine! It does not with it all thy running streams, My throne is far above thy measuring clocks." "Love is unending light," "Love is eternal joy that flowers the sky" yet "Love is but grief that breathes a life long sigh." This is the poet's philosophy of life and the critic need not pry into it and dissect it further.

Taking some of the individual poems we may say there is a beautiful music in the ringing triplets of the "Fibels of time," "Ode to the Kokil" and "To the Mena" are charming bird pieces and facile comparisons with similar poems of the greatest masters. "Lines written on a blank leaf of the Crescent Moon" are noteworthy because of their connection with a production of our poet the crowned king of our poetry—On the whole the volume is one to be read with appreciation and delight.

SHORT STORIES by Srimati Swarnakumari Devi Gantak & Co, Madras Price Rs 2

This volume contains fourteen stories of the authoress, translated by herself from her Bengali originals. In the preface she discusses her aim in publishing this volume and says "The civilisations of the east and the west are in a sense directly opposed to each other"—the tendency of the former has been towards the development of the spiritual life, while the latter has proceeded in the direction of materialism. In presenting these little pictures of the Indian home, the authoress has tried to make her western reader appreciate a little of the quietness of Eastern life and in particular to bring the Hindu woman before the foreigner to whom she has been so long a complete mystery.

Taking the stories individually, we may refer to two of them.—"Immortelles from a daring island" and "The Genius of the place"—is having attracted us most. The former gives us a page from a Hindu widow's life, it tells us of a single streak of light which enlivened the gloom of her soul for a day and left it darker than before. It is exquisite in its touches of concentrated pathos, but the effect would probably have been heightened if the wedding present episode had been left out. The second of these two tales takes us to Bombay and shows us another melancholy picture of a maiden who has been waiting in vain for her lover, of a sleeping beauty of a lonely village a spirit animating the desert surroundings. "The samrasini" is a tragic tale of love taken from ancient Rajputana and the "Lajavati" is a perfect picture of a Hindu home. None of the other stories rise to the level of these, though "The Gift of the Goddess Kali" has the charm of weirdness. The two stories at the end are of the least importance since the aim of the volume is avowedly to bring the life of the East before the eyes of the West, and of this life they tell us but little.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF C. S. RAMANATHI SARKI VOL. I

The volume contains fourteen poems on some very common subjects, e.g., the Crow, the Pomegranate Tree, the shambhu flower, etc. The subjects of poems should, of course, never affect our appreciation of them and a poet may clothe the most uninteresting object with such exquisite beauty as may touch the inmost chords of our heart. Mr. Sarki has not yet acquired this art of creating beauty and the themes are treated in a more or less colourless way, and the redeeming charm of the poems is an occasional phrase or a picture of a natural scene.

THE DRIPPING CLOUD, by H. C. Pillay

The interest of this book lies in the fact of its having been written by an inhabitant of Mauritius and Mr. Pillay is said to have opened a new era in the history of Mauritian literature. The most noteworthy pieces are "The Lament of the Pariah," "Dejection," "To Saraswati" and "To a friend on the death of his child." The first of these appeals to us because of its subject matter and a stanza or two is worth quoting.

"Why hast thou shaped me thus, O Lord!
Amidst the wretched pariah horde
Amidst a shame and sorrow boded
Sea of Misery!
Alas! To all now, a desert date,
Grooming beneath Brahminic marble and ire
Without even one greenish speck or spice
O wretched eye!"

Of genuine poetic inspiration there is little here, but one must not be extra critical in dealing with a new born literature.

NKS

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHING ENGLISH BY THE PHONETIC METHOD Adapted and arranged from the works of Profs. H. F. Palmer and I. F. Cummings Price—At 5 To be had of the Clerk, Friends' High School, Mithangabad, C. P.

This is an excellent little work which should prove helpful to teachers of English who wish to follow up-to-date lines in language teaching in schools, in which the direct method is combined with a phonetic study of the language. The sounds of English are considered organically, and their differences from similar ones of the vernacular, Hindi, are noted. This comparative way is the only way to impress upon the learner the peculiarities of the sounds of a foreign tongue. The work is thoroughly practical in its scope, being embodied in a scheme of work in the class for six terms. We heartily recommend it for the perusal of people interested in the teaching of English.

THE PIONEER OF SIMPLIFIED SPELLING FOR PUPILS 1918 Published by the Simplified Spelling Society, London

This has been sent to us together with other papers on the subject, by the Honorary Secretary of the "South Indian Branch" of the Society. There can not be any difference of opinion as to the necessity for a reform of English spelling, but the system advocated by the S. S. Society, which is only Eliot's Classic System slightly modified, is impossible, although a

number of stungalshed people seem to support it. This system adopts the ordinary English values of the letters and even then it is not consistent—it does not follow the one sound one sign principle (E.g. it has two values as in *to* and in *tan* the *p* having sound of [t]) is represented by *ic* as well as by *y*, while *h* has a consonantal value as well and *au* and *o* are both symbols for [o]). It is not based on scientific phonetics although the S S S rightly enough takes the ear and not the eye as the guide to spelling. The system advocated by the S S S is a most half hearted compromise between English usage and scientific consistency to the unavoidable detriment of both. The only scientific system of orthography that has come to be recognised among phoneticians and philologists in recent times is that of the International Phonetic Association. The I P A alphabet however requires a study of phonetics in order to be mastered and the average reader can not be induced to study phonetics so as to be able to spell correctly. The question of spelling reform is still far from a satisfactory solution—at any rate the solution offered by the S S S has grave defects to remove which would be to undo it.

S K C

THE ETHICS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE By M S Murti Ganesh & Co Madras As 4

Socrates, Christ, the Christan martyrs, Imam Hussain, Pralhad Mirabai were all passive resisters. Victor Hugo, Thoreau and Tolstoy advocated passive resistance and the Japanese custom of *Hara-kiri* and the Indian *Prayopवेशना* (hunger strike) are different ways of carrying it into effect. The motto of the pamphlet is 'All truth is safe and nothing else is safe and he who keeps back the truth or withholds it from men from motives of expediency is either a coward or a criminal or both' (Max Muller). If passive resistance on the part of a minority in a State becomes an imperative necessity then the majority cannot continue strong for long. It is bound to weaken and become effete as its action in the matter of enforcing its power or its authority against that minority *Satyagraha* is soul force as opposed to the force of arms—it is the religion of the masses. It is a panacea for all evils. Fear of God alone a passive resister is afraid of no other power. Fear of kings can never make him for sake the path of duty. He discards violence but his resistance is only limited by his strength to suffer.

The pamphlet is nicely printed and beautifully got up.

Q

MARATHI

NATYARLI DHARATWARSHA OR INDIA IN DRAMATIC FORM By Mr V G Apte Editor Anand published at the Anand Karyalaya, Poona City. Price 250 Price Re 1

Mr Apte hardly requires any introduction. He is well known in Maharashtra as the Children's Friend and his numerous publications all written for children have endeared him to his juvenile readers. Mr Apte's latest juvenile book is the history of India in a dramatic form and like its predecessors is the same in the vein. *Natya Ramayan* and *Natya Mahabharata*, will catch the eyes and captivate the hearts of young readers. To make the subject of history attractive no better method could be suggested than to depict the principal incidents of

history in the dramatic form so as to make it suitable for being represented by children themselves on the little school stage. Mr Apte has shrewdly observed the liking of children and carefully adapted the subject of history to their taste.

D V Joshi, B.A.

SANSKRIT.

ADVAITAMODA By Pandit A. Vasudeva Shastri, Sanskrit Pandit Fergusson College, Poona. Published by Harinarayana Apte, Anandashrama, Poona. Pp 190 Price Rs 2

The book *Advaitamoda* 'The Fragrance of Non Duality' is included in the *Anandashrama Sanskrit Series*. It deals with the Vedanta philosophy. Here the author Pandit A. Vasudeva Shastri first describing the views of both Shankara and Ramanuja and showing clearly the points of their agreement and disagreement systematically refutes the views of the latter as expounded in his commentary on the *Brahmasutras*, establishing thereby the absolute non duality doctrine of the former, finally meeting all the objections raised by Ramanuja regarding the *avidya* of Shankara. The book has been written well by avoiding both much prolixity and brevity.

VIDYASHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

URDU

ARZ UL-QORAN By Maulana Syed Suleman 2 vols. Pp 575. Published by Shibli Academy, Azamgarh (U.P.) Price Rs 3 as 12

This is an exhaustive work (the title meaning the Lands of the Koran) on the Historical Geography of Arabia and the adjoining countries. It deals in a learned way with all the geographical and historical allusions occurring in the Koran in their archaeological, ethnographical, theological and sociological aspects, and embodies a considerable research and width of knowledge and supplements and corrects standard European works like Foustier's.

MABADI ILMI INSANI By Professor Abdul Bari. Pp about 150. Price Rs 2. Published by Shibli Academy Azamgarh (U.P.)

A liberal yet lucid and readable translation of Berkeley's Principles of Human Knowledge, with an interesting preface and a comprehensive glossary.

BERKELEY by the same author and publisher. Pp 125. Price Re 1 as 8

A work on Berkeley both critical and expository. After giving the interesting events in the famous philosopher's life, the author gives an expository sketch of his doctrines and theories and then proceeds to examine them. His narrative is entertaining, exposition clear, and criticism judicious. The work on the whole evidences philosophical insight and acumen on the part of the author.

SHER UL AJAM by the late Maulana Shibli Noman Shamsul Ulama. Published as above. Vol V pp 230. Price Rs 2

This volume brings to a close the compendious 'History of Persian Poetry' planned several years ago by one of the greatest Muslim scholars. Maulana Shibli lived to see the four volumes of his stupendous work come out of the press and he left the manuscript of the concluding volume in the hands of his pupils who have now published it. This

volume surveys the non-epic, that is the lyrical and the didactic, and the mystical poetry of Persia. Those who are familiar with any of the author's previous writings need hardly be assured of the exceedingly high quality of the work.

A M

HINDI

1. KRISHNARJUNA-YLDHHA, by Makhmal Chaturvedi and published by Sivanarayan Misra, Pratap Press, Cawnpore 8vo pp 102, price 8 annas

It is a drama in four acts which can be very conveniently staged. In fact it has already been and was adequately appreciated on the occasion of the Hindi Conference at Jubbulpur. The author has adopted a novel style and deserves to be congratulated on the success of his attempt.

2. UDYOGI PRERUSH, by Rameswar Prasad Sarma and published by Sivanarayan Misra, Pratap Press, Cawnpore, 8vo pp 98, price 6 annas

It is a translation of a Gujarati book Udyogi Parusho' by Sriyut Narayan Hemachandra and contains sketches of the lives and doings of nine great men—two Indians and seven outsiders, besides a well written essay on Sadhana and Siddhi (endeavour and success). The book is worth reading, the language is felicitous and the ideas are good.

3. RUSA-KA-RAHU, by Viswambhar Nath Sarma Kausik and published by Sivanarayan Misra, Pratap Press, Cawnpore 8vo pp 100, price 6 annas

This is a sketch of the life and doings of Rasputin based on a book in French with this difference, as stated by the translator, that whereas the author of the original has tried to prove him a fool when describing events connected with him, the translator has taken a more charitable view. At a time when the recent revolutions in Russia have shocked the whole world, it may be worthwhile to recollect the state of affairs which preceded the present anarchical conditions. This booklet in Hindi offers an opportunity to our countrymen to catch a glimpse of that period of horrible tyranny which has culminated in still more horrible revolutions.

4. BHISHMA, by Viswambhar Nath Sarma Kausik and published by Sivanarayan Misra, Pratap Press, Cawnpore 8vo pp 106, Price 8 annas

The main story of this drama in three acts is drawn from the Mahabharata. The language is simple and the style easy. It has been designed for the stage. It would be a happy day when such pieces will take the place of Bagla Bhagat and similar trash on the Hindi stage.

5. DHOL-ME-POL Published by the Lakshmi-narayan Press, Moradabad, pp 66, Price 4 annas

This little pamphlet contains six humorous essays satirising some of the evils of the present day.

6. PARIKSHAGURU, by the late Lala Srinivasadas Published by Motilal Lath (Marwari Traders Association) Calcutta To be had of the Publishers and the Hindi Pustaka Agency, 126, Harrison Road, Calcutta pp 310 Price 12 annas

The Marwari Traders Association have rendered a great service to the cause of Hindi Literature by

bringing out this cheap edition of the Late Lala Srinivasadas' classic, *Parikshaguru*. The author flourished in the 3rd quarter of the last century and wrote only four books of which *Parikshaguru* is at once the most fascinating being an original romance depicting the life of a Delhi youth of the trader class. Lala Srinivasadas enjoys a reputation among Hindi writers of the past century for his realistic delineation of character and chasteness of expression, and all students of Hindi Literature should procure a copy of this book.

SEVA SADANA By Sriyukta Premchand Published by the Hindi Pustaka Agency 126, Harrison Road, Calcutta Cloth bound pp 512, price Rs 2-8 0 only

This charming novel is an original work in Hindi and is of a high standard. The author is well known in Urdu literature and has already made a mark in Hindi. The printing is excellent. Considering the originality of the book and the excellence of the story, the book is moderately priced and it is expected, will command a speedy sale.

8. SAYTA SOROJA By Sriyukta Premchand Published by the Hindi Pustaka Agency, 126 Harrison Road, Calcutta pp 111, price 8 annas

It is a collection of seven short stories from the facile pen of Sriyukta Premchand. This is the second edition of the book and the artistic design on the paper cover is very pleasing. The stories are very interesting.

‘NIRA DEVA’

GUJARATI

1. UDBHIVIDYA NUN KRIHADIRSHAN (ઉદ્ભવિદ્યા વિષા નું ક્રિયાદર્શન) by Lalitprasad Shivprasad Dave, B.A., B.Sc., LL.B. printed at the Lakshmi Vilas Press, Baroda, Cloth bound, pp 181 Price Rs 1 (1919)

(2) BHITISH RASHTRIYA SANSTHAO (વિદિશ રાષ્ટ્રિય સંસ્થાઓ) by Harilal Madhavji Bhatt, M.A., Prof. of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Bahadur College Junagadh, and Fellow of the Bombay University. Printed at the Arjundharak Press, Baroda Cloth bound, pp 135 Price Rs 13 (1919)

(3) JAGAT NO VARTA RUPR ITHAS (જગત નો વર્તા રુપ દર્શિત) Vol II (Parts 4,5) by Gokuldas Mathuradas Shah, B.A., LL.B., Educational Inspector, Baroda. Printed at the Lehana Mitra Press, Baroda Cloth bound, pp 248+56 Price Rs 3 (1918)

These three books are further contributions to the Shri Sayaji Sahitya Mela, inaugurated by the liberality of H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda. The first is a translation of an English work Stoppe's Bofany, the Modern Study of Ideas. The way in which the translator has handled his subject, together with the glossary given at the end, is sure to make it interesting to those who are interested in the subject, and we think it is a useful addition to the scanty literature in science which we have at present. The third, the history of the world, is a continuation of the former volume, and connected as it is with India and the modern history of England, is likely to find greater

favour than its predecessor, with its younger readers. The second, which is based on Anna Buckland's "Our National Institutions," is the most remarkable of the three. Its writer is Prof. Bhatti, who has already won his spurs in writing on an allied subject, the constitution of the Indian Government. In thirteen chapters, he has put before the reader, in a popular form the institutions—political, administrative and constitutional—of our rulers. Beginning with an explanation of the foundations on which their liberal institutions are built, he treats of the House of Commons, the House of Lords, the Privy Council, the Army, the Navy, and lastly of the Empire. In a succinct form, the book gives all possible information on this important matter, and as each chapter has been written after close study, it would prove of great assistance to the student in making him familiar with a subject which every Indian should know well.

PUSHTI MAEGA NO ITIHAS (इष्टि मार्ग नो इतिहास) by the late *Shakkar Liladhar Hart*, printed at the *Hindustani Press, Bank Street, Bombay* Paper cover, pp 164 Price—As 12 (1919)

The first edition of this little book was published about thirty years ago. It contains precious little history of the creed of the Vallabbacharyas, and that too from a popular point of view. But its chief utility, when it was first published, lay in the fact of its having boldly and mercilessly exposed the evil paths into which these Vallabbacharya Maharajas had been leading their lady worshippers under the guise of religion. It required some courage to do so then, as those who were handled in this way, wielded great social powers. The book can still be regarded as an eye-opener for those who are even now blindly giving their all to their so called religious preceptors.

SHRI GITASINDHU TARANGAVALI (श्री गीतासिंधु तरंगवलि) by *Swami Sri Atmanand Saraswati of Nandan* Printed at the *Lady Northcote Orphanage Printing Press, Bombay* Paper cover, pp, 160 Price—As 8 (1918)

In this little book the Swamiji sets to himself the question as to why Arjuna fought after once declining to do so on the field of Kurukshetra. He tries to answer by reference to the various verses of the Gita, and thinks he has solved it correctly, by saying that he did so because it was his duty to do so—

BHARAT NO TANKAR (भारत नो टंकार) by *Ardeshir Framji Khabardar* Printed at the *Taita Vivechak Printing Press, Bombay* Paper cover, pp. 74 Price—As 12 (1919,)

One of our most popular poets, translates the words, with which he has named this book containing a collection of his latest production, "The Call of India." The heaven of political aspirations which is leavening the mass of our country's mind, the stir and the restlessness that have been lately moving our hearts, these are the themes of the poet's song, and in no uncertain words does he speak. Indeed, when everything is in the melting pot, when we are struggling towards a goal, it is the duty of a poet to encourage his brethren and pour into their ears and their hearts, heartening words, and of all our poets, who could do it so well as Khabardar. The scheme of this work is that he first sees a dream, then cogitates over it, then hears a gentle murmur, and then a clap of thunder, which of course means the present Awakening. The allegory is well chosen. The songs are spirited and still sober. They are thoroughly suited to the heroic vein (वीररस) which runs through them. Patriotism, burning patriotism is their keynote, but they are all kept within the bounds of sanity nowhere do they overrun the boundary or degenerate into fanatic heroics. His love for Bharat is peeping out from every verse, and though we realise that his is not the first attempt in the direction of patriotic poetry, we have no hesitation in saying that his work stands head and shoulders over that of the lesser lights.

AROGYA NI VARTAO (आरोग्य नो वार्ताओ) PART I by *Dr. Hariprasad Vrajraj Desai*, printed at the *Sahitya Printing Press, Ahmedabad* Paper Cover Pp 59 Price—As 4 (1919)

This is a small book but it contains very valuable matter. The importance of cleanliness requires to be inculcated into the minds of juveniles in a way which should impress and appeal to them without boring them, and that has been done here by the writer. As to why the teeth should be kept clean or as to why we should take exercise or live in well-ventilated houses, and many other equally important things have been hid in such a simple way, that they are sure to go home to the readers.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Notes on the Origin of Civilisation

We take the following "Notes" from the January—March number of *The Mahabodhi and the United Buddhist World*.

The civilisation of Europe began about fifty years ago according to the opinion of scientists. The following quotation is from *Harmsworth Popular Science*—Genuine civilisation dawned within the

memory of the oldest inhabitant. Sanitary science began to be effective about fifty years ago. Light-years ago the country was in a state of savagery so far as punishment of crime was concerned. Banishment and degradation from citizenship were among the most dreaded Roman punishments. It was the Teuton and the fierce Saxon, Dane and Northman—who established the most cruel code of retaliatory and vindictive laws. As late as 1831 forty people were hanged in England for offences other than murder; and in

1833 a child nine years old was condemned to be hanged for poking a hole with a stick through a papered up window pane and stealing two pence half penny worth of paint" Vol V p 35789

The Old Testament records the most atrocious and vindictive punishments inflicted on those found guilty according to the principles of jurisprudence instituted by Moses. The uncivilized Europe accepted the Mosaic law.

"Human ingenuity has never been employed for a more barren purpose than that of trying to break the will of man by pain. Death by the cord by the guillotine, by the axe by strangulation, by poison by flogging by fire by dismemberment and by boiling in oil have all been tried as deterrents, and have not deterred. Torture on the wheel, on the rack, by crushing weights by thumbscrews and by clamping of the cheeks, the stocks, the ducking stool, the branding of the forehead, and breasting clipping off of the ears, sitting of noses and whippings innumerable have had a trial for centuries, and the misdeeds have continued."

"Harnsworth Popular Science vol v p 3529

In the Buddhist sacred scriptures countries outside the sacred Aryavarta are called border countries (pachantim janapada) whose people are given to un Aryan habits and pagan practices and therefore called mlechha. The un Aryan habits as regards food are eating earthworms and other kinds of flesh and speaking the mlechha languages, which have not the completeness of the Aryan language. According to Manu no true Aryan should speak the mlechha language.

"Let us examine the history of the extinct peoples and their civilizations. Going back to primitive times according to the researches of European scholars there had been historic civilizations in Crete Egypt Assyria Babylonia, Persia China and in the Sumerian country. Egypt and Crete had a very ancient civilization. It is suggested that the most ancient civilizations whose remnants have been found in Egypt disclose an Asiatic origin. The ancient Sumerian civilization shows traces of Chinese influence. Chaldea had a civilization many thousands of years ago. The Mesopotamian country was the cradle of past civilizations. The foundation of the legend of Adam's creation may be traced to Mesopotamia. The spirit of god resting upon the waters and the god rising out of the waters are both Mesopotamian and Brahmanical.

The ancient religion of Egypt may be called Osirism, and the following passages are from the "Book of the Dead."

"It is however perfectly certain that they believed that Osiris had the power to make men to be born after death into a new life, and that such life was everlasting and they ascribed to him this power because he had himself suffered death and mutilation and had arisen from the dead." P 301

"Similarly the sufferings, death and resurrection of Osiris were well-known in the period of early dynasties, and it is probable that he became the type of resurrection of man in Egypt."

"The doctrine of immortality and everlasting life and the belief in the resurrection of a spiritual body are the brightest and most prominent features of the Egyptian religion." p 301

"Where and by whom the texts of the Book of the Dead were composed is also unknown. There is no

good reason for assuming that they are the offspring of the minds of Libyans or dwellers of Central Africa; they cannot be the literary product of savages or negroes; there is no evidence to show that they are of Semitic origin and the general testimony of their contents indicates an Asiatic home for their birth place." P 301

The prayer offered by the followers of Osiris is as follows—

"Behold grant thou that the Osiris Nu may be great in heaven as thou art great among the gods deliver thou him from every evil and murderous thing which may be wrought upon him by the Fiend and fortify thou his heart. Book of the Dead" Chap cxxxvi p 220

The offering of wine and cake was a part of the Dead ceremonial and the office was entrusted to a man who is clean and is ceremonially pure, one who hath eaten neither meat nor fish and who hath not had intercourse with women. Book of the Dead By Wallis Budge

The first three chapters of the Book of Genesis, record a folklore story of the world that was current in Babylon and Mesopotamia, which the Jews heard when they were sojourning in Babylon after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. The story of Noah and the flood was also borrowed from the folklore of the Babylonians. We read in Harnsworth History of the World—

But whereas in Babylon it had been the non-Semitic race from which the civilizing impulse was derived in Egypt it was the invaders from Asia who had brought with them the elements of a higher civilization. P 156

The legend of the spirit of God resting on the waters may be traced to the Babylonian tradition of the God Ea who had arisen from the waters of the sea bringing with him knowledge of all the arts. The legends of the resurrection of Osiris and the sonship of god were of Egyptian origin. The idea of the conflict between Satan and God was common to Persians and Babylonians and was accepted by the followers of Osiris. The ancient Egyptians were learned in the art of magic. Moses learnt it from the Egyptians and Jesus during the period he was away in Egypt from his twelfth year to his thirtieth year was initiated in the mysteries of Osirism. The dogma of the soul being taken before God and judged was a purely Egyptian origin. Osiris was the god of judgment and Osirism taught that the soul was weighed by Anubis. The Code of Hammurabi is dated 2000 B.C. The Laws were given by the Sun God to Hammurabi. The Mosaic legend that the ten commandments were given to Moses by Jehovah at the top of mount Sinai may be traced to the Babylonian legend.

Egyptian civilization goes back to 8000 B.C. "The art of Memphis which was as old as 4000 B.C. was supreme. The statue of Khafra the builder of the second pyramid at Giza is one of the finest in the world." Harnsworth History of the World P 156

The Jews were contented with the borrowings from Babylonia. They had no idea of the existence of the more ancient civilization of Egypt. They were in Babylon in captivity and when they returned to Jerusalem in the reign of Cyrus, the legends which they had collected at Babylon were incorporated in their traditions.

The forgotten legends and folklore stories of Babylon and Egypt at a later period became the foundations of a religion which kept the European world in darkness for nearly 1500 years.

The birth of Jehovah according to the Mosaic legend was 4004 B.C. But for the Jews there would not have been the Bible, but for the good Cyrus there would not have been a return of the Jews from their captivity to Jerusalem. But for Peter and Paul there would not have been Christianity, but for Constantine Europe would have remained like the ancient Romans and Greek Ceremonial paganism under the papal hierarchy was transformed into a religion. Roman and Greek wisdom still influence the civilization of Europe. The great authors of Greece and Rome of the pre-Christian era still speak to the progressive peoples of the West. Sophocles, Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Virgil, Seneca, Ovid, Plutarch, Pliny, Juvenal, Cicero, etc., are perennial fountains whence Europe derives her inspiration.

When we approach the adytum of the modern scientists the few thousand years of civilization appears insignificant before the majesty of astronomical and geological calculations. Millions and millions of years ago there was life, and the law of progressive evolution was in operation. Countless millions of suns and solar systems following the law of immutability revolve and re-dissolve from eternity to eternity. Middle-headed materialists given to sensual enjoyments fail to comprehend this. In India the ancient religions taught the existence of countless millions of solar systems. They did not count the age of the earth by thousands, but by yugas and kalpas. A day of Brahma was equal to hundred millions of years, and millions of such days went to make a Kalpa.

From Asia's western limits went westward the religion which was first preached to the fisherfolk of a small village. Asia gave the West the religious instinct, and to the east the west daily makes obeisance and pays divine worship to the Semitic god and the four Asiatics who gave them religion.

Politics, Morality and Religion

In *Everyman's Review* for March 1919, there appears an article under the above heading above the signature of "Politicus", who writes:

The degenerate notion in fashion amongst some half-educated people that politics has nothing to do with morality and that a politician is exempt from all personal and private criticism, should be nailed to the counter and exposed in all its hollowness and absurdity. There are some immoral men and irresponsible youths who would be gladly rid of all moral restraints and checks to viciousness and would seek shelter from public reproof and ridicule for all their nefarious acts of omission or commission within the doors of high built office rooms or on the preserved asylums of political platforms. There is many a hero of eloquence, whose almost every word of platform utterance is applauded by admiring crowds but whose every action and performance in private life is questionable and suspicious, if not vicious and treacherous. Some blackguards in domestic and personal life have

so far advanced in their killing of all conscience and instinctive moral sensibilities that they could not see the necessity, the rhyme or reason for a reference to their private life, in order to establish the truth of their public professions. This is the case with all insincere public speakers and prominent orators, be they politicians or social reformers, Varnasramadharma-mites or vedantic cosmopolitans. "Leave alone personalities and incidents of private life," say they, and the grotesqueness of such a statement becomes very palpable only when in the next breath they begin to declaim about Absolute Truths, Universal Principles, Perfection, Purity, Unity, Co-operation, Home-Rule, Passive Resistance and what not.

"Politicus" concludes his article with the following wise words:

When we preach one thing in public and practise another in private, we can never improve our moral standard, still less climb to the heights of spirituality. There is but one Law, one Dharma, the realisation of which is possible for each and every one of us by fulfilling our immediate and indispensable duties to the fullness of our feeling heart and knowing mind. It is more of intensity, earnestness of application and particularisation we want. We want individuals to exemplify ideals and when we live in full to the height of all our inward ambitions and outward professions we become one with the Universal. This is the truest religion and the noblest morality. The end of all politics is the same—the well being of all those who constitute the political body, and in all general affairs of men the higher we aim, the deeper we plough and the broader we sow, the Moral grows the more and more important. The greatest moral law is Sincerity, which is only another name for God Reality.

Indian Culture and External Influence.

There appears an interesting article under the above caption, in the March number of *Arya* edited by Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, published from Pondichery from which we take the liberty, of making the following extracts

Any attempt to remain exactly what we were before the European invasion or to ignore in future the claims of a modern environment and necessity is foredoomed to an obvious failure. However much we may deplore some of the characteristics of that intervening period in which we were dominated by the Western standpoint or move away from the standpoint back to our own characteristic way of seeing existence, we cannot get rid of a certain element of inevitable change it has produced upon us, any more than a man can go back in life to what he was some years ago and recover entire and unaffected a past mentality. Time and its influences have not only passed over him, but carried him forward in their stream. We cannot go backward to a past form of our being but we can go forward to a large repossession of ourselves in which we shall make a better, more living, more real, more self-possessed use of the intervening experience. We can still think in the essential sense of the great spirit and ideals of our past, but the form of our thinking,

our speaking, our development of them has changed by the very fact of new thought and experience; we see them not only in the old, but in new lights, we support them by the added strength of new view points, even the old words we use acquire for us a modified, more extended and richer significance. Again, we cannot be "ourselves alone" in any narrow formal sense, because we must necessarily take account of the modern world around us and get full knowledge of it, otherwise we cannot live. But all such taking account of things, all added knowledge modifies our subjective being. My mind, with all that depends on it, is modified by what it observes and works upon, modified when it takes in from it fresh materials of thought, modified when it is awakened by its stimulus to new activities, modified even when it denies and rejects, for even an old thought or truth which I affirm against an opposing idea, becomes a new thought to me in the effort of affirmation and rejection, clothes itself with new aspects and issues. My life is modified in the same way by the life influences it has to encounter and confront. Finally, we cannot avoid dealing with the great governing ideas and problems of the modern world. The modern world is still mainly European, a world dominated by the European mind and western civilisation. We claim to set right this undue preponderance, to reassert the Asiatic and, for ourselves, the Indian mind and to preserve and develop the great values of Asiatic and of Indian civilisation. But the Asiatic or the Indian mind can only assert itself successfully by meeting these problems and by giving them a solution which will justify its own ideals and spirit.

The writer concludes :

The principle I have affirmed results both from the necessity of our nature and the necessity of things, of life,—fidelity to our own spirit, nature, ideals, the creation of our own characteristic forms in the new age and the new environment, but also a strong and masterful dealing with external influences which need not be and in the nature of the situation cannot be a total rejection, therefore there must be an element of successful assimilation. There remains the very difficult question of the application of the principle,—the degree, the way, the guiding perceptions. To think that out we must look at each province of culture and, keeping always firm hold on a perception of what the Indian spirit is and the Indian ideal is, see how they can work upon the present situation and possibilities in each of these provinces and lead to a new victorious creation. In such thinking it will not do to be too dogmatic. Each capable Indian mind must think it out or, better, work it out in its own light and power,—as the Bengal artists are working it out in the *own sphere*,—and contribute some illumination or effluence. The spirit of the Indian renaissance will take care of the rest, that power of the universal Time-Spirit which has begun to move in our midst for the creation of a new and greater India.

The Women of India.

Mr. H. K. Sorabji, M.A. (Oxon) concludes an article under the above heading in the March number of *The Hindustan Review*, in the following words :

How dare we cry out for the chance of 'self-determination' if we deny that right to our girls and women? Let us be consistent. A building needs a roof, but it needs above all things a sure foundation. We are tending to the error of laying too great stress upon the roof. The women are the foundation of our future greatness. Let us transfer some of our energy from the emptiness of talk to the fulness of action in promoting female education. Schools, and more schools, and well-equipped schools, and well-paid efficient teachers must be provided. And when they have been provided we must combine to send our girls to them, and to let them have every chance to complete their studies before we call them away to enter the bonds of matrimony. As we are out to achieve greatness let us accept the measure based on the woman standard, and let us help our women to be great.

Three Methods of Uniting East and West.

Mr. Frederick J. Gould in the course of an article in the March number of the *East & West* writes :

1. *Political Method*—It is of vital importance that the people of India and the people of England should know each other's qualities, needs and history better. When I say "England," I also imply the whole British Commonwealth. And when I say the "people," I do not mean the aristocratic and middle classes of England, and the higher castes of India. I mean the vast mass of the workers,—the factory workers, miners, seamen, peasants of England and the immense multitude of Indians who live in villages and till the soil. The upper and better educated classes are, of course, included also, for I am not writing in a Bolshevik temper! But when we talk of the people, either in India or England we ought to think of the majority, whose labour and endurance provide the material basis of civilisation, art and religion. Political life in both countries will be benefited by mutual aid between the Indian masses and the English masses.

Hence, it would be good if, at Indian political congresses, delegates representing English labour could be present and take part. It would be good if at English congresses, Hindu, and Moslem delegates could be present and take part. In both cases, this delegation should be regarded as a normal procedure, and not as a remarkable incident once in 10 or 20 years.

Let me state frankly a defect which I observe in English circles and another defect which I observe in India circles. In England, the working class has no effective conception of Indian life and thought, partly because popular writers have not tried to picture the real India to the English imagination, and partly because Missionary Societies have given most one-sided views of the psychology and manners of the Indian people.

In India, so far as my observations have gone, the Home Rule party (or parties) have been so absorbed in criticising the Viceroy, the Viceroy's Council, the Governors, the Civil Service, and the rest, that they have forgotten the foundation on which all English officialdom rests, namely, the labour and life of the English masses. I wonder how many Hindu gentlemen

who spend time in censuring the British Raj could give an account, however elementary, of the growth of English Trades unions? Yet the Trades union is, in many respects, a more vital part of English history than even the House of Commons.

If I were a Hindu, my first thought would be, not for the Civil Service, but for the welfare of the hundreds of millions of peasant-folk, including the untouchables, and I should try to learn its secret of the progress made by the labouring masses of England, and apply its lessons to India.

2 *Educational Method*—I am an old teacher as well as an old politician, and it happens to be a theory of mine that History, in the richest sense of the term, should be the basis of education. In history, I include literature which reveals the history of man's thought. The *Ramayana*, for example, is a most important item in the history of India for this wonderful poem does so much to mirror the love, hope and admiration of the Hindu race. Indeed, I define the aim of education as Service of the common weal, realised in daily industry, and inspired by history, that is, the history of our nation or country, and the whole history of mankind. Hence, I think it of tremendous consequence that English young people should learn the best stories and teachings in Indian literature and that Indian young people (Hindu and Moslem) should know what is best in English literature. I do not mean that Hindus should read and recite English poetry and prose, nor even that they should learn English at all. But, in their own vernaculars, they might be told the most beautiful stories out of Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson and other great writers. All pupils in Indian schools should read plain, simple histories of the English peasants, miners, seamen, and so on, and all pupils in English schools should read the history of Indian villages, craftsmen, artists, and the rest.

I may add that it has been my business, for many years, to address children, and I have done so in America as well as Britain and I have made it a practice to introduce, with some frequency, stories of Indian life and virtues.

3 *Spiritual Method*—Superficial people sometimes say that the East is spiritual and the West is material, and I agree that appearances often suggest this comparison. But it is not a true observation. For underneath all its craze for mechanism in war or peace, we still find deep spiritual yearnings in the Western soul. Once when I was in Bombay for a few days, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar honoured me with an interview, and I shall never forget his saying that he thought the English people possessed profound spiritual qualities. I have read a good deal of Hindu philosophic and religious literature, and of English literature in the same fields of thought. I find different forms of logic, different language, different imagery, but I do not find any fundamental difference. What we want to do is to teach both peoples how great is their unity, in spite of divergences of expression.

In saying this, I am far from recommending that Indians should study English philosophy and religious doctrine, or that English people should pick up strange theosophical phrases, and talk in the style of Buddhists. I have read the Vedas, but they do not display the soul of India to me so well as the beautiful tales of

Rama and Sita, or the great princes of the war of Kurukshetra, or the lives of the Hindu saints and teachers. I wish the common people of England knew these things, and learned them in the same simple way that they learned stories from the Bible. And, in like manner, I wish that the common people of India could hear stories of our best English souls—Thomas Moore, Milton, Bunyan, Fox, Penn, Blake, Wesley, Wordsworth, Ruskin, Morris, our women-teachers, nurses, and social workers.

I should be sorry if the reader supposed I set no value on the efforts of University professors, pundits, Congress leaders, political journalists, and the like. These instruments of progress all have their value. But the main thing, to my mind, is to bring the soul of the multitudes of the West into fraternal relation with the toiling millions of the East. May the best Servants of India and the best Servants of England devote themselves to this supreme religious task.

Extinction of the Liquor Traffic in America.

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh contributes an article under the above heading in the March number of *The Indian Review* from which we make the following extracts:—

To India, as to the rest of the world, the American decision to abolish the liquor traffic from every square inch of American soil is a startling politico-social development. No other nation has had the courage to take such drastic action. Even under the stress of war, European peoples contented themselves with stopping the consumption of certain forms of liquor, such as vodka in Russia and absinthe in France, lowering the percentage of alcohol in intoxicating beverages, and curtailing the hours during which liquor could be bought. The American refusal to compromise with liquor in any way, therefore, is an epoch making event in the world's history.

The legislative decree by which the American will to suppress the liquor traffic will be enforced has taken the shape of an amendment to the United States Constitution. The Congress passed it on December 17, 1917, and specified that it must be ratified by the legislatures of the requisite two thirds of the States composing the Union within a period of seven years.

Within 13 months the amendment, which prohibits the manufacture, importation, exportation and sale of alcoholic liquors of all kinds anywhere in the United States except for purely medicinal and industrial purposes had been ratified by 36 of the 48 States comprising the American Union. On January 16, 1919 the House of Representatives and Senate formally announced the ratification of the amendment.

It matters comparatively little whether traffic in liquor ceases within a few weeks or within a few months. The main thing is that the victory has been won—won by constitutional agitation. People in America, and outsiders who closely follow American events are greatly surprised at the rapidity with which the prohibition movement gained support during the last few years.

Agitation for the suppression of the liquor traffic began in America 80 years ago. As long ago as

1836, a law to prohibit liquor was passed in the State of Maine. Five years later, a much more drastic Act was passed providing for the confiscation and destruction of intoxicating liquor, and has been in force ever since, with the exception of the years 1836 and 1837. The States of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut followed the example of Maine.

Similar attempts were made in the States of New York and Indiana, but failed. Prohibitory laws were passed in both States but were declared unconstitutional.

In 1869, the prohibition party was formed to carry on organized agitation for prohibition, as it was felt that the liquor interests constituted a tremendous disrupting force in American politics and unorganized opposition had little chance against such a wealthy and resourceful combine. Though the leaders of the party had right on their side, and though they were zealous and determined men, they appeared to accomplish but little for many years. They did indeed, convert many individuals to their cause and here and there a State went "dry" (prohibitionist). But until quite recently the movement did not capture the American imagination, and remained more or less inert.

One of the strongest arguments employed by the anti-prohibitionists was that the State would suffer seriously by losing the excise revenue that the liquor traffic had brought in. But these critics forgot—perhaps conveniently—that, freed from the curse of drink, the capacity of the people to bear taxation would increase, as would also their purchasing power, so that revenue from other departments would expand, and more than offset the loss of excise.

Mr. Nihal Singh observes:

Wherever alcohol has been banished in America poverty and dependence upon charity have been reduced, homes show signs of affluence, the deposits in banks, especially savings banks have risen and facilities for education have increased. In every such place crime shows remarkable diminution. Convictions for disorderly conduct, vagrancy, assault and battery, and even more serious crimes such as rape and murder, have greatly decreased. For instance, I was told sometime ago that for two weeks after Helena, Arkansas, went "dry" there was not a single arrest. The business men of Little Rock, another Arkansas city, declare that their business has benefited from prohibition, and they would not change back to the old order of things if permitted to do so.

The writer concludes:

If the American earnestness in regard to ridding the nation of the evils of drink continues as it gives promise of doing, there is every reason to hope that the passage of the prohibition amendment to the Constitution has really sounded the death knell of the liquor traffic in the United States.

International Reconstruction

Mr. S. Jackson Coleman writes in *The Indian Review* for March:

The world is ripe for a new social programme. The War, with its unparalleled carnage and bloodshed,

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has materially altered the map of Europe, and it has similarly altered the map of men's minds. The great world-war has swept away old crusted conventions which clogged the mind, and false foundations of social science upon which men laboured vainly to build Utopia. Now that a new mentality has been created, all these things must be reassessed at new values. All the great problems call for a broader view, a larger concept, and a more general action with the dawn of this newer social consciousness. We are coming to realise, indeed, that we cannot severally play our part as citizens of our respective countries if we forget that we are also citizens of the world. This new spirit is arising everywhere, founding a New Era of international relationship, and the thrills of international good will are even now stealing across a war-weary world.

Never before however has there been such hopefulness. The world may seem in disruption, and be hungry and sick, burdened with debt, and afflicted by the weight of its new problems. Nevertheless, the power of organised human resources has been amazingly shown, both for the arts of war and peace. The uprisings of the European peoples, and the political advances of organised democracy, open up an entirely new prospect for the employment of these illimitable resources. The cynic, of course, will say that the better world to come lacks nothing for its construction except the better men. The spirit of the masses, with all its faults, however, is a more fraternal spirit than any previously abroad on the earth, and undoubtedly this spirit is almost daily making history for itself.

For four years the evil shadow of War has spoiled our outlook. Now that peace has dawned, we look with faith to the future, trusting that the terrible lessons of the catastrophe will not have been learned in vain. If the result of the terrible carnage and desolation is the birth of a real League of Nations—not one built on words, but on the desire to do what is right and just to all irrespective of race or creed—then the War will not have proved ineffectual. For helpful co-operation in the task of making this world safe for the common people by whom it is inhabited is, after all, the all important duty.

This great crisis, therefore, seems to be the great opportunity for which we have prayed. The old world is a ruin, a new world must be built. In former days, our home was indeed our world, in these days the world must be our home. Co-operation alone offers to the world a complete philosophy of life and a working model of a noble and enduring civilisation. The peace of the world entirely depends upon the universal application of these principles. For there is no choice except that which lies between co-operation and chaos, between associated freedom and Imperial despotism.

If Wordsworth could write one hundred years ago, as he saw the beginning of a new day of hope and liberty

"Bliss were it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young, 'twere very heaven,"

with what added meaning may we quote these words as we herald the New Age? Let us not forget, however that the foundations of the New World have been well and truly laid by myriads of heroic men and women, and that this task must be approached with the spirit of sincerity. Peace has her tasks not less

arduous than those of War, and this present occasion is a time for the casting away all those sordid desires which are incompatible with the grand purpose of rebuilding human society on a stable foundation of mutual aid and wholesome rivalry.

Let us welcome the disappearance of racial, class and sex distinctions. For there are battles other than inter-racial. There are wars in social, mental and religious realms. In the religious world, few things have been more pitiful more humiliating than sectarian squabbles and differences over long-drawn-out controversies. Men will become more and more impatient in the future over the relatively frivolous issues which have distressed and divided the religious world, the core of the world's new creed will be

"For the love of God is broader
Than the measure of man's mind

The work of reconstruction call for a continuance of the spirit of self-sacrifice, self-restraint, and a realisation of a great end, which have stilled the cries of faction during the war and inspired all with a common aim. We shall certainly miss the central spiritual lesson of Germany's downfall if in our schemes of reconstruction we fail to realise that religion and morality, faith and idealism, are the only foundations on which national stability and progress can endure.

The fortunes of mankind, as never before are now in the hands of the democracy. The select classes of mankind in fact, are no longer its governors. For the real strain of four years' unparalleled slaughter and bloodshed, as President Wilson has so ably reminded us, has come where the eye of Government could not reach, but where nevertheless the heart of humanity beats. We are bidden by these people to see that this strain does not come again.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Life-Work of a Hindu Chemist.

Under the above heading, the eminent Chemist, Sir T. E. Thorpe, reviews Sir P. C. Ray's "Essays and Discourses" in the columns of *Nature* [of London] in the following words:

Sir Profulla Chandra Ray, Professor of Chemistry in the Presidency College, Calcutta, is well known to Chemists in this country as the author either alone or in collaboration with his pupils of more than a hundred papers chiefly on the Inorganic and Organic Nitrites, published in the Transactions of the Chemical Society, in Continental Journals or in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In his own country he is also known as the founder of a successful chemical industry which from small beginnings now occupies factories spreading over an area of eight acres. It is one of the most successful concerns in India, and proved of considerable service to the Government during the war, when the supply of Western Chemicals and Drugs was seriously interfered with. It is entirely staffed with Bengali workers and its research chemists are of its creator's training.

Continuing the writer observes

Naturally, such a man has had a great influence in India. He has succeeded in founding a school of native chemists capable of attacking and elucidating modern scientific problems. He has roused and quickened the Bengali brain from the torpor which has overtaken it and by his example and precept has proved that the Hindu only needs training, encouragement, and direct aid to revive the ancient glories of his race in Philosophy and Science. The success of the commercial undertaking which he initiated also indicates that the Bengali is not lacking in the power of organisation, application, and steadfastness of purpose needed to conduct successfully a business enterprise.

It was to be expected, therefore, that Sir P. Chandra Ray should, as he expressed it, sooner or later find himself the property of anybody and everybody, and be called upon by various educational institutions, by conferences, and by the periodical Press and leading Newspapers interested in the social reform and development of the industrial and political life of India to address his countrymen on subjects which so closely affect their national welfare and prosperity, and it was equally certain that a demand should arise that these essays and discourses should be collected and published in some permanent form.

The little book before us is the outcome of this demand. It contains a series of addresses and articles on scientific education in India; on the dearth and progress of chemistry in Bengal, on science in the vernacular literature on the antiquity of Hindu Chemistry on the Educational Service of India on the Bengali brain and its misuse on Government and Indian Industries, together with a number of appreciations of men who have signalled themselves in the national evolution of India.

Sir T. E. Thorpe concludes.

The collection is prefaced by a short biographical sketch of the author and concludes with a list of original contributions from the Indian School of Chemistry.

Such a book as a literary production cannot be judged wholly from a western point of view. To do justice to it one must have some knowledge of, and sympathy with the oriental mind. Its language is at times affused with a glow characteristic of the East, and its excessive eulogy and allusionary phrases as Evelyn would have styled them, are apt to provoke a smile in the stolid and more cold-blooded Englishman. At the same time it is impossible not to recognise and appreciate the earnestness, courage, and sense of duty of the author, or fail to perceive his sincerity or strength of his convictions in warring against the

the galling restrictions of social inequalities and depression, which are at the bottom of India's degradation. Her elevation will not come in Sir P. Chandra Ray's time. A small, spare man, in feeble health, and a confirmed dyspeptic, he will be spent in her service. But the memory of these services will survive and the little book to which we direct attention will serve to perpetuate it.

'The League of Nations—A Dutch View.

The following lines appear in the *Living Age* (of Boston) for week ending March 1, 1919:

Let us not delude ourselves. A League of Nations in the hitherto accepted meaning of the term—a combination of all, or nearly all civilized nations for the preservation of peace—a League of Nations such as that is out of the question, for the present at any rate. And if, on the conclusion of peace, for the reason, perhaps, that we hanker after some sort of apotheosis, a League of Nations is proclaimed it will be something quite different from that.

It cannot be otherwise. When the war reached its final stage, this was made more evident. A war waged by one side *nichtsichtlos*—with every available means thus engendering inveterate hatred among its opponents, and carried on by the latter until the enemy was utterly defeated and reduced to impotence—a war such as that cannot produce the atmosphere of conciliation, of forgive and forget which a League of Nations needs for its growth and success. Who, as the end approached, still dared cling to the hope that the Allies, who have all along openly declared that they regarded the Central Powers as the scum of humanity with whom henceforth they would hold no relations, would suddenly change their attitude and say to the leaders of the defeated enemy, 'Come now, and join us at Conference table, and we will jointly and harmoniously institute a new international organization?'

That, of course was unthinkable.

A universal League of Nations is, therefore, out of the question. But, if so, what then? A return to the old conditions—but without for the present, any greatly preponderating group of Powers?

But, as a result of antagonistic policies or economic or merely personal interests, even the most powerful grouping of States may lose its ascendancy within a few years. History is full of examples, and already contending interests have manifested themselves—those for instance of America and England at sea, of England and France on the continent of Europe, of India and the Balkans, of America and Japan to name only a few. The new conditions, therefore, would scarcely differ from the old international relations before the war, and must lead, within a certain number of years to the nations seeking escape from the unbearable strain of suspense in world wars increasingly fierce and devastating. Anyone taking that view of the situation must be amazed that there are still statesmen to be found who would make a return to the old regime, just as if nothing had happened with merely a change in the grouping of

Powers, still seeking salvation in that balance of power so strongly denounced by President Wilson a couple of years since.

Wilson—is it possible to imagine him as having in any way changed his opinions under force of circumstances, and as no longer cherishing his earlier ideals? Such is not the case, as is proved by his visit to Europe, where he has not allowed himself to be converted to the theory of Lloyd George, that a British world empire, if needs be acting in co-operation with like minded Allies, is sufficient for the task of policing the world, nor to that of Pichon and Clemenceau the latter of whom openly declared in the French Chamber that he remained an advocate of the balance of power.

I remained true to the old system, that States must organize their own defense, have frontiers that can be adequately defended and continue armed, and, further, that he would not give up the system of alliances, although he would not reject the supplementary guaranties of an international organization.

It speaks for itself that this last arrangement is something quite different from the international organization which Wilson looks to as the indispensable crowning achievement of the present Peace Conference.

We quote from the President's speech at New York on September 27, 1918:

Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force? Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will, and the weak suffer without redress? Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance, or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

And further: Once for all the principle must be established that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest. That is what we mean when we speak of a permanent peace.

And, while on his visit to Europe Wilson also declared at Manchester: 'If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power the United States would take no interest because she will join no combination of Powers which is not a combination of all of us.' At Rome on January 3 he said again emphatically: 'We know that there cannot be another balance of power. And he frankly warned the Italian Government: 'Our task at Paris is to organize the friendship of the world—to set up a new international psychology to have a new atmosphere. We cannot stand in the shadow of this war without knowing there are things awaiting us which are in some senses more difficult than those we have undertaken because, while it is easy to speak of right and justice, it is sometimes difficult to work them out in practice.'

It is evident therefore that President Wilson has nowise relinquished his ideal, and as we may assume that he is enough of a diplomat not to attempt to force the realization of that ideal, in spite of the opposition of his Allies, we will be greatly interested in seeing how the President will pave the way for the future establishment of a real universal League of Nations, even though it is beyond the bounds of immediate realization.—*Het Vieuws Van Den Dag*

HUMANISM IN HINDU ART

IN Kalidasa's play, *Shakoontala* (fifth century A.D.), we have among the *dramatis personæ*, Anasuya, a damsel of the hermitage, who is skilled in painting. Besides, a considerable portion of Act VI, Sc. II is a study in art-criticism. It introduces us to some of the themes of the Hindu painters, their methods of execution, and the aesthetic taste of the spectators.

King Doosyanta has through inadvertence dismissed his wife Shakoontala from the palace. He soon perceives his mistake and becomes lovesick. Chatoorika, a court lady, is asked to paint a picture of Shakoontala. The king hopes to derive some relief from this likeness.

"A damsel enters with a picture.

Damsel Great king the picture is finished.

Doosyanta Yes that is her face, those are her beautiful eyes, those her beautiful lips embellished with smiles and surpassing the red lustre of the karkandhu fruit. Her mouth seems though painted, to speak and her countenance darts beams of affection blended with a variety of melting tints.

Madhavya Truly my friend it is a picture sweet as love itself, my eye glides up and down to feast on every particle of it and it gives me as much delight as if I were actually conversing with the living Shakoontala.

Mishrakeshu (aside) An exquisite piece of painting!—My beloved friend (Shakoontala) seems to stand before my eyes.

Doo Yet the picture is infinitely below the original and my warm fancy by supplying its imperfections represents in some degree the loveliness of my darling.

(Sighing) Alas! I rejected her when she lately approached me, and now I do homage to her picture.

Ma There are so many female figures on this canvas that I cannot well distinguish the lady Shakoontala.

Doo Which of the figures do you conceive intended for the queen?

Ma (examining the picture) It is she I imagine who looks a little fatigued, with the string of her vest rather loose, the slender stalks of her arms falling languidly; a few bright drops on her face, and some flowers dropping from her untied locks. That must be the queen and the rest, I suppose, are her damsels.

Doo You judge well, but my affection requires something more in this piece. Besides, through some defect in the colouring a tear seems trickling

down her cheek, which ill suits the state in which I desired to see her painted (*To the damsel*)—The picture, O Chatoorika is unfinished. Go back to the painting room and bring the implements of thy art.

Ma What else is to be painted?

Mi (aside) He desires I presume, to add all those circumstances which became the situation of his beloved in the hermitage.

Doo, In this landscape my friend, I wish to see represented the river Malloti with some amorous flamingoes on its green margins, farther back must appear some hills near the mountain Himalaya, surrounded with herds of chamas; and in the foreground, a dark spreading tree with a pair of black antelopes couching in its shade, and the female gently rubs her beautiful forehead on the horn of the male.

The artist had omitted a shirisa flower with its peduncle fixed behind her soft ear.

Ma Why does the queen cover part of her face, as if she was afraid of something? Oh! I now perceive an impudent bee, that thief of odours, who seems eager to sip honey from the lotus of her mouth.

Doo Shouldst thou touch O bee the lip of my darling thou shalt by my order be imprisoned in the centre of a lotus—Dost thou still disobey me?

Ma Why, friend it is only a painted bee.

Mi (aside) Oh! I perceive his mistake, it shows the perfection of the art.

There is no touch of pessimism, or subjectivism in all these remarks and suggestions. A modern lover examining the photograph or oil painting of his darling could not be more realistic.

Does this conversation open up to us a society of ascetics waiting for Divine illumination to evolve art out of the neoplatonic meditation or the Hindu dhyana? Or does it make the India of the fifth century a cognate of the modern world in its matter-of-fact sober grasp of the realities of flesh and blood?

It is really a specimen of Hindu positivism that Kalidasa, the Shakespeare of Hindu literature, has furnished in this bit of discussion in pictorial art. We feel how profound humanists the Hindu audiences were in their outlook, how non-mystical in their views and criticisms.

And yet European and American scholars have tried to demonstrate an

Oriental pessimism in the arts and crafts of the Hindus. It is generally held that the inspiration of the Hindu painters and sculptors is totally different from that of the Westerns. The images and pictures executed by the artists of India are believed to have been the products of an ultra-meditative consciousness. They are said to reveal a much too subjective or eclectic temperament. Further, they are all alleged to be religious or mythological in theme.

Comparative art history would indicate however that Hindu plastic art or drawing has not been the handmaid of theology to a far greater extent than the Classical and medieval works of Europe. Is it not Greek mythology that we see embodied in the sculptures of Ephesus? Similarly are not the Catholic paintings mere aids to the popularization of the Bible stories? Indeed art has long been more or less illustrative of history, legends, traditions and myths both in the East and the West.

We do not know much of the Greek paintings. But we know the legends in the drawings on the Greek vases of the fifth century B.C. In one the serpent is being strangled by Heracles almost as if the hydra Kaliya is being quelled by Krishna, in another Theseus is fighting the Amazons and in a third Gorgon is pursuing Perseus or Kadmos killing the dragon. What else are the themes of the *Purana* painters? And Hindus whose infancy is nurtured on the stories and paintings of the *Ramayana* would easily remember familiar scenes in the colored *terra cotta* of Hellas which portray for instance a Paris in the act of leading away Helen or the parting of Hector and Andromache.

It may be confidently asserted besides that the spiritual atmosphere of Gothic Cathedrals of the thirteenth century with their soul inspiring sculptures in alabaster and bronze has not been surpassed in the architecture of the East. The pillars at Chartres with bas-reliefs of images and flowers could be bodily transported to the best religious edifices of Hindustan. The elongated Virgin at the Paris Notre Dame is almost as conventionalized as a Korean Kwannon. The representation of virtues and vices on the portal of the Saviour at the Amiens Cathedral suggests the moralizing in woodwork on the walls of Nikko

and scenes from the Passion of the tympanum at Strassburg or from the Last Judgment on the tympanum of the north door in the cathedral at Paris are oriented to the same psychological background as the bas-reliefs depicting ascetics in the holy career of the Buddha with which the Sappas of Central India make us familiar or of the Dalai Lama on the surface of the marble godra at Leking.

Further it may be asked can any Classicist rationally declare that the Greek Apollons are not the creations of subjective experience? In what respects are the figures of the Hindu Budhas and Shivas more idealistic? Polykleitos for instance dealt with abstract humanity ideals or very nothing in the same sense as the artists of the Gupta period (A.D. 300-600) or Bhamban and Vitapala of the Pala period (750-1175) in India. Nowhere has a sculptured image his relief or coloured drawing been completely photographic. Art as such is bound to be interpretative or rather originitive.

We have to recognize moreover that saints and divinities are not the exclusive themes of art work in India. Hindu art has flourished in social, natural, plant and animal studies as well. Physical beauty was not a taboo in Hindu art psychology. The dignity of the flesh has left its stamp on India's water colours, gouache paintings and stone and bronze. Even the figures of the Hindu gods and goddesses are to be perceived as projections of the human personality. The medieval Rajput paintings of the Ladha Krishna cycle and the Shiva Doorga cycle can have but one secular appeal to all mankind.

Lastly, can one forget that the conditions of life that produced the Byzantine and Italian masterpieces were almost similar to the milieu under which flourished the celebrated Ajanta painters and Bharhut sculptors? For in the Middle Ages in Asia as in Europe the church or the temple was the school, the art gallery and the museum, the priests and monks were painters, poets, calligraphists and pedagogues and the Scriptures constituted the whole encyclopedia. And if today it is possible for the Western mind to appreciate Fra Angelico, Massaccio and Giotto it cannot honestly ignore the great masters of the Hindu styles especially in view of the fact that the works of the

Oriental mediævals are not more imperfect in technique according to modern ideas than those of their Occidental contemporaries.

The fundamental identity of artistic inspiration between the East and the West is incidentally borne out by coincidences in social life for which art work is responsible. Thus the interior, nave and aisles of the Buddhist cave temples do not impress an observer with any feelings different from those evoked by the early Christian churches and Norman Cathedrals. The towers and contours of the twelfth century Romanesque Cathedral at Ely and the sixteenth century Gothic structure at Orleans have the ensemble of the *gopurams* of Southern India. And the Gothic tapestries representing the hunting scenes of the Duke of Burgundy suggest at the very first sight the aspects of mediæval Hindu castles and the figures and head dresses of the Indo Saracenic Moghul styles.

It may sometimes be difficult for a non-Hindu to fully appreciate the images and printings of India because their conventions and motifs are so peculiarly Hindu. Exactly the same difficulty arises with regard to Western art. Who but a Christian can sympathise with a "Last Supper" or a "Holy Family" or a "God dividing light from darkness"? In fact, even the "Aeneid" would be unintelligible to the modern Eur American lovers of poetry unless they make it a point to study Roman history. Nay, a well educated Jew may naturally fail to respond to the sentiments in the *Divine Comedy* or Signorelli's "Scenes from Dante".

But the difficulties of appreciation by foreigners do not make an art work necessarily 'local' or racial. It may still be universal in its appeal and thoroughly humanistic. There are hardly any people who in modern times can enter into the spirit of the 'Ka' statues which stand by the sarcophagi in the cave tombs of the Pharaohs. And yet how essentially akin to modern mankind were the Egyptians if we can depend on the evidences of their letters? A Ka is described in one of the inscriptions thus: "He was an exceptional man, wise, learned, displaying true moderation of mind, distinguishing the wise man from the fool; a father to the unfortunate, a mother to the motherless, the terror of the cruel, the protector of the disinherited, the defender of the

oppressed, the husband of the widow, the refuge of the orphan." There is no gap in fundamental humanity between the men and women of today and the race that could write such an epitaph, in spite of the fact that many of its conventions and usages seem entirely meaningless.

The student of foreign literature has to specially qualify himself in order that he may understand the unfamiliar idioms of its language and the peculiar turns of expression. No other qualification is demanded in modern men and women for an appreciation of the old and distant carvings, statuettes and drawings. The chief desideratum is really an honest patience with the racial modes and paraphernalia of foreign art.

With this elementary preparation the Occidental connoisseur should be able to say about the Hindu sculptures and paintings what Max Weber says about all antiques in his essay on 'Tradition and Now'.

"Whether we have changed or not I believe in spite of all the manifestoes to the contrary, in what ever tongue they be written or spoken that the antiques will live as long as the sun shines, as long there is mother and child, as long as there are seasons and times, as long as there is life and death sorrow and joy."

In Shookra's treatise, we read a few injunctions against the construction of human images. We are told that "the images of gods, even if deformed, are for the good of men. But the images of men, even if well formed, are never for human good." Shookra's generally recognised dictum seems to be that 'the images of gods yield happiness to men, and lead to heaven, but those of men lead away from heaven and yield grief'.

Verses of a similar import may be used as texts by those who want to prove the wholly non-secular character of Hindu art. But such art critics would commit the same fallacy as those psychologists who formulate the race ideal of the entire Hindu population of all ages on the strength of a few sayings of Shakyas the Buddhas and other muralists. In spite of Shookra the Hindus have had sculptures of human beings in the streets and public places, bas-reliefs of warrior-kings on coins and paintings of men and women on the walls of their houses, palaces, and art galleries. Secular art was an integral part of their common life. Imagery and

smiles from the worldly paintings and sculptures are some of the stock in trade embellishments of every literary work, e. g., poetry, fiction, drama, in India.

In Subbhandhoo's prose romance, *Vasavadatta* (sixth century A.D.), there is a description of the Vindhya mountain. One of the objects mentioned is the lion "with his sinewy frame, now rising high behind and now before." And the author is at once led to think of the scene as a possible theme of painting. Thus

' His ears erect in sudden onslaught he fled
His mane astart and jaws all bared
His stiffened tall high waving in the breeze—
No artist could portray this awful beast
What time he croucheth on the mighty brow
Of some great elephant shrill trumpet
Adown the lonely dells of Vindhya's mount

Painting was an accomplishment of literary women. The box of paints, canvases, pencil, tapestry and picture frames are referred to in the *Clay Cart Raghuo-yamsha Uttara rama charita* and *Kadambaree*. All these references apply to mundane paintings. In *Vasavadatta*, again, *Kusumapura* or *Patalipootra* (Patna) is described as a city of which the conspicuous objects are the statues which adorn the white washed houses.

It is almost a convention with the heroes and heroines of Hindu literature to speak of the faces of their beloved as 'pictures fixed on the walls of the heart'. This conceit occurs even in Krishna Mishra's morality play *Prabodha chandrodaya* (eleventh century).

In Subbhandhoo's romance the heroine Vasavadatta is seen by Kandarpaketoo in a dream. She "was a picture as it were, on the wall of life. And when he awoke he 'embraced the sky, and with outstretched arms cried to his beloved as if she were painted in the heavens, graven on his eyes, and carved on his heart. Kandarpaketoo goes to

sleep 'looking on that most dear one as if limned by the pencil of fancy on the tablet of his heart.

Similarly Vasavadatta thinks of Kandarpaketoo "as if he were carved on her heart" as if he were engraved there, "inlaid, riveted." She exclaims to one of her maidens "Trace in a picture the thief of my thoughts." And, over and over thinking thus, as if he were painted on the quarters and sub quarters (of the sky) as if he were engraved on the cloud, as if he were reflected in her eye she painted him in a picture as if he had been seen before."

The joy of life in all its manifestations is the one grand theme of all Hindu art. It is futile to approach the sculptors and painters of India with the notion of finding a typically Hindu message in them. The proper method would be to watch how far and in what manner the artist has achieved his ends as artist, i.e., as manipulator of forms and colours. Interpretation of life or criticism of life may be postulated of every great worker in ink, bronze or clay, whether in the East or in the West. The only test of a masterpiece, however, is ultimately furnished by the questions: Is it consistent in itself? 'Does this handiwork of man add to the known types of the universe? 'Has it extended the bounds of Creation?'

Human ideals are the same all the world over. One piece of art in India may be superior to another in Europe, and vice versa. But this superiority is not necessarily a superiority in art ideal or race genius. It has to be credited to the individual gifts of the master in workmanship. There is but one standard for all art but one world measure for all human energy.

New York City, BRJONI KUMAR SARKAR
Dec 26, 1918

ASIAN IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.,
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JAPAN is now being recognized as one of the "big five" powers at the Paris Peace Table. And having been admitted to the charmed circle, it is interesting to

note, the representatives of Japan—the Oriental Asian Japan—are demanding that racial discriminations and restrictions be placed against the natives of Japan.

should be dropped forthwith. The statesmen of France, Italy, America, and England are being plainly told the time has come when the Nipponese should be welcomed into the allied countries as their Western equals, and not excluded on the ground of their supposed Asian inferiority. What will be the answer to this Japanese demand by the League of Nations? At present the subjects of the Mikado, along with many other Asian peoples, are shut out from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and especially from the United States. How is this problem of Oriental immigration to be solved? Will it yield to cool, wise, sagacious statesmanship, or, will it lead to another and still more disastrous world war?

It is my object at present to discuss the Asian immigration, especially the Indian immigration, in the United States. Chinese have been excluded from these shores by special enactments of Congress. And the Japanese laborers since 1907 have also been kept at arm's length by an informal agreement between Washington and Tokio, popularly known as the Gentleman's Agreement. Now the circle of exclusion has been still further deepened and widened, not by an international agreement, nor by the mention of any race or people, but by the following arbitrary, haphazard geographical boundary line fixed by the Immigration Law of 1917:

"Persons who are natives of islands not possessed by the United States adjacent to the Continent of Asia, situated south of the twentieth parallel latitude north, west of the one hundred and sixtieth meridian of longitude east from Greenwich, and north of the tenth parallel of latitude south, or who are natives of any country, province, or dependency situated on the continent of Asia west of the one hundred and tenth meridian of longitude east from Greenwich and east of the fiftieth meridian of longitude east from Greenwich and south of the fiftieth parallel of latitude north, except that portion of said territory situated between the fiftieth and the sixty-fourth meridians of longitude east from Greenwich and the twenty-fourth and thirty-fifth parallels of latitude north, and no alien now in any way excluded from, or prevented from entering, the United States shall be admitted to the United States."

Take down your atlas from the shelf and draw a red pencil through the map of Asia as indicated by this Immigration Law. You will see that it prohibits the people of India, Indo-China, Siam, New Guinea, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, and some of the other islands of southern and southwestern Asia from setting foot on American

soil. Roughly speaking, the law excludes from entrance into the United States the inhabitants of more than one-quarter of Asia; to them America is a "forbidden land." Curiously enough the longitudinal and latitudinal provision of the measure leaves untouched the people of Turkey, Persia, the greater part of Arabia, northern Asian regions as well as the Philippine Islands.

The law provides, of course, for a class of exemptions. It says that the exclusion provision "shall not apply to persons of the following status or occupations: government officers, ministers or religious teachers, missionaries, lawyers, physicians, chemists, civil engineers, teachers, students, authors, artists, merchants and travelers for curiosity or pleasure, nor to their legal wives or their children under sixteen years of age who shall accompany them or who subsequently may apply for admission to the United States." But the act also lays down with emphasis that the exempted persons "who fail to maintain in the United States a status or occupation, placing them within the excepted classes shall be deemed to be in the United States contrary to law, and shall be subject to deportation."

So far the law has been applied leniently against Indian youths who come here for education with limited means; but should the law be enforced rigorously, it would exclude all who may desire to earn their way through college.

One cannot help wondering why Congress did not put Africa in the excluded area. Why does it exclude the citizens of India, whom the courts of America repeatedly held to be white people? Why does Congress permit to come to America all the natives of every part of the darkest Africa and place the ban on the Indians, the possessors of a great literature, the inheritors of a noble civilisation, and the comrades in arms of the Americans in the world war? A few of the sane and sober statesmen in Congress saw the injustice of the measure and characterized it as "fantastic". There never was anything more farcical attempted in legislation," declared Hon. Miles Poindexter on the floor of the United States Senate, "and there never could be anything that would be more offensive to intelligent people in foreign countries affected than that sort of arbitrary, unreasonable, inconsistent

arrangement, to exclude one and to admit the other when there is no difference whatever between them. It may be that in the case of members of the same family, born of the same parents, one should be excluded and the other admitted. They would be excluded because they happen to be on the wrong side of a red line that is drawn on the map, a line that includes . . . countries containing white people."

Long and strenuous attempts were made to bring in Japan within the scope of the exclusion law of 1917. Japan, however, objected to being excluded by a congressional act. It is an open secret that Nippon entered vigorous protests against the bill as it affected its national honor, and secured changes to suit itself. There is no more valid social or economic reasons to exclude Indians than there is to exclude the Japanese.

To be sure, there is the Gentleman's Agreement to keep out the natives of Japan from this country, but it should be clear at once to students of international politics that by virtue of this understanding the condition of exclusion is carried out through the Japanese government, and that it is Japan itself which retains in its own hands the power of controlling its immigration to the United States. When ever the Gentleman's Agreement is abrogated in any way by Japan, then the doors are open to Japanese immigration into America. Hon. Anthony Caminetti, the United States Immigration Commissioner General, was shrewd enough to see this point. "The law, regulations, and understanding," said Mr. Caminetti, "by means of which the regulation of the admission of Japanese laborers is sought to be accomplished, while in many regards they have operated to the satisfaction of both Governments concerned, contain so many exceptions of a constantly broadening nature that they can not be expected to be fully effective of their purpose. Modifications of several kinds are needed in these laws and regulations."† His warnings have been given small heed. As it is, Japan has wrested especial favors from America.

Some time ago I addressed a letter to Sir Cecil Arthur Spring Rice, then the

British ambassador in Washington, asking what steps he had taken to protest against the immigration act which discriminates against the people of India. The astounding reply that came from the British embassy was that "no protest was lodged against the clause excluding Hindus [meaning Indians] from the United States since it was considered that the Embassy could not properly interfere in a matter of domestic legislation."

Hon. Cecil Arthur's arguments for failure of action in this crisis were more than amusing, if it were not such a serious affair, laughter would strain the walls of the stomach. Interference with domestic legislation! What buncombe! What sickening cant! Suppose India undertakes to pass a law excluding Americans from its shores will the American consul general in India, Mr. James A. Smith, stand by and enter no protest with the Delhi government because it might be construed as an interference in a matter of domestic legislation? I should say not. If Mr. Smith does anything of the kind, the presumption is that he will have to pack his grips in a hurry and race for home.

An inquiry was sent to the Chinese minister Dr. Yi Kym W. Koo at Washington asking if he had made his wishes known to the United States government concerning the immigration bill which affected his country. The Chinese legation answered that "when the Bill was in Congress we entered a protest with the State Department."

I also wrote a letter to Viscount Suterri Chinda, then the Japanese ambassador in Washington, asking if he had taken any action against the immigration bill which threatened to exclude the Japanese from the United States. His prompt reply was that he "has had occasion to interpose protests at several stages of its enactment for the reason that the bill contained

* Letter to the writer from British Embassy, Washington D. C. dated April 25 1917.

† The influential Chinese daily newspaper of New York City, *Ming Ko Ku Pao* on May 20, 1916 wrote: "The Chinese Minister Dr. Koo went to see Secretary of State Lansing yesterday about the pending immigration bill Dr. Koo presented and demanded:

1. Recognition of the Chinese as citizens of the unfavored nation.

2. Repeal of all the special discriminatory laws against China." (Translated from Chinese by Mr. T. S. Chang of the State University of Iowa.)

* *Congressional Record* December 13, 1916 Vol 54 No 9, p 276

† *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor, 1916* p 11

passages directly or indirectly discriminatory toward the Japanese people.*

I do not pretend to be up on all the subtle tricks of secret diplomacy, but any body with half an eye can see that Mr Spring Rice's understanding of the spirit of international courtesy, if not of international law, is very odd. If the Chinese and Japanese ministers could protest against a discriminatory measure, why could not the English minister who is supposed to represent not only England but also India?

Strangely enough the United States government never did say that it would regard any move on the part of India as an interference in her domestic affairs. In fact in 1914, when the Hindu immigration bill first came up before Congress, Hon. William Jennings Bryan then the United States Secretary of State, told me in an audience I had with him that he would heartily welcome any co-operation from the British embassy†. In response to his request I called on the ambassador. Instead of giving any active assistance, Mr Spring Rice went rambling along and spoke an infinite deal of nothing. The upshot of the conference was that he practically banged the door on Mr Bryan's appeal for co-operation. Provoking as was his indifference, I was able to secure an important hearing directly before the House Committee of Congress on Immigration‡. I sought for no especial privileges, I asked for no especial favors. I asked that Indians be admitted on the same terms as are the other peoples of the world. To the members of the Committee I further represented that if absolutely necessary, Indian immigration like the Japanese immigration, be regulated by an agreement, a diplomatic arrangement rather than by a statutory act. The Committee was convinced of the reasonableness of my plea, but as it was not backed up by English authorities, any chance that might have existed of substituting diplomacy for an act of

Congress went glimmering by. Today India is humiliated by a most hide bound rigid exclusion law. Is this another rebuff of a subject nation? Will the Indian people be reconciled to such a disgrace?

America has undoubted right to select her prospective citizenship, but it is the discriminatory policy which affronts the dignity of the Indian nation. Hindustan is not particularly anxious to send out her sons to countries where they are not welcome, especially since there will be developments right in India to absorb all her own supply of labor. Even now Indians do not come here in any appreciable numbers like those of other nations. If the cheap street corner labor agitators, who keep alive the fire of narrow race prejudice against the Indians, will turn to *Reports of the Department of Labor* ending 1917, they will find that while the number of Indians admitted in 1916 was 272 the number departed was 259, and again in 1917 the number that entered this country was 263, while the number of immigrants that went back to India was 295, thus there was an actual decrease of 32. Hence the wild assertion that America is in imminent danger of an "overwhelming invasion" from Indian immigrants is a mere pipe dream.

Time and again the question has been asked, Can Hindus—Americans call all Indians by that name—be Americanized? They can be, of course. Prof. John K. Commons of the University of Wisconsin says "To be great, a nation need not be of one blood, it must be of one mind. It is not physical amalgamation which unites mankind, it is mental community." This mental community can be best secured through education in the public school. It is the first aid to the nation, the greatest Americanizing agency, the most potent specific for assimilating foreign elements. Of the thirteen million men and women in America who were born in other lands, three million were not able to speak English according to the last census. These foreign born peoples were not given up as unassimilable. On the contrary, numerous agencies were set up for their reclamation. Thousands of these immigrants were enrolled in public schools, hundreds of others were reached through the machinery of night schools. And just as Armenians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Syrians, Turks, Arabs, and

* Letter to the writer from Imperial Japanese Embassy Washington D.C. dated April 12, 1917.

† See author's article "Exclusion of the Indians from America" in *The Modern Review* Vol. VI, June 1914 p. 621.

‡ See *Hearings Before the Committee on Immigration House of Representatives Sixty third Congress second session Feb. 17 1914 Part I* pp. 321.

Persons could be Americanized so could the Indians

Another argument against the Indians is that they will cut in the wages of American laborers. This apprehension it appears to me is not well founded. Owing to their increased standard of living in this country Indians cannot afford to underbid their American competitors. The main reason for Indians to come here is to better their economic condition. Whatever the scale of wages in India may be Indians do keep up wages to the American standard. They are forced to do it in order to meet increased expenses. The change of conditions in climate work and customs make their wants in the new country far more numerous than in Hindustan. They need several changes of clothing several pairs of boots better food and better living accommodations. All this makes it imperative for Indians to demand higher wages. The plain truth is that Indians for the same kind of work ask and receive the same remuneration as do American laborers.

Sometimes it is also argued that Hindus send away American money to India. That is true. I will admit to a certain extent but a part of American money has always gone to foreign lands and it ever will. America pays her good money to foreign countries for many commodities such as tea coffee sugar woolen goods and dyestuffs before the war. America also pays interest on her national bonds held abroad. Furthermore American travelers in Europe and those who have permanently settled there spend annually millions of money. Prof. F. W. Taussig of Harvard University estimates that in antebellum days this amount has not been less than three hundred million rupees a year.* What an Indian laborer takes away from America is comparatively a paltry amount for the labor he has actually performed. This sum small even in exaggerated terms is an inevitable incident of his employment. Why then should there be an outcry against him?

In many respects Indian immigrants are much better than those of Europe who not infrequently turn out to be bloodthirsty anarchists black handers and Bolsheviks. Hindus are as a rule

peaceful law abiding honest industrious faithful and frugal. Is it possible for anybody to ask for more? Again never has a Hindu become a public charge never has he been known to be an inmate of the poor house. On the other hand, many European immigrants habitually frequent drinking saloons fill city slums crowd into gambling dens and even become guests of bridewells. Can therefore anyone have sufficient reason for preferring Europeans to Indians on moral grounds?

Hindus in America did all they could to register their protest against the exclusion law. Here and there mass meetings were held and petitions were sent to Washington when the Immigration Bill was under discussion. The following is one of the many protests wired to Secretary of State Robert Lansing:

The Hindus of California beg to record their protest against the proposed legislation to exclude Hindus from this country. Comparatively few Hindus are able to come here. There will be some students and some laborers.

Those who have already come here have proven themselves peaceful industrious and law abiding. They came to escape the unspeakable poverty and a land in the hope of bettering their condition in this land of freedom and opportunity. To exclude them would be unjust. A few thousand laborers and students are not enough to make an immigrant problem and as for the future Hindu laborers are in such poverty that it is impossible for them to come here in great numbers. The average income of a Hindu is \$9.00 a year. How can they come here? It is not worthy of the traditions of this great country to exclude the few who may be able to get here.

Thousands of open minded American citizens saw the justice of the Indian cause. They generously lent their aid in making an honorable settlement. To them the Indian nation is sure will tender grateful thanks. These American citizens memorialized the United States Congress with a petition. The protest which now lies buried deep among other government documents is as follows:

To the Senators and Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress of the United States

The undersigned petitioners citizens of the United States respectfully show

First That the case is now pending before the United States Senate an act passed by the House of Representatives known as H. R. 10384 and entitled An act to regulate the immigration of aliens and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Second That said proposed act unduly discriminates against an entire race of a great and worthy people of the same Aryan stock to which the

* Taussig's Principles of Economics Vol. I p. 472 (New edition)

great majority of our fellow citizens belong and the inheritors of a civilization which has conferred benefits upon the whole human race—the Hindus.

"Third. That the retention in said proposed act of the provisions which would exclude any of the Hindus who have formerly come to this country to reside, or who are likely to do so in the near future, merely because they are Hindus, would be a lasting stain and disgrace to the honor and humanity of our country, which has hitherto stood for equal opportunity for all and an open door for the oppressed of all nations.

"Fourth. That at the present time, owing to the wise and humane laws of the country respecting immigration which have hitherto prevailed, a considerable number of Hindus of the student, scholar, and professional classes have availed themselves of the educational and other opportunities which our country offers them and are now residents there; that said proposed act places upon these classes humiliating and quite unnecessary hardships, such as deportation at any time within five years, making that provision retroactive, and, in case of deportation, exposing them to possible prosecution in their own country for political opinions expressed by them during their residence here.

"Your petitioners therefore respectfully pray that all said invidious and harmful provisions be stricken from said proposed act."

The American press on the whole maintained a conspiracy of silence on the subject of Indian exclusion; but the following from *Los Angeles Times*, a leading paper of the State of California, where most of the Hindu laborers are, is worth quoting:

"The American missionaries and merchants have gone to India and carried to the natives the glad-some tidings that this is the land of the free and the home of the brave; that all men are created equal, and that in this country at least the lamp of education is lit and that its beams are free to all. They have merely represented what our Constitution and Declaration of Independence apparently guarantee.

"Yet by the terms of the Immigration Bill the people of India as a whole, are excluded from entry into the United States.

"There is a definite and organized opposition to these discriminating provisions of the bill—not only on the part of the educated Hindus, but through various educational societies who have memorialized the Senate and the President on the subject."

"There is no warrant whatever for incorporation in the law of the land of a registered hostility against the Hindu race. This seems odd on the part of a country that has a massive statue of universal liberty standing at its front door....

"As a nation we are seeking enlarged market in the far east, while the politicians and demagogues

are doing what they can to nullify all chance of trade expansion."

There was persistent rumor that the most effective opposition to the presence of Indians in America came from London, and that American legislature at Washington was a poor second. Personally, I do not think that all the stories are true; but the silent careful indifference of the English embassy, which gave additional color to the rumor, was very eloquent. It paralyzed the efforts of the Indians to improve their conditions in America.

Hindustan has been called upon during the past four years to defend the English empire by her good will as well as by the expenditure of blood and treasure. Her brave sons during this mighty world war have been in the forefront of every battle for England's freedom and democracy. Indians have fought and bled wherever men have fought and bled. They have accomplished untold deeds of courage and heroism which have seldom before been recorded in human history. By her unprecedented sacrifices India is of right entitled to a quid pro quo. Now that Indian blood has mingled with the rivers flooding Europe, will England recognize its obligations to Hindustan? As India has helped Great Britain in its distress, will it betray India? As a reward for their many magnificent services, will the people of India continue to be discriminated against as immigrants both in the English empire and in countries allied with it? That is the vital issue, and there can be no dodging it. It is now squarely up to the people and the government. Will India triumph? I think I hear across the ocean India asking in tones of iron determination and in a voice of grim imperative command that her problems, foreign and domestic, be solved, and solved now—now, not after dismal months and years of delay, confusion, and humiliation—now, not after it is too late—after the "unforgettable gratitude" of England to India is forgotten. India will not be denied. Indians set their jaws and put iron in their minds. They can, must, and shall win their legitimate rights.

AGGRESSIVE HINDUISM *

THE interpretation of 'Aggressive Hinduism' to be gathered from a careful perusal of this little booklet is not the one which suggests itself to the mind at first sight. For here we find Sister Nivedita exhorting us to become aggressive by determining, not merely to keep what we had, but to win what we never had before. The question we should ask ourselves is not how much we kept but how much have we annexed? It is the Sister's emphatic and deliberate opinion that there is no possible goal for the Indian people but a complete assimilation of the modern consciousness. To do this, we shall have to cancel all the elements of local prejudice in a given problem and 'extract the root fact from all the diversity of phenomena in which it clothes itself'. This will not be possible unless the Indian mind can deliberately discipline itself to the historic point of view. We must 'analyse and compare various methods' and 'add to our own the virtues of others'. 'It is no longer enough to know one thing well. It is also incumbent on us to understand its place amongst other things, and its relation to the scheme of knowledge as a whole'. The outstanding distinction between Medievalism and Modernism lies in the geographical discovery of the world as a whole. 'The great intellectual and social failure of to-day lies in provincialism'. 'The cultivation of the sense of humanity as a whole is the essential feature of a modern education'. Just as the man who merely by imitating the habits and manners of the European democracy considers himself an exalted and competent critic of his own people is nothing but a contemptible snob so to take one's stand persistently on local prejudices is almost as futile, and both miss the effective achievement. Only the fully national we should also remember, can contribute to the cosmo-national Selfidealism worshipping our own past praising our

ancestors is meant for encouragement, not for conceit.

Children of the *rishis* exclaim a great orator to the crowd before him but if some common man denies from this the idea that he is a *rishi* he shows his own *tamas* and nothing more. Only *tamas* makes this mistake. The methods of Christ will not bring the victory of Christ to the man who is not Christ. In him the dumbness of the sheep is mere sheep shyness not Christ likeness.

Laziness and defeat are not renunciation. To protect another is infinitely greater than to attain salvation. *Mukti* lies in overcoming the thirst for *Mukti*.

Not for most of us to reach the Absolute now for most of us only the limited end whatever it be and for that to forget self! Only through action can we rise to that which is beyond action. The world is full of causes for which a man may give his all. Ladders of rope by which we may draw ourselves up to the *Mukti* at present out of sight. It is not his *gerua* cloth but his selflessness that makes a monk. There may be monks of science and learning monks of art and industry monks of the public life and service and monks for the defence of the defenceless. Great is the impulse of renunciation greater is the sustained self sacrifice of a heroic life.

Society in India watches over the minutest details of a man's life and through out his life and for ages and ages it has taught man the social value of quietness, docility, resignation and obedience. But a social evolution which in Asia has occupied many centuries is in the West relegated to at most the first ten years of a child's upbringing, and after that, strength, initiative, sense of responsibility, the power of rebellion, disciplined and subordinated to impersonal ends coupled with a sense of fairplay, are the lessons which his teachers and guardians strive to foster in him. Instead of being the preserver of Hindu custom Hinduism should henceforth be the creator of Hindu character.

This dynamic transformation of character is what Sister Nivedita means by Aggressive Hinduism. It is only thereby that Hinduism can contribute to the world's sum of culture not merely to make adaptations from it.

'Our past henceforth is active and not passive. Our task is to translate ancient knowledge into modern equivalents—Spiritually Intellectual.'

* Aggressive Hinduism by Sister Nivedita. Ld Bodhan Office Calcutta, 1918. Price Annas four.

there is no undertaking but we must attempt it we must create a history of India in living terms Great literatures have to be created in each of the vernaculars Art must be reborn Not only to utter India to the world but also to voice India to herself—this is the mission We look to make our descendants greater than our ancestors

Complete assimilation of the modern consciousness all round development of character and striving to attain the highest spiritually and intellectually in all spheres of action—this is thus the sum and substance of what Sister Nivedita wants to designate by the expression Aggressive Hinduism which has however been interpreted by many as a militant defence of the Hindu faith in the spirit of 'my religion right or wrong' That this latter interpretation was not the one which Sister Nivedita the inventor of the phrase, wanted it to bear admits of no doubt, for when properly analysed, it

will be found that the association of the name Hinduism with the cult thus advocated is due to the fact that it was addressed to and meant for Hindus and has no other necessary or logical connection with them, and the epithet 'Aggressive' is given to it because it is a protest against the passivity of inaction which characterises the Hindu race Really speaking, what Sister Nivedita under the guise of Aggressive Hinduism preaches to us is nothing more nor less than what she calls cosmopolitanism—the harmonious union of the racial with world culture—which is the highest ideal of cultured manhood all the world over at the present day, and this is the ideal transformed into purposive and fruitful action, which she holds up before the Hindus as the only one worthy of their acceptance

Q

THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE

1. A RETROSPECT

AN INTERVIEW WITH DR G. B. CLARK OF THE COMMITTEE

By St Nihal Singh

I

THE affairs connected with the British Congress Committee in London are at present in such a tangle that I thought it might serve a useful purpose if I asked Dr George Brown Clark who is the oldest living member of that body and who since the death of Sir William Wedderburn in 1917 has been acting as its chairman to explain to me (1) how the Committee came into being (2) what work it has done (3) what its present activities are (4) what connection it has with the newspaper *India* and (5) what may be expected of it in the immediate future

A Scotsman by birth and a radical by birth and inclination Dr Clark for more than half a century has been fighting for all manner of reform—fighting hard and persistently without caring whom he hit The more unpopular the cause the more could it count upon his sympathy and active support Many attempts were

made to buy him up with a knighthood or an office but he refused to give up the freedom that enabled him to call men to power to account for their indiscretions and follies whether such highly placed men belonged to his own (Liberal) party or otherwise

Dr Clark began to take an interest in India early in his life When only 19 he entered the service of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway At that time (1865) the railway from Bombay to Poona had not been built and communications in all parts of India were extremely deficient University education had hardly begun, and there was no sign of political activity in the country

Though he remained with the G. I. P. Railway only three years Dr Clark used his opportunities to great advantage to learn as much as he could of the people and of the land Even after his return to Britain his brother engaged in medical work in Rajputana formed a link between

him and Indra and drew him on several occasions to that country. In 1875 he saw, in the suite of the Maharaja of Jeypur Lord Lytton's great *tamasha* at Delhi when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. He paid India other visits and twice attended the Congress.

The agitation set on foot by the 'Indian Civil Service to defeat the Ilbert Bill' was responsible for drawing Dr Clark into the Indian political movement. The conservatives in Great Britain took up the cry set up in India against the late Lord Ripon and his law member Mr (now Sir) Courtenay Ilbert both staunch liberals sent out to India by a Liberal Government. The Conservative leaders placed their entire party machinery at the service of the deputation that the civilians in revolt sent here to press their case and the whole country rang with accusations against the people of India and the Liberal party which was bent upon placing Englishmen in India in a position of abject subservience.

Dr Clark and Mr William Digby (who had spent many years in journalism in Ceylon and India) readily realised the necessity of doing all they could to counteract the conservative movement. Liberals with knowledge of India—notably Sir David Wedderburn the elder brother of Sir William Wedderburn and Mr George Foggs joined them. They found the Liberal party ready and anxious to help them in every way it could. They revived the Indian reform committee which, I believe, had been originally established by John Bright and Dr Clark became its Chairman. Under its auspices and assisted by the Liberal party they went about the country addressing meetings controverting the Tory statements and setting Indians and Indian institutions in their proper perspective.

The late Mr A. K. Sethna and Mr Lal Mohan Ghose were at that time in this country and rendered great assistance in the campaign. Mr Ghose stood, in 1884 for Deptford as a Liberal candidate—the first Indian who ever sought to enter the House of Commons. Though he failed to get in his electioneering campaign served to arouse great interest in India. I may state parenthetically that in 1892 Mr (afterwards Dr) Dadabhai Naoroji was elected as a Liberal M. P. for Central

Finsbury, followed in 1885 by Mr (now Sir) Mancherji Bhownagree as Conservative member of Parliament for Bethnal Green, East.

In the meantime, Indians in India were not inactive. Lord Lytton's show at Delhi demonstrated to thoughtful Indians the possibility of reconciling the clash of creed and caste and political associations began to be formed. The 'civilian revolt' made them realize the necessity of organized agitation.

In 1883 Mr Alan Octavian Hume retired from the (Bengal) Civil Service, and threw himself into the movement for Indian political reform and the Congress was established. Its first session was held during the closing days of 1885. Two years later Sir William Wedderburn retired from the Indian Civil Service, and returned to Britain. About that time Mr Naoroji also came back to this country, which he had first visited in 1833. Mr Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee was about that time enjoying a large Privy Council practice and every year was spending many months in this country. Acting in co-operation with Mr Andrew Yule and others Hume, Wedderburn, Naoroji and Bonnerjee formed the British Congress Committee into which the Indian Reform Association was merged in 1889 and which three years later absorbed the Indian Political Agency which had been started in 1887 by Mr Digby.

II

I asked Dr Clark what relationship the Committee was to bear with the Congress in India. He answered that the two bodies were designed to work hand in hand. The men who had been mainly responsible for the organisation of the Congress composed the Committee and in consequence the Committee from the very beginning enjoyed a great prestige—a prestige that placed it above control or even criticism from India.

In response to my query about the Committee's functions Dr Clark said that they were of a dual nature.

(1) The Committee was to keep the Congress in India informed of Indian affairs in this country and to advise it about the policies that required to be formulated, and the measures that ought to be taken.

(2) The Committee was to carry on

propaganda in this country to advance India politically.

The first object was served through correspondence that was carried on officially by the Committee, or privately by its members, with the Indian Congress leaders. For years Mr. Hume and some of the other members of the Committee were in the habit of sending an annual message to the Congress. Every now and again one or another member of the Committee went out to India to preside over or to attend a session of the Congress.

Indian propaganda—the second object of the Committee—was carried on through various ways:

(1) Several of its members were in Parliament: W. S. Caine (1880-89, and 1892-95), Dr. G. B. Clarke (1885-1900), Dadabhai Naoroji (1892-1895), Sir Herbert Roberts (1892-1918), Sir William Wedderburn (1893-1900), Mr. Thomas Hart-Davies (1906-1910), Mr. C. J. O'Donnell (1906-1910), Dr. V. H. Rutherford (1906-1910), Mr. James O'Grady (1906-1918), and Mr. A. Mac Callum Scott (since 1910). They gathered together as many friends of India in Parliament as they could and formed a Parliamentary Committee, which asked Indian questions in the House, raised Indian debates, and otherwise kept India to the fore.

(2) India (of which more later) was sent to members of Parliament and others especially interested in Indian affairs to keep them informed of Indian developments. Whenever necessary additional information was supplied by the Committee.

(3) Members of the Committee—notably Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—carried on correspondence with persons interested in India and wrote to the press to convey information or to support an Indian movement or contradict or correct a wrong impression that was sought to be given.

(4) The Committee whenever occasion arose, published pamphlets written by members and other friends of India.

(5) Various members delivered addresses from platforms in London and in the provinces.

Dr. Clark does not remember the exact date when India was started. Perhaps it was in 1890. He thinks, however, that it began as a monthly, and was afterwards converted into a weekly. Hume,

Wedderburn, Dadabhai Naoroji, Bonnerjee and Digby all co-operated in conducting it.

Digby edited India until 1892. Among those who followed him as editor, Mr. (now Sir) Gordon Hewart (Attorney General in the present Administration), Professor Muirhead and Mr. H. E. A. Cotton may be mentioned. Mr. Cotton was appointed shortly after he returned from India in 1906 and resigned his position only a short time ago. Mr. Ratcliffe, who more than once had relieved Mr. Cotton, succeeded him, but shortly afterwards was called to the United States of America, Mr. H. S. L. Polak being appointed to act for him. Mr. Ratcliffe returned from America a short time ago, but since his movements are uncertain he has not taken up the editorship of India which pending other arrangements, continues to be conducted by Mr. Polak.

At first India was privately owned belonging to a company composed of men interested in Indian affairs. After a few years, Dr. Clark does not remember how many, the British Committee took it over and conducted it. The paper did not, however, go well and entailed a considerable loss—something like £2,000 in a few years. In 1903 it was, therefore, decided to transfer it to a limited liability company, specially formed to conduct the paper. The ordinary shares were taken by the committee as payment for the paper, and preferential capital was subscribed by friends interested in India. Mr. G. K. Gokhale and other Indian friends helped to secure a large number of subscribers in India, at one time numbering something like 5,000. In consequence the newspaper not only paid its way, but in some years even returned profit.

Before the war began, however, the number of subscribers was going down and when hostilities commenced and sent up the cost of production (the cost of paper alone rose from something like 2d. to 1-2d per lb.), printing and other expenses, India began to entail heavy loss. Two years ago the Committee undertook to meet the deficit, and last year it came up to something like £900. This year the loss may not exceed £700. The obligation was assumed by the Committee for a definite period and will end in June, unless that body undertakes to renew it.

I asked Dr. Clark what the committee

has been doing during recent years besides subsidising India. He was frank enough to confess that of late its activities have grown less and less. The reason for this, he said, is not that the interest taken by the members in India is waning but because so many of the members have died or have drifted away from London and no new members have been added with the exception of Sir Herbert Roberts who like his father-in-law the late Mr Cairne is greatly interested in the Indian Temperance Reform movement and Mr S H Swinney President of the London Positivists Society.

First Dadabhai Naoroji retired and went away to India. Next Mr Hume and Sir Henry Cotton died. For many years before his death Sir William Wedderburn lived in his home in Gloucestershire and found it increasingly difficult to journey back and forth to London. Mr Hart Davies, who at one time took a keen interest in the Committee and Mr Bernard Houghton who wrote a masterly indictment of government by bureaucracy live far away from London and practically never attend meetings. Since he became Secretary to Mr Winston Churchill Mr MacCallum Scott seldom comes in. For some reason or other the same is true of Mr O'Donnell and Mr O'Grady.

For practical purposes therefore the Committee consists of Dr Clark, Mr Parekh, Dr Rutherford, Mr Delgado, Sir Herbert Roberts and Mr Swinney with Mr Douglas Hall as Secretary—a post that he has occupied continuously for about 26 years. As ex-Presidents of the Congress Mr B N Basu and Lord Sinha are members of the Committee and Mr Polak, Mr St Nihal Singh and Dr Rao attend as visiting members.

I asked Dr Clark why it was that after the death of Sir William Wedderburn no attempt was made to reorganize the Committee and to transfuse new blood into it to make it a vigorous organization capable of coping with the existing exigencies. He replied:

After Sir William's death we resolved not to expand ourselves because we thought that the situation in India was extremely vague and we waited until we could receive first hand information about it. When Mr Basu arrived in the spring of last year and told us how things were there, we decided to continue that policy

until the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was out and India had declared herself. Since that report appeared there has been a very sharp division in Indian opinion and in that of the Committee. The only thing that we thought possible if we were to work together was to preserve as neutral an attitude as possible until such time as the various deputations could come from India and we could ascertain from them just what the position was there and to what extent we could co-operate. These deputations will arrive towards the end of May and after conferring with them it will be possible for us to make up our minds what course we will take.

I do not mind telling you, added Dr Clark, that the men in India whom we knew and with whom we have worked are the Moderate leaders who have seceded from the Congress. It is but inevitable that many of us should want to continue our association with them. But then the question arises: How can we work with those who have seceded from the Congress and still remain a Committee of the Congress whose name we bear and which has met our expenses not wholly but largely? But as I have said before no decision is possible until we meet the deputations—especially the one that the Congress is sending here with general authority to confer with us.

III

My complaint is that the Committee has been following a policy of *laissez faire* at a time when it was necessary that a strong Indian propaganda should be conducted. While that body has been in a state of suspended animation persons and societies inimical to educated Indians have been carrying on an active persistent and vicious campaign which needed to be counteracted by equally active and persistent pre-Indian propaganda. Indians have for a generation made it possible for the British Congress Committee to exist and they had every right to expect that the Committee would carry on such propaganda especially at a time when grave changes in the Indian constitution were impending and the British needed to be educated in regard to Indian aspirations and Indian capacity for self government.

If India had been conducted with skill

and vigour, and if it had championed the Congress cause, it could have served a most useful purpose—a purpose for which it is maintained by Indians. But as a subsidized organ of the Congress, and even as a newspaper, it has been far from a success—especially ever since the Montagu Chelmsford scheme was published. Of all the views put forward since then by Indians the one that has received the least backing from it is the Congress view.

Dr Clark admits quite frankly that the Committee has had funds at its disposal to undertake special propaganda—indeed he says that the Committee never possessed so much cash in hand as it did at the time Sir William Wedderburn died.

It is a great misfortune that this policy of drift is to continue for at least several months.

IV

Though I am greatly disappointed in the Committee, as it is and as it has been for years, I am not one of those who think that it should be ended. That would be, to my mind, a great misfortune to the cause of India in this country and in India itself.

It must be remembered that the Committee has been in existence for a generation, and that the organizations that were merged into it existed even before the Congress came into being. In consequence it has accumulated a great mass of experience of inestimable value to the Indian movement. It has established connections with various political associations. It has acquired a small but a useful library, and through a subsidiary organization maintains a weekly organ of its own.

Greater than all these assets put together are the men who have devoted much of their time and talents without compensation of any kind, to the work of the Committee—men who possess intimate knowledge of the political machinery in this country and who are genuinely and deeply interested in India. There is for instance Dr Clark, who in spite of his three score and thirteen years has

a clearer brain and greater vigour than most men in the prime of life, and the longer he lives the more radical he becomes. Then there is Mr Parekh, who has been in this country for more than a quarter of a century and who has not spared himself in serving his Motherland. Dr V N Rutherford's strong democratic tendencies and his keen interest in Indian reform are too well known in India to need even a casual reference here. There are others, but let these names suffice. Such men are a valuable asset to any movement and I can conceive of no greater disaster to our cause in this country than that it should lose their active support. Indeed we cannot afford to lose any of our friends no matter how very cautious and halting the Indian Nationalists may find such a friend.

I am afraid some of us Indians, in our zeal for our cause, talk and write in a manner that is likely to wound the susceptibilities of our British supporters. For instance, I notice that it is being said in India that the men composing the British Committee propose to continue to dominate the Indian political movement from London. Any one who knows how very democratic Dr Clark and his colleagues are will contradict such rumours without a moment's hesitation. I should like to take the present occasion to request my people in India not to indulge in talk that is likely to lose us our friends here.

That request does not, however, imply that we must not urge upon the Committee the immediate necessity of reorganizing itself and do anything in our power to bring about such reorganization as speedily as possible. But while performing this task we should not forget that we are dealing with colleagues and not with men in our pay. Nor should we forget that, as a nation we are famed for our innate courtesy.

I propose, in the following article, to suggest the lines along which in my judgment, reorganization of the British Committee should take place.

A MENACE TO HINDU SOCIETY *

IT is surprising to note how much information of a varied and useful character has been packed within this small but closely-printed volume of 178 pages. The Englishman's love of method, order, and logical arrangement of thought is evident everywhere. There is a copious Index. A few pages here and there are specially devoted to missionary work and may not appeal to the general reader, but the rest of the book will be read by Indians with profound interest. Hinduism, past and present, Indian nationalism, the Indian home, and many other things of vital importance to us have been dealt with in a spirit of discriminating sympathy and in language often rich and poetic. Of course the special standpoint of the author, his fixed belief that all Hindus will ultimately be converted to Christianity, cannot be shared by any who does not belong to his religious persuasion. Educated Hindus have a profound reverence for Christ, but the author nowhere seems to perceive the distinction between Christianity and Christ. The bundle of dogmas, creeds, doctrines, theories, superstitions, prejudices, nay even untruths, which make up any particular denomination of the very large number of sects into which Christianity is divided, is more likely to kill than to kindle the Indian's admiration for the saintly character of Jesus. The tone of the book is praiseworthy and the knowledge of Hindu philosophy, religion, and culture which the author displays in this book is typical of the new type of missionary literature which it has become impossible for the Higher Hinduism to ignore. The attitude of the learned author will appear from the following, taken from the peroration of the book:

'The earnestness of the millions of her pilgrims, the absorption of her mystics in the unseen but ever-present One, the unmeasured sacrifice of her ascetics, the otherworldliness of her true monks and friars, the contempt for material greatness and the things of sense beside the majesty of the spiritual

and the things unseen, the indifference to food and comfort and all things earthly if only the things eternal can be assured, the worship that sees God everywhere and makes all life divine, the piety of the simple householder for whom each act of daily life each family event is part of his religious life, the tireless aspiration away from this world in the search for God, the reverence for religious guide and teacher, the caring for the poor, the hospitality for every guest, the simplicity of life and the honourableness of poverty above all India's worship of Goopress, her sense of the strength of patience, the grandeur of gentleness, the nobility of meekness, the dignity of submissiveness, the glory of humility, this wealth of spiritual instinct, this fervour of religious passion, purged of all dross."

The weak points of Hinduism, delineated by such a sympathetic hand, should not be met by a blind fanaticism, but should be seriously thought over, and remedied, if found true on examination. We have space here to notice only one such point, the most serious in our opinion, than which there is no greater danger threatening Hinduism at the present moment. We allude to the recent growth of mass movement towards Christianity by which entire villages and communities numbering several thousands have been converted at one stroke. In the ten years preceding the last census a million converts were thus added to the Indian Christian Church, and at the present day, says the author, 'we are baptising at the rate of about 350 converts a day or over 10,000 a month'. If proselytism goes on at this tremendous pace, there will soon be very few Hindus left in districts where the depressed classes, among whom these conversions were made, form the bulk of the population. 'The desire for social betterment', and 'the first experience of human kindness and brotherhood in the missionary', are said to be among the causes of such group conversions. To these converts, "Christianity has set a new value on personality. The individual counts. He has come to know himself a man. There is nothing human to which he may not hope to rise by merit. Religion, which has so long barred the way up, now opens it. Hope, enterprise, effort, are the natural result. There are literally hundreds of thousands of persons in

* *The Goal of India* by Rev. W. E. S. Holland, Christian Literature Society for India, Calcutta, 1919. Price annas twelve.

India to-day whom the Church has lifted from a condition of degradation almost lower than humanity to economic freedom, social self respect, and religious manhood." True, these conversions in the mass give the genuine missionary many qualms of conscience. But our author says apologetically 'he must take them all together, or none at all.' So if the opportunity be missed by insisting too much on the sincerity of the change of spirit, it will not come again, for these outcaste tribes are being incorporated by Islam almost as rapidly as by the Church. It is not unfair to say it is a race as to which religion will get in first. The author truly says that "Caste, in the case of these down trodden multitudes, who are brought in masses to the Church, is our present greatest opportunity." And what is Hinduism doing to meet this wholesale defection? We shall quote once more from the book

Hinduism is at last bestirring itself about the bettering of the condition of these fifty million serfs. But the principles of the movement are far from clear. Is the pariah to be made less miserable but to be kept in his place all the same or is he to be no longer untouchable and to be admitted to ordinary social intercourse? No one dare give a

plain answer to the question. On the (Hindu) committees of the movement there are two sets of leaders—those who are prepared to give up caste distinctions and treat the pariahs as the missionaries treat them and those who are nervous about going too fast and anxious only to make the pariah's lot a little better. It is the latter party which at present always carries the day. (Quoted from Phillips *The Outcastes Hope* p 23)

Mrs Besant loudly trumpets social reform but her Central Hindu College at Benares and the Theosophical schools at Ernakulam and Madanapalle refuse admission to all outcastes and Panchamas. At the annual gathering of a large Hindu sect held recently the audience that listened enthusiastically to an eloquent address on universal brotherhood dispersed to hold their separate caste meals.

It is not by blindly abusing the missionaries, but by setting our own house in order in regard to the vital defects pointed out by the best among them, that Hinduism will have the chance to survive. Thoughtful and patriotic Hindus who are of this opinion will find ample food for reflection (and stimulus to action) in the present volume.

A BRAHMIN WITHIN THE PALE OF HINDUISM

* Is this true?—Editor M R

PROF. A. B. KEITH AND THE SANKHYA SYSTEM

By DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE

A NEW book has quite recently appeared in the 'Heritage of India' series on the Sankhya System of Indian Philosophy, which deserves more than a passing notice. The learned author Professor A. Berriedale Keith—Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Edinburgh and translator of the *Taittiriya Samhita* and other works,—is already known to the world as a Sanskrit scholar of repute. In this present book, he has succeeded to a considerable extent, in setting forth before his readers a scholastic interpretation of the Sankhya System so far as it can be explained by one who appears to have no direct and intimate contact with Indian religious life. He seems to suffer—as so many Sanskrit scholars from the West seem to do,—from the confident assurance,

hardly justified by the results, that he is able to get to the bottom of a whole vast system of Indian philosophy by the prolonged, dry study of our written books. Like a traveller on a railway train, he has succeeded in obtaining a few brief passing glimpses of the historical mile stones, as he looks out of his carriage windows on his long journey from one end of India's philosophic boundary line to the other, and this peculiar method of painstaking and abstruse research, combined with his own self confidence about results, causes him to imagine that when this feat has been accomplished nothing more is required and that the whole inner content of the Sankhya philosophy has, in this way, been laid bare.

Yet, all the while, he has been making one capital mistake which those who live

रजस्य सत्त्वमिति प्रविष्टा

गुणाद्यदोषा प्रविष्टे सुक्ताय ॥

This might be translated literally,—“The transcendent power of the Great Lord known by the name of the unmanifested,—it is beginningless avidya (Nescience), whose very essence is the three Gunas, it is called by the learned, *Maya*, inferable by its products, from whom the world is brought forth, it is neither being, nor non being, nor both it is a thing of greatly wonderful and undefinable character

“It is destroyed by the knowledge of the pure *Brahma* without a second it is known everywhere as *Rajas*, *Tamas*, *Sattva*, these three *Gunas* are revealed by their products”

Such a passage as this seems clearly to prove that Sankara accepted the three *Gunas* and actually gave them a place in his own system. It seems also to show how the great practical thoughts underlying the Sankhya philosophy penetrated Indian life and moulded it both consciously and unconsciously—in a permanent manner.

In conclusion, I feel it necessary to call attention to the very inadequate way in which Professor A. B. Keith has dealt with the question of the relation of the Greek philosophy to Indian thought. The evidence for a direct borrowing from India is far stronger than the author of this book supposes. To take the case of Pythagoras only,—what little we know about him points to such a direct borrowing from India. Throughout the Greek and Latin Classics, for instance, we find the curious prohibition about eating beans, which no one understood. In the *Kathaka Samhita* (*Yajur Veda*) 1st *Adhyaya*, 4th *Sthanaka*, 10th *Anuvak*,

we find the passage—‘न माषाणां अन्नोपाद भक्षेद्वा नै माषा’

“Eat not beans, beans are unholy”

Again we have references to the Pythagorean prohibition concerning spitting in the fire, which Greeks and Romans could not understand. But in the *Chhandogya Upanishad*, 2nd *Adhyaya*, 12th *Khanda*, we read ‘न प्रबद्ध उचि माषमेतु न निर्वीदेत्’

“Standing before the fire, spit not water from the mouth, neither spit in it”

Once more, in the *Sulva Sutra* by Baudhayana Acharya, translated into English by Dr. Thibaut in the Journal of the Asiatic Society Vol. XLIV, we have the words—

(i) “The cord which is stretched across (i.e. in the diagonal of) a square produces an area of double the size

(ii) The cord stretched in the diagonal of an oblong produces both (areas) which the cords forming the longer and the shorter sides of the oblong produce separately”

These two propositions evidently constitute the famous 47th proposition of the 1st Book of Euclid, which Pythagoras is said to have discovered. How far it can be truly called a ‘discovery’ of Pythagoras the reader can judge for himself.

The evidence here given is only a small part of that which points to a direct connection between Greek philosophy and Indian. The subject is far too important to be dismissed in two or three pages. It needs a full and thorough investigation and a careful examination of existing texts. Indeed the whole history of the interrelation of India and Greece has yet to be critically written. When this is done, I feel very little doubt that the connexion will be found to be far closer than is generally supposed by western scholars.

NOTES

The Peace Treaty

There are said to be between 800 and 1,000 clauses in the draft of the Peace Treaty. The complete text will fill 350 pages,—it is not stated of what size. Clauses referring to the disarmament of

Germany alone number a hundred, while clauses relating to the Saar Basin also number a hundred.

The Havas Agency states that the German Government has accepted all the Allies' conditions and will send to Versailles a delegation headed by Count

Brockdorf Rantzau, the total number of the German delegation being about 75.

As a monthly Review is not a news paper and as a full summary of the most important clauses of the peace treaty may be expected to be available at no distant date, we refrain from commenting on the scraps of information hitherto cabled out by Reuter. Comments on one or two points may, however, be made.

Mr. Lloyd George made himself responsible for the promise that the people of the German Colonies in Africa would be allowed to choose their own form of Government, that is to say, they would be allowed to exercise the right of self-determination. The Allies have receded from this promise. *No non European people, directly or indirectly concerned in the war, is to have the right of self-determination.* The territories of some of these non European peoples are to be administered as practically forming integral parts of adjoining British or other Allied European Colonies, whilst the rest are to be administered by the British or some other European Allied Government under a mandate from the League of Nations. In plain language it may be said that the former class of territories are to be annexed, and the latter class may for all practical purposes be considered as annexed,—which means that so far as non European peoples are concerned the recent war was not fought for the world's freedom. If, however, the mandatory system works well, that is to say, if it works entirely and solely to the advantage of the dependent peoples, which is very doubtful, there would be some improvement in their lot. If the League of Nations can secure from the Mandatories periodical administration reports of the territories under their charge and if the League can also take effective action whenever any report proves unsatisfactory, the system would work well and might in course of time lead to the autonomy or independence of these territories.

The Peace Conference or its child the League of Nations may thus be able to do some good to the quondam German dependencies in the long run. But it has not been able to do, has not in fact attempted to do anything for the British and other Allied dependencies and protectorates. It has been taken for granted that their lot leaves nothing to be desired, which is not true. Nor is it

proper to take it for granted that the British Government and the other Allied European Governments would do as much for their present dependencies and protectorates and do it as quickly, without any outside pressure, as they would have to do for territories to be governed by them as Mandatories, if the League of Nations can effectively exercise the right of obtaining reports from the Mandatories and taking action thereupon. It would have been only consistent and right if all European powers governing foreign territories from before the war could have been prevailed upon to administer them hereafter as mandatories. But as the British Empire is at present the strongest fighting unit, this obviously righteous course could not even be thought of.

It has no doubt, been said that the Peace Conference or the League of Nations can not interfere in the internal affairs of a State. But Poland was as much a part of the German Empire, the Czecho Slovak territory as much a part of Austria Hungary, as Ireland, India and Egypt are parts of the British Empire. If the bringing about and recognition of the independence of the Poles and the Czecho Slovaks was consistent with the political doctrines regulating the proceedings of the Peace Conference, why could it not be consistent with these doctrines to ask that Britain should henceforth govern India, for example at least according to certain liberal and enlightened political principles (like those followed by America in the Philippines) agreed upon in the Peace Conference? This would probably have wounded the *amor proprio* of Britain, and no power could or can think of giving her offence. So though the war was professedly waged for the substitution of right for might—a very utopian or quixotic object, in the opinion of cynics, in the present state of the world—no State represented in the Peace Conference could afford to forget the relative might of the States.

It is some consolation to find that at least one State, the U.S.A., has not fought for any territorial aggrandisement or made any acquisition of territory.

Korean Independence.

The following Reuter's telegram will be read with interest —

PHILADELPHIA APRIL, 16
A petition for the recognition of the Provisional

strength by its fearlessness, by its refusal to accept any power which depends for its success upon its power to produce frightfulness and is not ashamed to use its machines of destruction to terrify a people completely disarmed. We must know that moral conquest does not consist in success, that failure does not deprive it of its dignity and worth. Those who believe in spiritual life know that to stand against wrong which has overwhelming material power behind it is victory itself, it is the victory of the active faith in the ideal in the teeth of evident defeat.

I have always felt, and said accordingly, that the great gift of freedom can never come to a people through charity. We must win it before we can own it. And India's opportunity for winning it will come to her when she can prove that she is morally superior to the people who rule her by their right of conquest. She must willingly accept her penance of suffering the suffering which is the crown of the great. Armed with her utter faith in goodness, she must stand unabashed before the arrogance that scoffs at the power of spirit.

And you have come to your motherland in the time of her need to remind her of her mission, to lead her in the true path of conquest, to purge her present day politics of its feebleness which imagines that it has gained its purpose when it struts in the borrowed feathers of diplomatic dishonesty.

This is why I pray most fervently that nothing that tends to weaken our spiritual freedom may intrude into our marching line that martyrdom for the cause of truth may never degenerate into fanaticism for mere verbal forms descending into the self-deception that hides itself behind sacred names.

With these few words for an introduction allow me to offer the following as a poet's contribution to your noble work —

I

I let me hold my head high in this faith that thou art our shelter that all fear is mean distrust of thee.
Fear of man? But what man is there in this world what king O king of Kings, who is thy rival, who has hold of me for all time and in all truth?

What power is there in this world to rob me of freedom? For do not thy arms reach the captive through the dungeon walls bringing unfettered release to the soul?

And must I cling to this body in fear of death, as a miser to his barren treasure? Has not this spirit of mine the eternal call to the feast of ever lasting life?

Let me know that all pain and death are shadows of the moment that the dark force which sweeps between me and thy truth is but the mist before the sunrise, that thou alone art mine for ever and greater than all pride of strength that dares to mock my manhood with its menace.

II

Give me the supreme courage of love this is my prayer the courage to speak to do, to suffer at thy will to leave all things or be left alone.

Give me the supreme faith of love, this is my prayer, the faith of the life in death of the victory in defeat of the power hidden in the frailness of beauty, of the dignity of pain that accepts hurt, but disdains to return it.

Very sincerely yours
(Sd) RAJENDRANATH TAGORE

Spying and the Atmosphere of Pure Study.

Some time ago Mr. C. F. Andrews wrote a letter to the Press strongly denouncing the Rowlatt Act and mentioned incidentally the fact that he had himself been subjected to spying, two of the spies being his own students. Thereupon some Anglo-Indian papers demanded that he should give particulars. This Mr. Andrews has now done in the following letter —

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE STATESMAN"

SIR,—In a recent issue you quoted an article from the *Madras Mail* throwing doubt on the veracity of my statements about 'Government Spies'. I have waited till my return to Delhi, in order to get accurately the particulars as to the dates and names and places which the article you quoted required from me, to substantiate the truth of what I wrote. The facts are as follows —

The time when I caught red handed a Government spy searching my private papers was during the Deputy Commissionership of Mr. Humphreys in the year 1907. Mr. Humphreys was at Cambridge with me and a personal friend. I caught the man (who had come through a back door) with his hand actually in my study table drawer, and he confessed that he had been sent by the Police. I was naturally indignant and sent at once to the Deputy Commissioner demanding an instant apology. A mounted policeman came back post haste with the following words in a letter — 'My dear Andrews it's nothing to do with me, it's those damned C.I.D. people! The epithet he used made any further apology from himself unnecessary.

The two authenticated cases of Government spies being planted in the college, where I was teaching, were as follows — The former was a student named Gokal Chaud, whose testimony appeared in the Delhi Club Bomb case. In the evidence it was made clear that he had been tempted by the C.I.D. to bring them specimens of his comrades' handwriting and to act as a spy in other ways. What made the case more vile was this, that the boy was quite young. The evidence he gave on these points at the trial was not challenged or disputed.

The second case was that of an exceptionally bright Muhammadan lad, whom I fully trusted as a friend. As he has, since that time, confessed fully his past misconduct, I do not think it right to give his name to the general public, but I am perfectly ready to give it to any one who might wish, for good reasons, to pursue this inquiry. — Yours, etc.,

Delhi, April 20, 1919

C. F. ANDREWS

The employment of students as spies is, no doubt, in pursuit of the ideal of creating an atmosphere of pure study, — an ideal on which not a few Viceroy, Governors, Lieutenant Governors, and Chief Commissioners have held forth time and again. We have heard of student spies, and even professor spies, in other places, too, than Delhi.

"The Amrita Bazar Patrika" and the Press Act

The security of Rs. 5,000 taken from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* some years ago has been forfeited, which means that it has been compelled to pay a fine of Rs. 5,000 *without any sort of trial*, and that its usefulness and its business must come to an end unless it deposits a further heavy security, which has been fixed at Rs. 10,000 and has since been deposited.

In Lord Morley's *Recollections* (Vol II pp. 259-60), we find a letter written on May 28, 1908, by that ex-Secretary of State for India to the then Viceroy Lord Minto, in which it is said

I have been very busy for a good many hours about your *Press proposals*. Luckily a Cabinet had been fixed for the forenoon to-day and to the Cabinet I propounded the case; that is to say I told them the provisions desired by the G. O. I with the modifications that I had to suggest after working the matters over under the sensible and highly competent legal guidance of Sir Lawrence Jenkins. In the Cabinet R. Pon was very reticent remembering his own reversal of Lytton's Press policy. I do believe our introduction of a *judicial element* at every stage is an improvement apart from general principles of a Free Press on the one hand and the maintenance of Law and Order on the other. In the first place it will tend to reconcile liberal opinion (not in a party sense) here and that is something. In the second place, it will make it easier for the Moderates to resist the Extremist attack. Such an attack is sure to come and it is our business as I think not to do anything that will give substance to Extremist taunts and reproaches against their Moderate opponents. Of course our proceedings must be effective but I do not think that any of the modifications suggested here will at all impair your purposes.

After reading the above, well may Indian journalists wonder what became of "a *judicial element* at every stage" of proceedings under the Press Act. Did the *judicial element* at every stage evaporate and vanish into thin air while crossing the Red Sea, after it had served its purpose of conciliating 'English opinion'? What too, has become of the pledges of the then law member who is now Lord Sinha? Without an open judicial proceeding no reasonable man can be convinced that the forfeiture of security is just. But probably the bureaucracy do not care to convince but only to punish and prevent the publication of that which they do not consider proper. In the case of the *Patrika*, the public will remember only the sterling services rendered by it to the popular cause, in politics, very few will have either the opportunity or the occasion to

read the articles for which it has lost Rs. 5,000. Even the discussion of the justice or injustice of the executive order of forfeiture is not lawfully feasible, for every copy of the issues of the *Patrika* containing those articles has been declared forfeited, so that any one quoting from them in course of the discussion would render himself guilty of possessing proscribed literature.

The *Patrika* once editorially wrote that the editor of this Review was guilty of *lying* its policy in matters of social reform is directly opposed to ours, the unfair partisanship displayed and the ceaseless personalities indulged in both by the *Patrika* and the *Bengalee* are repugnant to us the unfavourable criticism of the Government's excise policy and at the same time the publication of advertisements of alcoholic liquors by both the *Patrika* and the *Bengalee* cannot but be regretted by sincere patriots. But in spite of all these facts, we cannot but recognise that in politics the *Patrika* has consistently and courageously espoused the cause of the people has boldly exposed bureaucratic vagaries and high handedness and has never sought to bask in the sunshine of official smiles. Bengal may the whole of India would be the poorer for the disappearance of the *Patrika* should such a thing ever come to pass.

Moderates and Extremists

Incidentally the extract from Lord Morley's letter given above, and other similar passages in his *Recollections* remind one of the Divide and Rule policy which prompts British Statesmen constantly to pit Moderates against Extremists. Not that they really care for Moderate opinion any more than they do for Extremist opinion, they would seem only to want to use the name of the Moderates for doing what they want to do or not doing what they do not want to do.

A recent example will prove the truth of our observation. In reply to a question asked in the House of Commons it was officially stated that protests against the Rowlatt Act and requests that it should not be sanctioned have been received from individuals and associations in India, but that no such communication has been received from the Moderate party. This attempt to take shelter behind the name of the Moderates is disingenuous. For, as

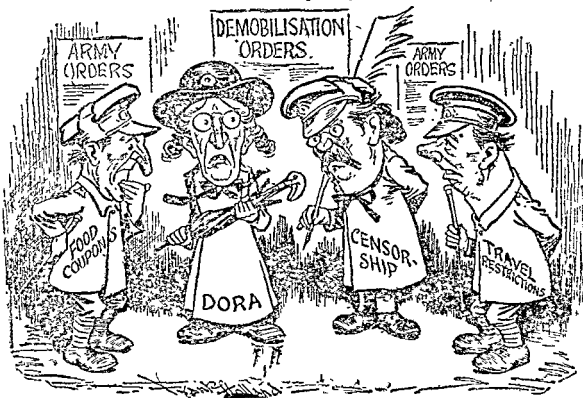
Government of the Korean republic has been sent to Paris by the Korean Congress here.—*Reuter*.

Korea is an Asiatic dependency of an Allied Asiatic power, Japan. We shall be greatly and delightfully surprised if the petition is justly disposed of.

Philippine Independence.

President Wilson has declared that the time has come for the Philippine Islands to obtain independence. Nothing less was expected. America has set a noble example for all dominant nations to follow.

Indian Hospitality.



Reynolds's Newspaper

[London]

Awaiting Demobilisation.

"Altho" to us it may seem sad
We mustn't be surprised

If everybody else is glad
When we're demobilised!"

The cartoon printed above has appeared in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, London. We have not had any food coupons, but there is a food-controller or director or controller of civil supplies, or some officer or officers whose business it is to decide how much food should be imported and how much exported, and by whom. This sort of activity has made food dear in Madras and at the same time filled the coffers of a European firm in that province. Moreover, as there is famine in many districts of the United Provinces, Behar and Orissa, Bengal, Bombay, Central India, and Madras, the people are worse off than there were food coupons. So in India, England, the presiding deity of

Food Coupons need not look anxious just now;—he is not going to be demobilised.

Dora is the pet name given to that amiable fairy, the Defence of the Realm Act, in England. Her twin sister in India is the Defence of India Act. Recent events show that this Act is very much alive and kicking. While Dora looks dolorous in anticipation of demobilisation, her twin sister in India ought to be in high jinks, for she has been re-incarnated (or duplicated), even before her demise, in Rowlatt Act No. 1 of 1919. So in this case, England is the Land of Regrets and India the Land of Rejoicing. Censorship has not yet been formally demobilised in India; and, even when for-

mally demobilised, the C I D may be fully trusted to keep it up. So in this most fortunate of countries the Guardian Angel of censorship need not look morose.

Even before the war, 99 per cent of Indian passengers were accustomed to be carried like *Non-hung* (pace Sir J C Bose) Goods. And during and after the war, up till now, travelling facilities for this majority have been still further cut down and the accommodation provided in lieu of increased fares has been still more inadequate, if possible, than before and of a disgusting kind as regards cleanliness. Therefore the Patron Saint of Travel Restrictions in India need not look cross and ferocious in apprehension of imminent demobilisation.

We are going to have a good many disabled European soldiers, officers, red cross women, and others dumped upon us. Surely we can be hospitable to Food Coupons, Dora, Censorship, and Travel Restrictions too.

Censorship has been particularly kind to us i.e., to the Editor of this Review. It has deprived us of almost all our foreign subscribers and exchanges. We rejoice over this involuntary sacrifice, as we are firmly convinced that if our Review had been allowed to reach all our foreign subscribers and exchanges, and all our foreign exchanges to reach us, the Allies could not have come out triumphant in the war. Anglo-Indian [old style] journalistic traducers of educated Indians should note that we and our contributors have thus helped to win the war.

'Ramdas and Sivaji'

In the introduction to H A Acworth's *Ballads of the Marathas* (pp xxvi-xxvii) it is stated that Sivaji had the highest reverence for Ramdas, 'who was his guru, and whom he invariably consulted before every great undertaking. He is said to have given a striking proof of his respect by making over to Ramdas his whole dominions in free gift, in token of which he adopted as his royal standard the religious flag or Bhugwa Zenda. The story goes that from the fort of Satara Shivaji saw Ramdas begging in the city below. He went to his chitnis (head writer), Balaji Abaji, and dictated an order, sealed it with the royal signet, and when Ramdas came to the palace to beg, placed it in his wallet. Ramdas, on open-

ing the paper, found it contained a gift of Shivaji's whole kingdom. He asked the king what he proposed to do after he was dispossessed of his dominions, to which Shivaji replied that he would pass his life in the service of his preceptor. 'Very well,' said Ramdas, 'follow me now.' He threw his wallet over the king's shoulder, and ordered him to ask alms. They went from house to house and when they had collected grain enough they went to the river where Ramdas baked two cakes, one of which was eaten by him and one by Shivaji. He then inquired how Shivaji liked this new calling to which the reply was that he was perfectly satisfied with it. Having then inquired whether Shivaji would obey his commands, and being answered in the affirmative, he bade him go back to his palace and rule his kingdom for his preceptor. The monarch obeyed, and from that day as a sign that the kingdom belonged to an ascetic, he adopted the ascetic's orange banner."

The frontispiece to this issue illustrates this anecdote of Ramdas and Sivaji.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Letter to Mr Gandhi

On the 12th April last, Sir Rabindranath Tagore wrote the following letter to Mr M K Gandhi, from Santiniketan —

DEAR MAHATMAJI

Power in all its forms is irrational. It is like the horse that drags the carriage blindfolded. The moral element in it is only represented in the man who drives the horse. Passive resistance is a force which is not necessarily moral in itself. It can be used against truth as well as for it. The danger inherent in all force grows stronger when it is likely to go to success for then it becomes temptation.

I know your teaching is to fight against evil by the help of the good. But such a fight is for heroes and not for men led by impulses of the moment. Evil on one side naturally begets evil on the other. Injustice leads to violence and insult to vengeance. Unfortunately such a force has already been started and either through panic or through wrath our authorities have shown us their claws whose sole effect is to drive some of us into the secret path of resentment and others into utter demoralisation.

In this crisis you as a great leader of men have stood among us to proclaim your faith in the ideal which you know to be that of India, the ideal which is both a test of the cowardliness of hidden revenge and the cowardly submission of the terror-stricken. You have said as Lord Buddha has done in his time and for all time to come:

Akkodhena, ye kodham asadham sadham jao.

Cosquer. Anger by the power of non anger, and evil by the power of good.

This power of good must prove its

has been pointed out by the *Leader*, the *Bengalee* (which are Moderate organs) and other papers, neither the Moderate nor the Extremist members of the Viceroy's council supported this particular legislative measure. No Moderate newspaper has written in favour of it. And seeing that the Extremist party, as a party, have not sent their protest against the Act to Mr. Montagu, there is no point in saying that the Moderate party has not protested against it.

It cannot always be said definitely whether, whenever an Englishman draws a line of demarcation between Extremists and Moderates—in truth there is no such definite line—and wishes that there should be no *rapprochement* between the two, there is any underlying unworthy motive. But the attempt to draw such a line often occurs even to otherwise fair-minded Englishmen, because perhaps in their own country they have been accustomed generally only to party politics. In support of our assertion we quote a passage from "*England and India*" by Mr. R. Gordon Milburn, who has tried to write his book impartially. The passage is taken from the second chapter in which a conversation with Mr. G. K. Gokhale is reported.

"Milburn: There are some Indian leaders we might be quite willing to work with, but—

Gokhale (*much moved*): I know what you mean—you want us to repudiate the Extremists. But that is a thing we could never do, and it is an insult to demand it of us. How would you like us to demand that you should never dine with such and such Anglo-Indian civilians?

M.: But surely, Mr. Gokhale, what Anglo-Indians ask for is not that you should abandon all social intercourse with Extremists?

G.: Well, perhaps not. But what do you want of us, then? It is well known that our political opinions are different from theirs. If we were to repudiate the Extremists, political life would become a hell. They would retaliate, and Europeans would simply stand by and watch us fight. We do fight, as it is, now. If you read the Vernacular Press you would know how bitterly they attack us. But we do not repudiate them, and you have no right to demand that we should repudiate a brother Indian. We would not accept European co-operation on such terms. *Unity is necessary for the future*. Both sides are struggling to win the rising generation. Neither I nor Mr. Surendranath Banerjee is immortal. We do not want to leave India divided and in disunion. [The italics are ours.]

Mr. Gokhale then rose to go, and, becoming calmer, added: "I don't think much is likely to come of your idea of the co-operation of Anglo-Indians with Indians. We Indians are very suspicious. It may be very wrong of us, but we cannot help it. When any Englishman makes himself very

friendly to us we can't help thinking that he wants to persuade us to give up something. I don't think there are many Indians who would join you. A man like Mookerjee might." Pp. 20–21.

We have always tried to avoid thinking and writing upon party lines. We have tried to recognise the good and criticise the evil in all public activities irrespective of considerations of party. Calm thinking cannot but convince every sane man that in things in which they agree Hindus and Musalmans and men belonging to other sects should work together and that Moderates and Extremists should co-operate in all things in which they agree,—however much they might differ in other matters. And both when Mr. Gokhale was alive and now, there are many things in which men of different religious persuasions and political parties do agree. They alone are the true servants of India who try to bring about united action, believing that unity is essentially necessary for the present and for the future. We do not care a straw for party triumphs and personal triumphs. Every Ram, Shyam and Hari among us, however "eminent" or "prominent," will die, and be forgotten, more or less or entirely; but India will live and must live. Blessed are those who would live only in her life of enlightenment and beneficence to mankind. And they alone would live in that life who would be able to get rid of all selfish considerations in their individual or collective life-work.

Mr. Gokhale indignantly refused to repudiate any brother-Indian. It is deeply to be deplored that our political activities are not marked by this eminently honourable and patriotic spirit. At present, the parties are practically repudiating one another almost to a man. The least that can be hoped for is that this suicidal partisan spirit will not be carried to England, too, by the delegates of different parties, but that they will work together in unison there.

Sir J. C. Bose's New Discovery.

A new discovery of great scientific interest has just been made by Sir J. C. Bose in his Research Institute, which proves that plants in general perceive and respond to long ether waves used in wireless signalling. Plants are extremely sensitive to the ultra-violet rays of the vast

* Now Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee [—The Author]

etherial spectrum, whose wave lengths are shorter than $\frac{1}{2}$ hundred thousandth part of an inch Prof Bose has shown that plants also perceive and respond to the in visible heat rays of wave lengths of about a ten thousandth part of an inch, at the other end of the visible spectrum Heat rays are perceived by us as sensation of warmth But we have no organs to perceive the wireless messages where the electric waves employed vary from many yards to miles in length Sir J C Bose's recent discoveries prove that the range of perception in plants is far more extended than in human beings His newly invented Balanced Crescograph gives striking records of response of various seedlings to those long waves Two additional methods of mechanical and electrical response give independent corroboration of his results The sign of response is found to be either positive or negative according to the intensity of the impulse received

The devotee of pure science cares only for the scientific interest and value of a new discovery or of a new invention It is for others to think of utilitarian uses though as in the case of Lord Kelvin, sometimes the same person has made both the scientific discovery and reaped the worldly advantage accruing there from When Faraday worked at the foundations of the science of electricity, he did not perhaps dream how electricity would one day help in changing the face of the inhabited portion of the earth

We are led to these reflections by the absence of any efforts in India on any one's part to utilise Prof Bose's discoveries and inventions in furthering the causes of medicine, agriculture, &c Considering that he has proved that drugs act in the same way on plants as on animals, why should not the properties of medicines be tested on plants? If such experiments succeed, as we hope they may the methods of the vivisector may, at least in part, be replaced by those of the plant physiologist and plant pathologist As laymen we can not say whether this is feasible but it seems to us that it is Similarly Prof Bose's new balanced crescograph may be used to test the effects of different kinds of manures, of a humid and a dry atmosphere of different degrees of heat of sun light or other light and of its absence, of electricity, of different coloured lights and of various other factors and condi-

tions on plant growth We do not know why crescographs are not being used in experimental farms in India They ought to be, as agriculture is the greatest and most important industry in India

A Royal Society Research Grant to Dr. R Datta

To the readers of the *Modern Review* the name of Dr Rasik Lal Datta, M Sc, is more or less familiar He is one of the most brilliant products of the Indian School of Chemistry It will, no doubt, gladden the hearts of those who are interested in the progress of scientific education in India to learn that Dr Datta has been the recipient of a handsome grant of £75 from the Royal Society of London to enable him to continue his work on "The Determination of D-tonating Temperatures" begun in collaboration with Mr Nihar Ranjan Chatterjee, M Sc, of Dacca College This marked appreciation of Dr Datta's work by the premier British scientific society adds a new feather to his cap It is no wonder that the Council of the Chemical Society of London in congratulating Dr Ray on his recent knighthood wishes him success and long life so that he may continue the unique work of promoting scientific research in India

Resolutions of the All India Congress Committee

The following resolutions were passed at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee held in the Bombay Presidency Association rooms on the 20th and 21st April last, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya presiding —

(1) That the All India Congress Committee emphatically protests against the passing of what is commonly known as the Rowlett Act and, in view of the fact that the entire Indian public opinion is strongly opposed to the measure the Committee urges upon the Secretary of State for India to advise His Majesty the King Emperor to disallow it.

(2) That the All India Congress Committee deploras and condemns all acts of violence against persons and property which were recently committed at Amritsar Ahmedabad Ramgarh and other places and appeals to the people to maintain law and order and to help in the restoration of public tranquillity and urges upon Government to deal with the situation in a sympathetic and conciliatory manner immediately reversing the present policy of repression.

(3) That the All India Congress Committee places on record its strong condemnation of orders under the Defence of India Act by the Government of the Punjab, the Administration of Delhi and by the Government of India against a person of the well-known noble character and antecedents of Mr M K

Committee cannot help feel regret

if these orders had not been passed some of the regrettable events which followed them may not have happened. The Committee requests the Government of India to withdraw its own order and to ask the Local Governments in question to do the same.

(4) That a committee consisting of the gentlemen named below, namely, the President Mr. Jnanab Mr. Jaynagar Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Mr. Patel be appointed to prepare a statement—(a) replying to the communication issued by the Government of India dated the 13th instant in which they justified the Rowlatt Act, condemned agitation against it and characterised it as calculated to mislead people; (b) stating the various causes that have led up to the present grave and deplorable state of things all over the country; and (c) making a demand for a public enquiry into the events that have happened in Delhi, Punjab, Bombay and Calcutta drawing particular attention to certain measures reported to have been taken by the executive which seem obviously objectionable such as dropping of bombs from aeroplanes, use of machine guns and whipping and submit it to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy.

(5) That the All India Congress Committee here by authorises the members of the Congress Deputation proceeding to England to place the actual political situation consequent on the passing of the Rowlatt Act before the Secretary of State and the British public and to urge disallowance of the Rowlatt Act, the reversal of the policy of repression and the immediate adoption of the policy of conciliation and reform.

We support all those resolutions which urge the people and their leaders to take action. We are averse to protesting and petitioning.

We urge that the statement to be prepared in reply to the Government communication justifying the Rowlatt Act should be drawn up and published with the utmost expedition consistent with fulness, accuracy and careful composition.

The Demand for a Public Enquiry

The demand for a public enquiry under official auspices made by the All India Congress Committee has been also made in the indigenous press of India before and after the passing of the resolutions by the committee. We could have supported this demand if we had been confident that it would be possible to have a really independent committee entirely official in its personnel or consisting of both officials and non officials that it would be possible to have a full and public enquiry made by such a committee, and that effect would be given to its recommendations. We do not remember that the Government of India ever before appointed any such committee of enquiry whose personnel procedure and conclusions were accepted by the public as satisfactory.

Enquiries conducted under official auspices have hitherto been of the white washing variety. We are, therefore, against the expenditure of public money on any such committee. The amount needed for conducting such an enquiry may be more usefully spent in increasing the emoluments of the Indian Civil Service or some other impecunious and half starved Imperial Service. We support independent non official enquiries.

The Namasudras of Bengal

Mr. B. Ray, Joint Secretary, Calcutta Namasudra Association, has written us another letter in reply to the comments on his first letter which appeared in our last issue. As in our opinion the publication of his second letter will not be of any advantage to his community, we refrain from doing so. From what some educated Namasudra gentlemen have told us it appears that the Namasudra contention is that the opprobrious name given to the community by those outside the community is highly resented, as it certainly may, that the Namasudras do not call themselves by that name, that the identification of the Namasudras with the Chandalas is wrong, &c. We have already said in our last issue what we had to say on the matter. As we are entirely against giving any name to a community which it resents as derogatory to its self respect, we are not at all interested in disputing the contention of the Namasudra community. In fact, we should be pleased if it should be established that the Namasudras have the same status as Brahmans or even a higher status according to the traditions or rules of the caste system. We do not believe in caste, and do not care who is called by what caste name.

Society for the Promotion of National Education

All endeavours for the promotion of good education deserve support. The Society for the Promotion of National Education has been making efforts for providing good education along lines somewhat different from those followed in the State, State aided, and State recognised institutions in the country. It is, therefore, encouraging to find that, in spite of the agitation against the Rowlatt Act, the Satyagraha movement, and the disturbances in various provinces which occupied public attention during the last month, the Society received an appreciable

amount of pecuniary help from the public during National Education Week which lasted from April 6th to 13th both days inclusive. It is able this year to point to a considerable progress made in the direction of establishing experimental institutions of all types. During the year it has established (1) an Agricultural College with a science department under the principalship of an M.Sc. of Manchester University (2) a Women's Training College under the principalship of a leading expert from the U.S.A. (3) a National Training College for men teachers under the supervision of Mr. G. S. Arundale M.A. (Cantab.) (4) a National College of Commerce under the principalship of Mr. B. Sanjiva Rao M.A. (Cantab.) (5) a National High School for boys under the headmastership of a very experienced M.A. of Allahabad University assisted by an unusually qualified staff, and (6) a National High School for girls under the guidance of Miss F. Arundale who has for many years been principal of the Benares Girls School. In addition the society has subsidised a number of institutions including the Andhra Jatiya Kalashala Masulipatam and it has taken over almost all the institutions of the Theosophical Educational Trust—giving financial assistance to them. For example, it makes a grant of Rs. 1,000 per mensem for the Girls College and Girls School in Benares. Thus the Society has a record of very good work to its credit.

Scholarships for Education in Foreign Countries

Institutions are wanting in India which can give the highest modern education in all branches of learning. For this reason it is necessary for capable young Indian men and women to go abroad for the highest education in the subjects of their choice. But even if in future India can provide herself with the highest grade of educational institutions, as we hope she will be able to, going abroad for education will still be necessary for no man or woman can be said to be truly educated whose experience of the world and of educational institutions is confined to his or her own country.

For Indian women, who wish to be useful to society it is of the greatest importance to go abroad and receive education and spend some time in some advanced free

country where women can freely move about and be useful both in their home lives as well as by rendering social service of some kind. Both Indian men and women should of course go abroad only after they have been well grounded in the fundamentals of Indian culture and spirituality.

The State in India has not yet adequately realised and done its duty in the province of education either in the matter of providing a sufficient number of institutions of all grades or in giving a sufficient number of scholarships to young men and women to enable them to receive education abroad. For men these scholarships are not even as many as would enable one young man in each major and minor province to annually go to some foreign university which means that they are not even a dozen in number. For women of pure Indian descent there is only one such scholarship. Supposing, however, there were even a dozen such scholarships for our young men and women they must be considered too few for a vast country like the British Indian Empire having a population of some 245 millions. In the Philippine Islands with a population of only 9 millions there are 124 scholarships for them to receive education in the United States of America. We reproduce below a list of these scholarships from the *Burma Observer*.

Governor Generals Office. Bureau of Civil Service one employee with B.A. degree to take up English and English literature history and economics political science business efficiency and management and to make an investigation of United States civil service methods.

Department of Public Instruction—total 43 to be apportioned thus: Education 39 12 to study normal training 10 English 5 supervisors on physical education 1 commercial 2 agricultural 1 trade 1 marine engineering 1 deaf and blind and Philippine university graduates; and Philippine health service 4.

Department of Finance—12 to be apportioned thus: customs, 4 to study industrial engineering mechanical engineering customs supervision tariff loading and discharge of cargo and free zones internal revenue 2 to study economics and finance treasury 3 to study actuarial business administration accounting and business administration in banking and printing 3 craftsmen not necessarily school graduates, to study technique of printing and office management.

Department of Justice—11 1 from prisons to study penology prisons and reformatory administration and to from the Philippine Library and Museum to study the organization and equipment of the Department.

ment of State of the United States and diplomacy, library social organization and activities, social and economic problems, political and administrative science. Of these 10, five are already in the United States.

Philippine University—10, to be apportioned thus: 3 from engineering, 2 from agriculture, 1 from veterinary, 2 from medicine and 2 from liberal arts.

Department of Agriculture—18 to be apportioned as follows, each of the pensionados to study the following courses:

Bureau of Agriculture Comparative rice culture, Economic Entomology, Plant Pathology, Sugar, Tobacco, Crop reporting (to be combined with agricultural journalism)

Bureau of Forestry Forestry course, specializing on Forest Management, Forestry course, specializing on Lumbering Forestry course specializing on Wood Technology, Forestry course specializing on Logging Engineering

Bureau of Lands Investigation concerning the methods followed in the States in the administrations of mineral lands and incidentally of other classes of lands, specially in the economic questions connected therewith

Weather Bureau Modern Meteorology, Modern Serimology

Bureau of Science Geology, Industrial inorganic chemistry, Bacteriology, Cerology, Mineralogy and Metallurgy.

Department of Commerce and Communications—14, to be distributed among the bureaus under it, in this form: public works, 4 to study irrigation and structural engineering posts, 3 to take up general postal work and administration, telegraph and cable service and wireless, coast and geodetic survey, 2 to study lithographic methods and map printing, and commerce and industry, 5 of whom 4 shall be B A and 1 a lawyer, to study commercial administration and organization, industrial administration and organization, foreign trade service, and stock and produce exchange

Department of the Interior—15, to be divided as follows: executive bureau, 4 to study political science, political economy and local government, Constabulary 3, must be graduates from the Constabulary Academy at Baguio, to study military infantry, military accounting and small arms, Philippine General Hospital, 4, 1 physician and 3 nurses, one of whom is already in the States, Welfare Board, 3, to study campaigns against tuberculosis protection of infants, social service, civic organizations and government orphanage, 1, to study administration and organization of dependent children

From a very interesting article by Adelia H. Taffinder published in the *Commonweal* we learn that "over 2000 college men from Latin-American Republics are mingling in class room, laboratory, and athletic field with their cousins in North America. Filipino students, 600 strong, are found in the universities from California to Maine. They are becoming enthusiastic about the organization of an Inter-Island student conference in the Philippine Islands." "As a result of recent

enquiry into this subject, information is given that there are fully a thousand Chinese students in the institutions of highest learning in the United States; about half of them are Government scholarship men, representing every province of China. The Japanese Empire is represented in North American student life, by over 1200 members; while about 300 Korean students are studying here. An estimate is given of over 5500 foreign born students, from forty nations, enrolled in the Colleges and Universities of this nation and Canada. There is also a considerable number in preparatory and high schools, trades schools, and business colleges. Many of these students have received Government scholarships."

The *Indian Social Reformer* has informed the public that the university of Michigan in America has ten scholarships for Indian women. Applications for these scholarships may be sent to Mr. K. Natarajan, editor of that paper, in Bombay. A letter from the head of the institution where the applicant has last studied should be included with the application. Further information may be had from the same gentleman. We understand, the State University of Iowa in America has also one or two scholarships for Indian women. We do not know of any British university which has any such scholarship, though Britain ought to feel far more interested in India than America, as British power and prosperity have depended in their origin and continuance far more on the possession of India than on any other circumstance.

We should not, however, look abroad for help with mendicant eyes. The people of India should themselves, in addition to founding and endowing schools and colleges, found scholarships to enable young men and women to receive education in foreign universities.

Hindus in the United States Army.

In our last issue we made a mistake in saying that Duggu Ram was the only Hindu in the United States Army. Mr. R. Ahmed, D. D. S., points out that there are more. He has sent us a copy of *Young India* (for August 1918) which is published monthly by the India Home Rule League of America from 1400 Broadway, New York. In this magazine there is an incomplete list of the men who

adopted Uncle Sam's uniform and fought for the war aims of the United States. This list contains the following 15 names: Ahmad Ali, K C Kerwell, D N Mitrā, Amulya Mukerji, S A Mullah, M K Pandit, K H. Patel, R D Shelke, C L Singh, Devi Singh, Iswar Singh, Haqiqat Singh, Karm Singh, Sher Singh, Lab Singh, Tehara. To these Mr R Ahmed adds the names of Lieut Dhiren Roy, Lieut B Sarma and Chandra Singh. It is to be noticed that some of our boys got commissions too, in the U S Army. Considering that there are only about 125 Hindu Students (any native of India Hindu or Musalman or of any other sect is called Hindu in America) in the American Universities, those of them who volunteered for fighting for the 'world's freedom' do not form a negligible proportion.

Negro Officers in U S Army

Young India of New York writes that "While ten million negroes in this country are represented by about a thousand commissioned officers in the United States Army from Lieutenant to Colonel over 315 millions Indians have only 9 commissioned officers in the British Indian Army—mostly Lieutenants."

Osmania University

We thank Mr A. Hydar, Secretary to His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government in the Judicial, Police and General Departments, for a copy of the English translation of the Royal Charter of the Osmania University. It cannot but be a source of genuine pleasure to find the Nizam's government taking an enlightened interest in education.

It is also noteworthy that "the chief characteristic of the Osmania University will be that instruction will be imparted in all branches of learning through the medium of the Urdu language, while a study of the English language and literature will be compulsory." Osmania University will thus be the first university in India where high education will be given and the results of research will be recorded in a Vernacular of India. This cannot but enrich Urdu literature particularly as the translation department of the university is well staffed and thousands of rupees are being spent for it. All this will mean a great advantage to the Urdu speaking population of India,

and also to the Hindi speaking public, for Urdu and Hindi are practically the same language written in two different scripts and with greater or less infusion of Sanskrit or Sanskritic and Arabic Persian words.

While all this can be said in praise of this University it must also be pointed out that Urdu is the vernacular of a very small proportion of the Nizam's subjects. The vast majority of them will have as much difficulty in learning Urdu as in learning English. In pursuing higher studies in Osmania University they will, therefore, have to learn two languages which are not their vernaculars viz, Urdu and English. This is not desirable. If in any Province or State of India, it is decided to impart education through a vernacular medium the vernacular should be that which is spoken by the largest number of its inhabitants. Other vernaculars may in addition be chosen for the purpose if sufficient funds are forthcoming. It is unjust to spend the taxes received from the entire population for the convenience of a very small minority and in a way which causes inconvenience to and places a handicap on the vast majority.

The constitution of the university is overwhelmingly official whereas it ought to have been popular, either actually from the present time or prospectively in the future. The Chancellor and the Vice Chancellor are to be state officials. The Council of from 9 to 11 members, is to consist of at least 6 officials and the principals of constituent colleges and the remaining members being appointed by the Government. The senate of from 40 to 60 members, will have as its first members only those who are appointed for a period of two years by Government. After the lapse of two years, it shall be composed of—(a) The Vice Chancellor and the other members of the Council, (b) The University Professors, (c) Four members elected by the Senate, two from the list of registered graduates and two from members of the Faculties (d) The remaining members nominated by the Chancellor provided that the election and nomination of persons as Fellows shall be so regulated as to secure in the Senate a majority of persons connected with or following the profession of education.

This last proviso would prove a salutary one, provided the majority of educa-

tionists mentioned therein were not government servants

It may be that the constitution of the Senate has been made predominantly official, because in Hyderabad most of the highly educated persons competent to discharge the duties of Fellows are government servants. In that case, some provision should have been made in the charter by which in future, when education had made sufficient progress in the state, the constitution of the university could have been made more popular.

The Meaning of Martial Law

On February 3 1910, Lord Morley, as Secretary of State, wrote a letter to Lord Minto, then Viceroy of India, from which an extract is given below

'Your mention of Martial Law in your last private letter really makes my flesh creep. I have imagination enough and sympathy enough thoroughly to realise the effect on men's minds of the present manifestation of the spirit of murder. But Martial Law which is only a fine name for the suspension of all law would not snuff out murder-clubs in India any more than the same sort of thing snuffed them out in Italy Russia or Ireland. The gang of Dublin Invincibles was reorganised when Parnell and the rest were locked up and the Coercion Act in full blast. On the other hand it would put at once an end to the policy of rallying the Moderates and would throw the game in the long run wholly into the hands of the Extremists. I say nothing of the effect of such a Proclamation upon public opinion either in Parliament here or in other countries. It may be necessary for anything I know some day or other but to-day it would be neither more nor less than a gigantic advertisement of national failure. Lord Morley's *Recollections* Vol II p 328 (The italics are ours)

The advocates of Martial Law would, we know, exultantly say, "the day has come when Martial Law has become necessary." Let them say what they will. But the impartial student of history cannot assert that the very fact of an occasion arising, in a *disarmed* country which has only recently taken a prominent part in the Empire's fight against a powerful enemy, when martial law was considered necessary, is "neither more nor less than a gigantic advertisement of national failure."

"A Reply to Sir P C Ray"

Under the above heading, *The Statesman* prints about two columns of extracts from a letter from Mr Alfred Chatterton, C I E, criticising Sir P C Ray's article in the March number of the *Modern Review*. Sir P C Ray is well able to take care of his reputation and will, no doubt,

pen a rejoinder if he thinks it necessary. In the meantime let us give the reader a sample of Mr Chatterton's honest criticism. He writes:—

Much is made of the slow but continuous exhaustion of the mineral wealth of this unhappy land by which infelicitous term he designates India. Nothing is said of the similar exhaustion going on everywhere else. The elementary axiom that you cannot eat your cake and have it would destroy this grievance and it must therefore be ignored! Would Sir P C Ray close the Bengal coal mines to the Tata Iron and Steel Company and stop work on the iron fields of Chota Nagpur till the Santals and other aboriginal tribes are able to make use of what I presume he would consider their natural birthright? The exhaustion of mineral wealth looms ahead all over the world but what it will mean to the inhabitants when this occurs we do not know and therefore need not worry over.

The passage in Prof Ray's article which Mr Chatterton criticises is given below

"After all, India is progressing and waking up and if her sons to day are unable to work her own mines, their children or children's children will be able to do so. If in the meantime all the mining rights and concessions in Burma, and in Assam and other provinces of India proper are leased out to foreign exploiters nothing will be left for future generations. The late Mr Gokhale often used to tell the present writer that the greatest injury which the British Government is inflicting upon this unhappy land—an injury which is beyond her powers of recuperation—is the slow but continuous exhaustion of her mineral wealth. As the *Statesman* put this point with great clearness

'In the case of the mining industry, for instance it (i.e. the development of the country's resources—by English Capital) means not merely that the children of the soil must be content for the time being with the hired labourer's share of the wealth extracted but that the exportation of the remainder involves a loss which can never be repaired. Though the blame largely rests with them we can well understand the jealousy with which the people of the country regard the exhaustion mainly for the benefit of the foreign capitalist, of wealth which can never as in the case of agriculture be reproduced. It is in short, no mere foolish delusion but an unquestionable economic truth that every ounce of gold that leaves the country, so far as it is represented by no economic return and a large percentage of the gold extracted by foreign capital is represented by no such return, implies permanent loss."

As we said in a previous article the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country by the foreign capitalist stands on a different footing; for, in this case the wealth extracted is not reproduced and, on the not unreasonable assumption that it would sooner or later have been exploited with Indian capital, may unquestionably be said to deprive the people

of the country for all time of a corresponding opportunity of profit.

vide G. V. Joshi's Writings and Speeches pp 304-55

"The future historian of India will have to write a dismal chapter indicating that when her people at last woke up they found all the wealth in the bowels of the earth carried away by foreign exploiters and only empty dark caverns and subterranean vaults and passages left behind."

Any honest reader of Prof Ray's article will see that what he complains of is not the exhaustion of the mineral wealth of India in itself but its exhaustion by foreign exploiters. But Mr Chatterton complains. Nothing is said of the similar exhaustion going on everywhere else.

'Similar' exhaustion indeed! Is the mineral wealth of Great Britain being carried away by the Japanese? Is the mineral wealth of America being exhausted by the Chinese? Is the mineral wealth of France being exploited by the Turks? The exhaustion which is taking place in independent Western countries is due to the exploitation of their mineral resources entirely or almost entirely by the children of the soil. Is that the case in India? Of course not. And yet Mr Chatterton writes as if there was no difference between the exploitation of Europe and America's mineral wealth by their natives and the exploitation of India's mineral resources by foreigners.

Mr Chatterton asks with the seeming simplicity and innocence of a child

Would Sir P. C. Ray close the Bengal coal mines to the Tata Iron and Steel Company and stop work on the iron fields of Chota Nagpur till the Santals and other aboriginal tribes are able to make use of what I presume he would consider their natural birthright? If Mr Chatterton has not been deliberately disingenuous he should read Dr Ray's article again. Dr Ray speaks of the sons of India of the people of India not of particular provinces sub-provinces or districts. The Tatas are not foreigners in any province or district of India. The Parsis came to India and settled here and made this country their home and only home more than three centuries before the Normans set foot in Great Britain. Just as the descendants of the Norman invaders of England are today as good Englishmen as any other men bearing that

name so are the Parsis as good Indians as the Santals or the Marathas or the Panjabis. And it is also anthropologically incorrect to assume that the Santals and other aboriginals who have remained till this day distinct from the Hindu population are the only descendants of the ancient primitive population of India. Many aboriginals have been bodily absorbed into Hindu society forming separate castes, and many have become mixed up with other castes. For this reason European anthropologists and ethnologists consider almost the entire population of Bengal Dravidic-Mongolian. It is ludicrous that whenever any question arises in this country regarding the rights of the children of the soil Anglo-Indians pretend to think that the Kols Bhils Santals &c. are the only people who can claim to be the natives of the country. Certainly neolithic and palaeolithic men lived in India even before the present day aborigines. Why not say then that as these neolithic and palaeolithic men are now extinct or as in any case their descendants cannot be traced therefore no present day Indians can claim to be the natives of India and hence they have no rights like those which the natives of other countries have in their motherlands? As an Englishman Mr Chatterton will have no objection to admit that the Germans are capable of any kind and amount of political sophistry. But even German political sophists never, we believe said to the French with reference to any French territory which the Teutons had annexed. You French people have no right to complain because it is the Basques and not yourselves who are the original inhabitants of France; you are later settlers or invaders.

If the British conquerors (it was not all conqueror but we have to use the word conqueror in the absence of a more appropriate word) of India had permanently settled in India and made it their home and only home as for example the Mughals did there would not have been any economic objection to the exploitation of India's mineral resources by those Indo-Englishmen.

Mr Fisher on Universities

At the Oxford Union on February 22 1919 Mr Fisher the British Education Minister, prophesied that thirty years hence the university grade of education

would be recognised by all as a democratic institution open to all." On this the *Times Educational Supplement* (Feb. 27, 1919) observes: "It was a safe prophecy and would have been safe had he said ten years. National education is moving at a pace that even Mr. Fisher does not measure." The university grade of education is already recognised in America and some countries of Europe as a democratic institution open to all. But in India big and small Anglo Indian officials still continue to speak of university education as suited or not suited to a boy according to his "station in life," whatever that may mean. Any boy or girl is entitled to any kind and grade of education he or she desires, provided there is the capacity to receive it. We include girls deliberately. The *Times Educational Supplement* writes: "Elizabethan education, while it looked for the apprenticeship of girls, never took in hand the education of women. For three centuries the views of Mrs. Malaprop on the education of women prevailed. These views we are slowly living down, and the university belongs today to women as well as to men."

Technical Training and a Liberal Education.

One of the questions with which the Calcutta University Commission was expected to deal is the relation between technical training and a liberal university education. On this question the *Times Educational Supplement* writes:

"The university must not only complete physical, moral and intellectual training it must crown technical training of all kinds. A year ago we urged that, if technical education is ever to become living thing in intimate relation on the one hand with the industries of the country and on the other with the universities, it must be founded on a liberal education and it must avoid, despite all temptations, early specialization. Universities and industries alike must be directly interested in the system of technical schools and colleges. A full University education must be open without let or hindrance, financial or social, to the best students. It is from this University grade that the great applied mathematicians, chemists, electricians and engineers will spring. The great industries will in future depend for their thinkers on this University source. We do not believe that Universities of technology would be nearly so fruitful in this respect as Universities in the full sense of the term. The great technical colleges must take their place as a part—an essential part—of a University which collates all forms of human thought and aspiration. Most eminent scientists are at one on this elementary proposition."

The Recent Disturbances.

In the recent disturbances in many parts of India, men have been killed or injured, public and private property destroyed or damaged, railway lines torn up, telegraph wires cut and property looted. These occurrences and the excess of the police and the military are greatly to be deplored. The wicked and wanton acts connected therewith deserve the severest condemnation. It is the duty of all citizens to work for the restoration of quiet and order.

No local authority, however, ought to feel that he is justified in doing whatever he likes in the name of the restoration and maintenance of law and order. Not more physical force should be used than is absolutely necessary. And in most cases, where the police or the military have to deal with crowds (however vast) which are unarmed or possess only a few brickbats or pieces of stone, as Indian crowds generally are, only a show of overwhelming force should be sufficient to disperse them. But unfortunately this humane and bloodless method is seldom resorted to. We condemn the policy of bullets for brickbats,—a policy which is not followed in independent countries.

Of the disturbances in many places only official or semi-official accounts have been published. Without the peoples' versions before us, these official or semi-official accounts can neither be believed nor effectively criticised. In the case of disturbances in some places on some days, non-official narrations of events are also available. Some of these,—as those relating to the occurrences in Delhi on March 30, described by Swami Shradhdhananda, and to the firing on the crowd in Harrison Road, Calcutta, described in the interview with Mr. B. Chakrabarti published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*,—show that there has been most probably unnecessary and sometimes wanton firing on the crowd. Such firing on unarmed crowds, when it takes place, must be considered the height of cowardice. They also cause excitement leading to acts of violence on the part of the mob, like the burning of houses, tearing up railway lines, and the murder of innocent men, which also can certainly not be justified, but must be unequivocally condemned, whatever the provocation.

Most often Indian crowds have no

sinister object. They prove entirely harmless if simply allowed to pass on, it is the attempt to disperse or turn them back by force which sometimes leads to disaster. Of course, all crowds are not of this harmless description. For example, mobs engaged in burning or looting houses, or in killing or wounding men, must be sternly dealt with. It requires much knowledge and experience of India, great coolheadedness and much tact to deal with crowds with firmness tempered by humanity.

Our observations find support from some passages in the report of the non-official commission which enquired into the circumstances of the Calcutta disturbances in September, 1918, and of which the members were Messrs L. F. E. Pugh, Abbas Tyabji, H. D. Bose, C. Vijayaraghavachari and Ajit Prasad. With regard to the crowd proceeding towards Government House, Calcutta, the report states —

We desire to note that on the 8th September, which was the first day of the proposed meeting large crowds of Moslems visited the vicinity of the pandal and of the Nakhoda mosque, that the crowds were peaceful and orderly and dispersed as soon as they were requested to do by the conveners of the meeting or the members of the reception committee. In view of this there is no reason to presume or suspect that the crowd which was marching towards Government House would not have been equally tractable and peaceful. We are of opinion that with the exercise of a little tact and the adoption of a conciliatory attitude that crowd could have been easily induced to disperse without the necessity of resorting to the extreme step of dispersing it by force of arms.

NO UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY

We fail to appreciate the necessity for the action of the police in preventing the crowd from proceeding towards Government House. A large number of Moslems were on their way to Government House anxious to hear the result of the deputations and in the hope that the decision of the Government on reconsideration would be to allow the proposed meeting to be held. This was an avowedly innocent object and the crowd was not and could not be treated as an unlawful assembly. So far as we are aware there was no trouble or disturbance anywhere before the police attempted forcibly to prevent the progress of the crowd towards Government House nor does the Government resolution suggest that there was any. In our view if the crowd had been allowed to proceed towards Government House there is no reason to think that there would have been any disorder or breach of the peace. If the crowd had been induced to proceed towards the Mahlan and listen to speeches there it would have been incapable of doing any damage.

On the firing and shooting in Zakaria Street and the Nakhoda mosque, the opinion of the commission is as follows. —

With regard to the firing and use of firearms on

the afternoon of the 9th of September in Zakaria Street and in other streets and lanes that branch off from it, in the absence of evidence that could have been adduced by the police and the military it is difficult for us to arrive at a definite conclusion. The evidence as it stands, however, suggests that the firing was unauthorised, reckless and unnecessary.

The entry into Nakhoda mosque and the shooting of a number of persons, there, by a few soldiers (see para. 43 and 34) is a most regrettable occurrence for which on the evidence there was no justification. This incident seems to be established by reliable evidence. It is unfortunate that the Government have declined to adduce any evidence which might indicate that the firing was provoked by stone-throwing or attack on the military or justified on any other grounds.

In the opinion of the commission the shooting at Garden Reach was also unnecessary and unjustifiable.

UNJUSTIFIABLE SHOOTING

The shooting at Garden Reach seems to have been unnecessary and unjustifiable. The occurrence took place at a distance of more than 7 or 8 miles from the Nakhoda mosque and the pandal. The number of the killed and the wounded was appallingly large, and included, we are told, a very large number of boys some of whom were merely 8, 10 or 12 years old. There could have been no imminent danger of infliction of injury to life or property by the crowd at a spot so far removed from what may be termed the centre of disturbance. The people of the locality were mostly Mahomedans. The crowd would have had to pass the Dock bridges to get to Calcutta and if it was desired to prevent the crowd from proceeding towards Calcutta nothing would have been easier than to have opened the Dock bridges when the crowd would have been compelled to come to a stand still. The evidence before us suggests that the crowd was peaceful and orderly, not enjoying a holiday. The Government resolution, on the contrary, says that a large number carried formidable lathis, and they were led by some fanatical Mahomedans shouting and dancing with bodies smeared with mud. Assuming the latter version to be correct, to one mind it shows that it was composed of the class of people who form Moharrum processions. The resolution states that the additional superintendent of police and two military officers endeavoured to persuade them to disperse but without effect. The crowd pushed on till they were close to the troops who were then compelled to fire, though some of the British officers were still in the middle of the mob. It does not suggest, that when they were asked to disperse the crowd or any of the members became disorderly, riotous or violent, or inflicted any injuries on the superintendent or the soldiers. It does not mention any throwing of stones, brickbats or other missiles by the crowd. The only indictment against the crowd is that it pushed on towards Calcutta in spite of dissuasion. It is not suggested that the crowd was warned that it would be fired upon if it persisted in its progress or that any order for firing was given by any magistrate or any police officer. We are constrained to come to the conclusion that a large number of persons were

UNNECESSARILY KILLED AND WOUNDED

at this occurrence in circumstances in which it is doubtful whether the law gave immunity to the

soldiers. Upon reading the resolution carefully, it appears to us that the troops fired upon the crowd not only without any order from their officers, but at a time when the latter and the additional superintendent of police were still in the middle of the crowd or the mob, attempting to persuade them to disperse, as the expression 'some of the British officers' to our mind, refers to the additional superintendent of police and the two military officers.

Some Anglo Indian papers have sought to minimise the value of this non-official commission's findings by saying that their report is an *ex parte* statement. Literally, it is so; but the members were not to blame for its *ex parte* character. They invited Government to place all facts in its possession before them, but without any response, as the following extract from their report will show:

GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE.

'Before commencing the enquiry Mr. Pugh (whom we had chosen as our President) wrote, on our behalf, letters to the chief secretary to the Government of Bengal and to the commissioner of police, Calcutta, inviting their co-operation and requesting production of evidence, oral and documentary, which might assist the commission in its investigation. Some of the hospitals, where wounded persons were known to have been removed for treatment, were similarly invited. Notices were published in some of the Calcutta daily and other papers giving information of the sittings of the commission and inviting evidence regarding the disturbances.

'It is to be regretted that the opportunity thus offered by us was not availed of by the Government and the commissioner of police. There can be no doubt that on many matters of the utmost importance and consequence, very valuable evidence could have been adduced and material information could have been supplied by them.

'As they were not represented evidence has been recorded at the commission practically *ex parte*.'

'The Commission held its enquiry publicly at the Bangiya Jana Sabha Hall, No. 10 Old Post Office Street. The Bengal Presidency Moslem League, the Marwari Association and the Jana Sabha were represented; and though the Government of Bengal was not represented, we were informed that it had

3 a well-known reporter who was taking notes of the proceedings throughout. The Commission held in all 17 sittings and examined 61 witnesses.'

The report of this non-official commission of enquiry is not less but more valuable and reliable than the reports of official enquiries. For, (1) the non-official commissioners were all trained and experienced lawyers (one of them had been a chief justice in a Native State) and therefore at least as competent as the members of any official committee of enquiry; (2) their proceedings were public and conducted after due advertisement of place and dates in the Press, official enquiries being seldom conducted in this open

manner; (3) the non-official commissioners invited official evidence also, but official committees of enquiry or officials charged with enquiries of this character seldom invite non-official evidence; (4) in the non-official commission both the European and Indian sections of the public, and the Hindu, Musalman, Christian and Jaina sects were represented, official enquirers are not of this representative character.

From the extracts given from the report of this non-official commission, it would not be unreasonable to suspect that in the recent disturbances, too, there has been in some places some unnecessary and unjustifiable firing and shooting.

The use of machine guns in dispersing unarmed crowds in a disarmed country is absolutely unjustifiable terrorism. Where firing is really necessary, it should be calmly considered whether rifles would not serve the purpose. The very fact that Indian crowds are generally without firearms and cannot shoot back when fired upon, ought not to be a temptation to fire upon them without sufficient cause. There is no heroism, but rather its opposite, in such firing.

As for bombing a crowd from aeroplanes, we cannot think of any justification for it. British statesmen and newspapers used the strongest language against the Germans because they used to bomb the civilian populations of British towns from aeroplanes during the War. In the Punjab, there is no war. The name of "open rebellion" given to the disturbances there, cannot alone suffice to satisfy people that bombing was necessary. Unless it can be proved that there was an organised and armed insurrection led by commanders, and that the rebels had been fighting a battle or were proceeding in battle order to fight or to do other act of war, it cannot be confidently anticipated that the verdict of history would not be that this bombing was a cowardly and wanton act of barbarism. The Government of India ought to ascertain whether such a verdict would be wrong.

The Situation in the Punjab.

No one can think of the situation in the Punjab without profound sorrow. From the plague the Punjab has been the worst sufferer, from the Komagata Maru incidents it was the worst sufferer, from influ-

enza it has been the worst sufferer and in a recent year some parts of the province suffered for days from anarchy plunder and rapine which had to be sternly put down by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's government. Of all provinces of India the Punjab had contributed the largest number of soldiers to the war and it is therefore probable that the number of casualties among the sons of the Punjab has been the greatest in India. Sorrow has thus been the share of innumerable Panjab homes during many a year. So it deserved a far different fate from what has fallen to its lot.

During the war the loyalty of the province was extolled in high terms by its ruler and he even made invidious comparisons between its active loyalty and the passive loyalty or seditious in other provinces. But now parts of his province have been officially declared to be in open rebellion and are under martial law. All this is very mysterious.

How has the province officially declared the most loyal in India by its ruler come to be in open rebellion and under martial law? And that even before the War has been officially declared closed? It is very easy to blame agitators, rumour mongers, Bolsheviks and others. But why have not these people succeeded in producing a rebellion in other and in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's opinion less loyal parts of India? Incendiaries are undoubtedly very wicked people but they cannot set fire to water. There must be inflammable and combustible material fit for their nefarious work. If agitators and Bolsheviks have played the devil's part in the province Sir Michael O'Dwyer must explain how in his most loyal province there was so much more matter of sedition (to quote Bacon's words) so much more inflammable material than in other parts of India. Is it possible that the explanation may be found in the very nature of a strong man's strength—in that it can both irritate and pacify?

We take it for granted that mischievous rumours have been spread in the Punjab by some wicked people. But why did the people believe in them? It is well known that ignorant people are more credulous as regards rumours than those who are truly educated. Why has Government left so large a proportion of the people in the Punjab sunk in ignorance?

It is no doubt one of the latest additions to the Empire but it has been very much longer under British rule than the Philippines have been under American rule and the Japanese under a constitutional monarchy. And yet within these much shorter periods there has been a phenomenal spread of literacy and education among both these peoples. Why could not Government do in India in the Punjab what has been done in Japan and in the Philippines? Posters and communiques explaining Government's real intentions and laws are good. But who will read and understand them? Certainly not the illiterate masses who are the victims of wicked rumours. If the majority of the people had been able to read newspapers and the Press had been free there would have been at the worst only sensational and inaccurate newspaper reports (instead of so many false rumours) which could at once have been contradicted and the deliberate falsifiers of news brought to book. But what is the present state of things? The majority of the people are illiterate and their only purveyor of news is not the journalist but the Dime Rumour. And on account of the Press Act and other repressive laws all rumours cannot be printed most of them therefore remain uncontradicted. It is impossible for even the most efficient system of spying known in history to nail all lying rumours to the counter and some rumours may be true. The only effective remedy lies in universal literacy, a large number of cheap newspapers for the many and freedom of the press. If Government understood its true interests it would move towards this goal with all possible expedition.

We have said above that ignorance makes men credulous and prone to believe in rumours. Ignorance also prevents them from understanding the true motives and justification of good official measures. There is another reason why rumours attribute sinister motives to Government and receive credence. Official and non-official Anglo-Indians (old style) believe or pretend to believe that it is the educated Indians who are seditious and doubt the sincerity and philanthropy of the Sarkar but that on the contrary the mass of the people have unquestioning faith in the justice and beneficence of the Sarkar. There can be no more unwise and unfounded belief. Whatever the sins of the educated they do not at least believe for example that the

Sarkar wants hundreds of heads to be cut off when sometimes a large river has to be bridged in order that the angry river deity may be propitiated by such human sacrifices, or that whenever the Sarkar takes a census, the underlying motive is fresh taxation. The Sarkar's justice and beneficence are not at all always axiomatic with the dumb millions. It is for this reason that they can be misled into believing that officials may be capable of this act of injustice or that enormity, when the Sarkar does not really at all intend to be unjust or cruel. Let official and non official Anglo Indians cease to believe (1) that the voiceless millions of India always worship them in their hearts as beneficent divinities, though they generally fear the Sarkar and sometimes appreciate its justice, (2) that these millions are gullible fools who do not understand what is good for them (3) that they cannot vaguely trace acts of oppression, spoliation and exploitation by underlings and traders to their ultimate causes, (4) that they do not feel the difference between a relative dead and a relative alive, between health and illness and between a full and an empty stomach, and (5) that they cannot understand the difference between profession and practice. Instead of merely trying to convince the educated and uneducated people of India that all Europeans are out here on a mission of justice and beneficence, let these persons be thoroughly sincere in the first place, and, if possible, let them afterwards also be really just and fraternally philanthropic. Then mischievous rumours will not find such wide credence, and the rumour monger's occupation would be gone.

How can the Sarkar's justice and beneficence be brought home to the masses? In the first place if the people can have sufficient food, in the second place if the can be made as healthy as other countries in the third place, if the people be freed from harassment and oppression by police, railway and other underlings, and in order that all these results may be brought about, in the fourth place, if the people of all villages and towns be given at least elementary education and agricultural and other in industrial and technical education.

Rumour and a Gagged Press

It is a curious though not inexplicable

psychological phenomena that the same people who have practically prevented the indigenous Punjab Press from publishing any news of or comments on the recent occurrences in that province, should also make it a grievance that there should be so many rumours. But nature abhors a vacuum. If there be not a sufficiency of true news to satisfy the people's craving for information, Dame Rumour may naturally be expected to be busy with her concoctions of fact and fiction. And is it so very unnatural for people to infer, though it is possible that they may be in the wrong, that the reason why the Press has been gagged is that there is something to conceal? And in such circumstances, is it any wonder that even parts of what is true in the published accounts should be disbelieved?

Open Rebellion in the Punjab and Its Probable Causes

It is said that there has been open rebellion in the Punjab. The rebellions that we have read of in history had military commanders as leaders, had big or small armies and had arms, and their object was to overthrow an existing government or governments and substitute others in their place. *The Civil and Military Gazette* has not yet published details of the Punjab rebellion on these points. Nor has it told us the causes of the rebellion in a province which its "strong" ruler certified very recently as the most loyal in India.

Among the many reasons given in the Rowlatt Committee's Report why 'legislation' of a drastic character may be 'required,' one is that "there will, especially in the Punjab be a large number of disbanded soldiers, among whom it may be possible to stir up discontent." We do not know what led the Rowlatt Committee to anticipate the possibility of stirring up discontent among disbanded soldiers. Were there any causes of discontent in the methods of recruitment of these soldiers or in the conditions of their active service, or in the treatment they received while on active service or after being wounded or disabled or after demobilisation? But these questions are like groping in the dark. The public will never know what materials before them led the Rowlatt Committee to apprehend discontent. When the Committee wrote its

report, there was no Rowlatt Act, no agitation against it, and no Satyagraha. It is probable therefore, that the disturbances in the Punjab owe their origin to causes more remote than the above recent events, and it is only the Government of India which can find out these causes.

Soul force and Physical force

When at the request of the Viceroy Mr M. K. Gandhi saw His Excellency and had a talk with him about the Rowlatt bill and Satyagraha a report appeared in the press that one of the questions discussed was whether British rule in India rested on soul force or physical force and that no unanimous conclusion was arrived at. We cannot say on what sort of force British rule rests. Perhaps it does not rest on only one kind of force.

For governments, like private individuals, require both soul force and physical force. Physical force ought no doubt to be under the control and guidance of soul force, but physical force is also necessary. Physical force should be used by governments, when it cannot be dispensed with only from righteous motives and in a humane manner and only as much of it should be applied as is strictly necessary.

Love and Frightfulness

When those who have strength and power assert that the power of love is greater than the power of frightfulness and when from this conviction they are just and do only what is good there is no doubt left of the sincerity of their conviction. For they could also have followed the policy of terrorism and frightfulness. But when the weak and the powerless pray for or demand (it does not matter which) a conciliatory policy, the origin of the cry may be considered to be only or in part timidity and terror.

Love and forgiveness are the privilege of the strong and that alone are strong who can love and forgive.

Satyagraha and the Disturbances

There is no causal connection between Satyagraha and the disturbances, though many persons have taken advantage of the declaration of Satyagraha to create disturbances and do evil deeds, and among them may be some least thought or spoken of in this connection. Satyagrahis have everywhere tried to

pacify the people, and succeeded to a remarkable extent.

Mr M. K. Gandhi has very properly kept Satyagraha in abeyance for the present. But we do not agree with those who urge him to give up Satyagraha once for all. The essence of Satyagraha lies in neither injuring anybody in any way nor accepting any condition of life which is derogatory to human nature. True Satyagraha is therefore the only self-respecting and dignified ideal for us. As to who can be Satyagrahis and whether there ought to be a wide spread movement of Satyagraha &c, we adhere to what we wrote in our last issue. We have only to add that after further reflection we have come to the conclusion that laws which are otherwise unobjectionable should not be disobeyed even though Government may enact a law really injurious to individual and national liberty and well being — when we wrote last we had not come to any definite conclusion. It is only laws in this way really injurious which may be civilly disobeyed and that by only those whose minds are free from passion and resentment.

Government have made two obvious and great mistakes. They ought not to have passed the Rowlatt Act in the teeth of unanimous Indian opposition. According to the officials themselves the Punjab was recently in a state of rebellion. But the existing laws and martial law were quite sufficient to cope with the situation. True the Defence of India Act has been made use of against some persons, and six months after the conclusion of peace the Rowlatt Act is to take its place. But these persons could have been dealt with equally "effectively" under the Deportation Regulations or under Martial Law. Therefore as it is not likely that in future within four years a worse situation will arise the Rowlatt Act is an entirely superfluous piece of legislation.

The other great mistake was the prevention of Mr Gandhi from going to Delhi and the Punjab. His presence in any place makes for peace and order. If the Delhi Administration, the Punjab Government and the Government of India had allowed him to visit Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar &c the recent history of India would have been different from what it has been.

Mr. M K Gandhi

The sensitive conscience of Mr Gandhi and the innate chivalry of his heroic soul have led him to take upon himself the blame for deeds for which he was not responsible and which did not follow even indirectly from his teachings and example. And, like the hero and saint that he is, he has also done penance for these misdeeds of others. It was only to be expected that, as soon as he was so convinced, he would honestly declare that he had underrated the forces of evil and overcalculated the chances of Satyagraha being understood by the masses. But his faith in Satyagraha rightly remains unshaken. As he says in one of his letters to the Satyagraha Sabha

It is not without sorrow that I feel compelled to advise the temporary suspension of civil disobedience. I give this advice not because I have less faith now in its efficacy but because I have it possibly greater faith than before. It is my perception of the law of Satyagraha which impels me to suggest suspension. I am sorry that when I embarked upon a mass movement I underrated the forces of evil and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation. But whilst doing so I wish to say that from a careful examination of the tragedy at Ahmedabad and Viramgam, I am convinced that Satyagraha had nothing to do with the violence of the mob. Had the Government in an unwise manner not prevented me from entering Delhi and so compelled me to disobey their orders, I feel certain that Ahmedabad and Viramgam would have remained free from the horrors of the last week. In other words Satyagraha has neither been the cause nor the occasion of the upheaval. If anything the presence of Satyagrahis has acted as a check ever so slight, upon the previously existing lawless elements. As regards the events in the Punjab it is admitted that they are unconnected with the Satyagraha movement.

A SOUTH AFRICAN REMINISCENCE

'In the course of the Satyagraha struggle in South Africa several thousands of indentured Indians had struck work. This was a Satyagraha strike and therefore entirely peaceful and voluntary. Whilst the strike was going on the strike of the European miners and railway employees etc. was declared. Overtures were made to me to make a common cause with the European strikers. As a Satyagrahi I did not require a moment's consideration to decline to do so. I went further and for fear of our strike being classed with the strike of the Europeans in which methods of violence and the use of arms found a prominent place, ours was suggested and Satyagraha from that moment came to be recognised by the Europeans of South Africa as an honourable and honest movement, and in the words of General Smuts a constitutional movement. I can do no less at the present critical moment. I would be untrue to Satyagraha if I allowed by any action of mine to be used as an excuse for fanning violence for embittering the relations between the English and the

Indians. Our Satyagraha must, therefore, now consist in ceaselessly helping the authorities in all the ways available to us as Satyagrahis to restore order and to curb lawlessness. We can turn the tragedies going on before us to good account, if we could but succeed in gaining the adherence of the masses to the fundamental principles of Satyagraha.

MASS SATYAGRAHA

'Satyagraha is like a baobab tree with innumerable branches. Civil disobedience is one such branch. Satya (truth) and Ahimsa (non violence) together make the parent trunk from which all the innumerable branches shoot out. We have found by bitter experience that whilst in an atmosphere of lawlessness civil disobedience found ready acceptance, Satya (truth) and Ahimsa (non violence) from which alone civil disobedience can worthily spring have commanded little or no respect. Ours then is a Herculean task but we may not shrink. We must fearlessly spread the doctrine of Satya and Ahimsa and then and not till then shall we be able to undertake mass Satyagraha. My attitude towards the Rowlett legislation remains unchanged. Indeed I do feel that the Rowlett legislation is one of the many causes of the present unrest. But in a charged atmosphere I must refrain from examining these causes. The main and only purpose of this letter is to advise all Satyagrahis to temporarily suspend civil disobedience, to give the Government effective co-operation in restoring order and by preaching and practising to gain adherence to the fundamental principles mentioned above.

Famine in Bankura

The Indian Messenger, the organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, writes —

Babu Bipul Chandra Ghosh B.A. and Babu Narendra Nath Nandi have gone to Bankura in connection with the famine relief work of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Babu Bipul Chandra Ghosh writes that people are starving and are naked. Women hide themselves under bushes at the sight of men as they have no clothes on them. A consignment of cloth has already been forwarded to Bankura but a considerably larger quantity will be required to meet the demand. We hope with the help of the generous public it will be possible to send a sufficient quantity of rice and cloth at an early date.

We have also learnt from an independent and trustworthy source that the condition of the people is very serious indeed.

Contributions are to be sent to Dr P. K. Achary, Secretary, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Letter to a Friend

We are permitted to print the following letter written by Sir Rabindranath Tagore to a friend.

'Dear Friend, I believe our outcry against the wrongs inflicted upon us by our governing power is becoming more vehem-

audience and that audience realizing that the reins are not being handled get out of hand and become not an audience but a mob. Most university men will recall cases of this type and will remember the clars of the first magnitude who have obviously been unable to communicate knowledge or stimulate thought in the presence of a class which out of sheer boredom has become either hostile or indifferent. The question of discipline does not really arise. A University teacher must either govern his great class by his personal magnetism or must abandon his task. Discipline in the ordinary sense of the term that is to say the securing of attention by fear of penalties is out of the question in dealing with adults or adolescents. Even the shadow of a great name will not retain a lecture room of bored under graduates.

The question of the size of classes in schools is next dealt with.

When we come to apply some of these ideas to school life we are met by some new factors. The children though not the minds of the children are susceptible to discipline. If they are to be bored they are to be bored and there is an end to the matter. They cannot stay away they cannot riot, they can be made to sit still. There is authority enough to secure this. But if the teacher or lecturer is a bore, is incapable of dealing effectively with large classes the children use the method of protection afforded by the abounding mercies of nature. Their minds become like the sheet of blank paper with which some educationists tell us that they set out in their career of life and the teacher writes nothing on it. On the other hand if the teacher has the peculiar magic of touching the imagination of children of securing their affectionate interest, then a large class of children can be dealt with very effectively, perhaps more effectively than a small class at any rate in certain subjects and the desire for knowledge is permanently aroused. Our elementary system of training which has had to grapple with the difficulty of large classes has striven and with remarkable success to produce teachers who can deal with large numbers of children in this way and secure by some natural aptitude enlarged by special training the attention and the interest of children without recourse to disciplinary methods. Since large classes must for a long time be the fate of our schools whether such classes are good or bad educationally, it is plain that great efforts should be made to secure the teacher who possesses the natural gifts which can make a large class at any rate not an educational evil.

Why Britain does not Intervene in Russia

On April 16th, in the course of the lengthy speech on peace which Mr. Lloyd George made in the House of Commons, he explained the reasons for not intervening in the affairs of Russia. Said he—

I am sure the proposal favouring military intervention in the form of an alliance is a very sound fundamental principle of our foreign policy that we never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, however badly governed and notwithstanding the state of British feeling the practical result of a gigantic military enterprise in Russia would be to see Russia fall into the hands of a foreign power.

ed but had never been conquered by a foreign foe. Even if conquest were possible, political and practical difficulties remained. He was horrified at Bolshevik teachings. He would rather leave Russia Bolshevik until she saw what Bolshevism was doing than see Britain made bankrupt by costly military intervention because that would be the surest road to spread Bolshevism in Britain (Cheers). He was convinced that to attempt military intervention in Russia would be the greatest stupidity.

The British Cabinet have decided wisely. One reason why we are pleased with their decision is that if the British Empire were involved in a big war with Russia, India would have to send a large army and incur heavy military expenditure.

As for Mr. George's reasons one would like to ask, since when Britain has been following the "very sound fundamental principle of our foreign policy that we never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, however badly governed?" This principle is unquestionably right. But British historians of India have told us repeatedly that it was because India was badly governed that the British annexed the country in order to put an end to anarchy, and the reason which is given for the continuation of British rule here is that otherwise the country would be very badly governed. The gradual annexation of different parts of India on the ground of indigenous misgovernment, shows that the principle enunciated by Mr. George is either of recent evolution or that it does not operate outside Europe. Was not Burma annexed because "King Theebaw was still drinking" and misgoverning his country?

The other reasons given are both true and sound, particularly when the Premier said that he did not like to "see Britain made bankrupt by costly military intervention." If Russia could be conquered and annexed with the help of Russian men and money and if the continued occupation of Russia were considered a paying job it would be a different matter. But Russia is not India.

Japan and the Colour Bar

We have received the following for publication—

Tokio February 11th 1919

To the Editor of the 'Modern Review'

Dear Sir

We representatives of thirty seven Societies in Japan—political religious press army and navy

veterans' associations, etc.—held a meeting in Tokio on the 5th of February, 1919, concerning the question of racial discriminatory treatment, at which the enclosed Declaration was passed.

We should be very grateful if you could give your support to this Declaration which has been cabled to the Peace Conference, by making it further known through the columns of your paper.

Thanking you in advance

Yours truly
TENCHI SCOTTA,

*Member of the House of Peers ex president
of the House of Representatives, Chairman of
the Japan Conference for race equality*

DECLARATION.

The Allied Nations now assembled at the Peace Conference are endeavouring to establish a League of Nations and found the permanent peace of the world.

We Japanese wholeheartedly approve of this effort and anxiously await its realization.

But seeing that the racial discriminatory treatment in international intercourse which stimulates is against all principles of liberty and equality and forms a constant root of conflict between peoples,

That so long as this remains unchanged all peace conferences, leagues and agreements will be as a house built on the sand, and that no true peace can be hoped for,

We, representatives of thirty seven large Japanese associations, call upon the nations of the world to found permanent peace on justice and humanity, and to this end,

DECLARE.

The Japanese Nation expects of the Peace Conference the final abolition of all racial discrimination and disqualification.

We heartily support this declaration.

Reuter's telegram dated Paris April 21, says that the Japanese amendment calling for the insertion in the preamble to the League of Nations Covenant of a clause recording the equality of all nations will certainly come up, creating certain liveliness at the conference at the last moment.

Islamic "News" from the Antipodes

The Harvard Theological Review is a very respectable and high class quarterly issued by the Faculty of Divinity in Harvard University. The place of honour in the January number of that review is occupied by an article on "The effect of the war on Protestant Missions" by James L. Barton, D.D., LL.D. The following sentences are extracted from it.

"The Mohammedans of India, Egypt, and, in fact, nearly all parts of the world, have either tacitly or officially repudiated the Sultan of Turkey as the Caliph of Islam, a position which he has held for four centuries or more."

"To the present time no Mohammedan country or Mohammedan leader has come forward as the

defender of the Sultan or his claim upon the Caliphate." Page 16

So far as Indian Moslems are concerned, the true facts are exactly the opposite of what they are stated to be in the sentences quoted above. They all insist that the Sultan is and must be recognised as their Caliph and they certainly unanimously and openly defend his claim upon the Caliphate.

Probably censorship has prevented the transmission of correct news to America. Or can there be any other reasonable explanation?

Press Censorship in the Punjab.

A Press Communique issued by the Punjab Government says in part that in its issue of 16th April last the Madras paper "New India," asserted that the Punjab Government had passed an order that the papers owned by Indians, should publish no reports of the recent disturbances unless they have been passed by the Censor. The statement that this order applied only to Indian-owned newspapers is altogether untrue. The order of Press censorship was passed on all newspapers in the province without distinction.

This contradiction comes very late. And, it does not much matter. For, whatever the cause may be, the fact is that the *Civil and Military Gazette* alone did or could publish reports of the recent disturbances.

Continuation of Sir M. O'Dwyer's Service.

The Indian Daily News writes—

The continuation of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's service in the Punjab seems to be hailed with great pleasure by our [Anglo-Indian] contemporaries. We think they are entirely mistaken, and we look on the appointment with profound misgiving.

We think the Panjab Satrap's administration has been worse than a dismal failure, as he leaves the province intensely irritated and deeply discontented. Whatever view may be taken of the extension of Sir Michael's service, it is undoubtedly a left-handed compliment to the officer who was appointed to be his successor, but who must now be "on special duty" until the time comes when a "strong" man may not be required and a "weak" man may do as well.

The Indian Daily News says that "many people, indeed, think that even forty yen

of Martial Law will fail to conciliate a Province like the Punjab" That is true. And, in fact, martial law, however long continued, can never really *conciliate* any province

Flogging in Lahore

The same paper commends the following well known lines for the consideration of "the gentleman at Lahore, who apparently thinks people should be flogged for not opening their shops, and has issued an order to that effect"

It is excellent

To have a giant strength but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant but man proud man,
Drest in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he is, most assured
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
As make the angels weep

It has been said in extenuation of the flogging in the streets of Lahore that it was only petty shopkeepers of the menial and coolie class who were flogged! As if these humble individuals do not feel the disgrace, more painful than death, of being publicly whipped. When civilised opinion condemns flogging even for heinous offences, because of its brutalising effect and other causes, it is very discreditable that it should have been made use of so light-heartedly against men who had committed only slight technical offences against "Martial Law," which Morley describes as the negation of all law.

The Panchamas of South Kanara

We have read the following in *The Panchama* with sorrow —

In the Madras Presidency the small corner district of South Kanara is generally known as the place where the condition of the Panchama Classes is extremely bad. Out of the total population of nearly 12 lakhs, as many as 140,775 are Panchamas. Not one amongst this enormous number can be said to be a landlord paying an assessment of even Rs 200 a year. Their standard of comfort is extremely low and they do not possess any property beyond bare necessities of life — Sir Harold Stuart in the *District Manual*, Volume II.

There are several sects among them, who on the whole can be classified under two heads viz the *Mulada Holeyas* and the *Salada Holeyas*. The *Mulada Holeyas* are hereditary serfs who could be sold or pledged by the landlord at his pleasure like his chattel. When a landlord sells his land to another, the *Mulada Holeya* families living under him, also pass to the Vendee as a custom but express mention of such a transfer of human beings is not now a days made indeed of conveyance through fear of law. Slavery indeed has been legally abolished but custom dies hard. So says the Hon'ble Mr

Starreck in the *District Manual* vide Volume I, page 198.

The *Salada Hol-ya* or as the term means, the indebted Panchama is as good a slave as his *Mulada* brother by reason of his being bound to his master by debt. Every Panchama youth is compelled by custom to spend at least Rs 50 for his marriage which he cannot but borrow from his landlord. This debt once borrowed is never repaid to the creditor who gets however interest on his loan at an exorbitant rate. The borrowing Panchama is always a day labourer who generally gets his daily wages in kind—paddy or rice and one fourth his daily earnings goes to the creditor as interest. This system of levying interest is locally known as *Bar baddi*. A *Salada Holeya* is thus in no better position than his *Mulada* brother. Both are equally bound to their master as slaves. Vide *District Manual*, page 198, Volume I.

Our Panchama brethren in our District have very curious names. Such as Tade (flat fish), Balde (big fish), Karyote (beetle), Nakkure (earth worm), Tabure (red ant), Happe (frog), Berante (centipede), Pachce (cat), Bogra (barking dog), Boggu (wild dog), Kajoru (sweepings), Bujin (lantern), Pergude (big rat), Bogri (hitch), Guje (unripe jack fruit), Gubbu (sparrow), and so forth.

Twenty three years ago, Panchama children bore names of this kind in our School registers. At the suggestion of an Educational Officer, we introduced an innovation by giving every pupil a second name resembling that of a higher caste man as an alter native—with an alias between. Thus Flatfish became Tade alias Sankara, Red ant became Tabure alias Rama and Big rat became Pergude alias Lakshmana. We gradually dropped the old name and continued the new, and the alias vanished. This innovation met with enthusiastic approval of the parents who remarked, that no man of higher caste however unsympathetic and cruel, would ill-treat children for bearing better names given by School teachers. This change in names became very popular among the Panchamas so much so, that except in rural parts, it is difficult now a days to come across a Panchama youth bearing the names of beasts of the wood or fowls of the air. Grown up Panchama youths, who apprehend injury to their limbs in assuming names of higher caste people, adopt a middle course. They mention the day on which they are born, as their name like Athra (Mr Sunday) Thomee (Miss Monday) and so forth.

A Panchama meeting a higher caste man for business cannot say "Namaskar or Ramram" but shall shout instead "Lord, I fall this side," as equivalent to Good Morning Sir. When he takes leave of him he shall say "Lord, I fall that side" and not "Good bye Sir." He cannot say "my wife" but "she Pariah." Husband is Pariah even child ren are not children but young ones. His wife can not be in a family way but carrying.

Immorality in India.

Dr Lynch's letter printed in the article on "Indian Labour in Fiji" contains many statements which are open to criticism. For example, as regards diseases, whatever else may be true, it is not true that venereal diseases are as prevalent among the rural population of India from whom coolies are recruited as they are among

indentured Indian laborers in Fiji. For the greater prevalence of these diseases in Fiji the planters are responsible. As regards immorality Dr Lynch writes —

Immorality—Is there none in India?—Does not all India as literature teem with it? Indians do not learn immorality in Fiji they are saturated with it before they leave India. Look at a standard Indian Dictionary and you will find with difficulty a page in which there is not at least one obscene word for translation.

This paragraph is a string of falsehoods. The level of sexual morality in India is at least as high as it is in any other country. As regards a standard Indian dictionary, as there are many languages in India the doctor ought to have said what language or languages he was thinking of and named at least one dictionary to enable the reader to verify his statement.

A Cause of Famine

In his article on the Causes of Frequent Famines in Bankura Babu Motiwar Sen shows that one cause is the diminution in the area under cultivation owing to arable land being taken up by railways. As this cause may exist in other tracts also students of the causes of famines should bear this fact in mind and ascertain from official publications to what extent if any this cause has been at work in any particular tract.

An Album of New Pictures

The *Modern Review* office has up to the present published five albums containing for the most part pictures which have already appeared in the *Review* with the occasional addition of a few unpublished ones. Our readers may be interested to learn that *Album No 6* which is in the press will consist entirely of pictures which have not yet been published in the *Modern Review*. It will contain the following pictures:

- 1 *Isoka's Queen and the Bodhi Tree* by Abanindranath Tagore
- 2 *Sati* by Nandalal Bose
- 3 *On Evil Days Fallen* by Asit Kumar Hallar
- 4 *Shooting Star* by Abanindranath Tagore
- 5 *Butterfly Messenger* by Ardhendu prasad Banerji
- 6 *Night in a Cemetery* by Narayan Sen
- 7 *The Town* by Srimati Pratima Devi

- 8 *The Angry Waves* by Sarada Charan Ukil
- 9 *A new picture* by Samarendranath Gupta
- 10 *A Daughter of the Panjab* by M A R Chughtai
- 11 *After the Days Work* by Debiprasad Ray Chowdhuri
- 12 *A Blind Beggar* by B Joykumar Basu
- 13 *Playing Holi* by Mukul Chandra De
- 14 *Music* by Bhabhanji
- 15 and 16 Two other new pictures

Orders are now being registered. If at least 2,000 copies of this album are purchased by the public we shall in future publish other albums containing only unpublished pictures.

The Moderate Party on the Rowlatt Act

Mr Montagu ought now to be satisfied as the Moderate Party has passed the following resolution at the recent meeting of the Committee of the All India Moderate Conference:

The passing of the Rowlatt Act in the face of the unanimous opposition of the Indian public was an unwelcome step and the Committee appeal to the Secretary of State to advise His Majesty to disallow it.

Uncovenanted Service Pensions

In the House of Commons on March 31st Mr Bennett pointed out that the present scale of pensions of Uncovenanted Services in India was fixed in 1855. He recalled that the recommendation of the Public Services Commission in this connection had been confirmed in the Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms Part I Chapters X and XI para 320 page 203 and affirmed that much hardship was known to exist owing to the inadequacy of present pensions to meet the enhanced cost of living. He urged the Secretary of State to take an early opportunity of redressing this acknowledged grievance. Mr Fisher in reply said that Mr Montagu expected to have definite proposals from the Government of India in this connection very shortly and would deal with them without loss of time. This is all very good. It is only to be hoped however that when dealing with this important question the hardships of the Indian pensioners will not be quite lost sight of.

State versus Company Management of Indian Railways.

In the House of Commons in reply to Sir John Rees, Mr. Fisher stated on April 1, that Mr. Montagu had proposed that as soon as convenient after the war there would be an enquiry in India regarding the desirability or otherwise on administrative and financial grounds of modifying the present management of railways in India which were owned by the State but worked by companies domiciled in England by incorporating these lines in existing State-worked systems or converting them into separate State-worked lines or handing them over to companies domiciled in India. As usual the authorities choose to talk riddles when dealing with this very important question of the management of Railways in India. It is not quite intelligible to us why this should be the case and on what grounds the present contract with the East Indian Railway Company, which would have ended by December 31, 1919, has just been renewed for another five years. The statement of approximate gross earnings of Indian railways published in the Gazette of India of April 19th gives details of the railway working for the whole financial year from 1st April, 1918, to 31st March, 1919. The total earnings

amount to Rs. 75,78,80,000. It will be remembered that Sir William Meyer in his Budget speech for the year 1918-19 estimated the total earnings at £47 million pounds or Rs. 70,50,08,000, so that they actually are better by Rs. 5,28,72,000 than the Budget estimate, while they are Rs. 6,77,63,605 better than the total earnings of the previous financial year. Only two of the State Railways, viz., the Jodhpur-Hyderabad and the Jorhat Railways, show diminished earnings, as compared with the corresponding period of 1917-18, all the other systems exhibiting a greater or less increase. In the case of the East Indian Railway the increase amounts to Rs. 170½ lakhs; of the Great Indian Peninsula to Rs. 123¾ lakhs; of the Bombay Baroda to Rs. 74¾ lakhs; of the Bombay Baroda broad gauge to Rs. 66½ lakhs; and of the Bengal Nagpur to Rs. 48¾ lakhs. Compared with the pre-war year of 1913-14, the total earnings of the year under review are better by Rs. 1,934¾ lakhs. Thus it will be observed that Railways in India are not an unimportant concern to the Government or for the matter of that to its people, and this is why we write again and again persisting on bringing the Railways completely under the control and management of the State.

ERRATA

Page 474 Column 1,

ll. 89 for 'with needed.....fostered' read 'the needed irrigation works for agriculture were attended to. The fruit and flower gardens were also fostered to a degree of excellence.'

Page 476, Col. 2,

1. 39. For 'Thus the price' etc. read 'The price of' etc.



COMRADES

By the courtesy of the artist, Mr. Surendranath Kar

THE MODERN REVIEW

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WHOLE
No. 150

MOTHER'S PRAYER

By SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

TRANSLATED BY THE AUTHOR FROM HIS BENGALI ORIGINAL,
COMPOSED 22 YEARS AGO

King Dhritarashtra —The blind Kaurava King
Prince Duryodhana —His son who has just won in a game of chance by which his
• Pandava cousins have lost the kingdom and accepted banishment
Queen Gandhari —The mother of Duryodhana.

N.B.—The italic *a's* in the proper names *s* to be pronounced long as *a n* far

Dhritarashtra

You have attained what you sought

Duryodhana

I have attained success

Dhritarashtra

Are you happy?

Duryodhana

I am victorious

Dhritarashtra

I ask you again what happiness had you in gain
ing an undivided kingdom

Duryodhana

Sire a Kshatriya's thirst is not for happiness, but
for victory —the fiery wine victory brewed from seething
jealousy. Wretchedly happy we were when we lived in
peace under the friendly dominance of our cousins, like in
glorious strains lying idle on the breast of the moon, while
these Pandavas would milk the world of its wealth and
allow us to share it with them in brotherly tolerance. But
now, when they own defeat and are ready for banishment,
I am no longer happy,—but I am exultant

Dhritarashtra

Wretch, you forget that the Pandavas and
Kauravas have the same forefathers

Duryodhana.

It was difficult to forget that, and therefore our inequalities rankled all the more in my heart. The moon of the midnight is never jealous of the sun of the noon. But the struggle to share the horizon by both the orbs can not last forever. Thank heaven, that struggle is over and we have attained at last the solitude of glory.

Dhritarashtra.

I he mean jealousy !

Duryodhana.

Jealousy is never mean,—it is in the nature of the great. Only grass can grow in crowded amity, not the giant trees. Stars live in clusters, but the sun and moon are lonely in their splendour. The pale moon of the Pandavas sets behind the forest shadows leaving the new-risen sun of the Kauravas to rejoice.

Dhritarashtra.

But what is right has been defeated.

Duryodhana.

What is right for the rulers of men is not what is right for the people. The people thrive in comradeship, but for a king those men are enemies who are his equals. They are obstacles when in front, they are a terror when behind. There is no place for brothers or friends in a king's polity ; its one solid foundation is conquest.

Dhritarashtra.

I refuse to call it conquest deceitfully to win in gambling.

Duryodhana.

It is no shame for a man not to challenge a tiger to fight on equal terms with teeth and nails. Our weapons are those which lead us to success and not to suicide. Father, I am proud of the end we have achieved and disdain feebly to regret the means.

Dhritarashtra.

But justice—

Duryodhana.

Only fools dream of justice before success is attained, but those who are born to be kings rely upon their power, merciless and unburdened by scruples.

Dhritarashtra.

Your success has brought down upon you a flood of calumny, loud and angry.

Duryodhan

It will take amazingly little time before the people shall know that Duryodhana is their king and has the power to crush calumny under foot

Dhritarashtra

Calumny dies weary, dancing on the tongue-tips
Do not drive it into the secret shelter of the heart to grow in strength

Duryodhana

Unuttered defaming does not touch a king's dignity I care not if love is refused us, but insolence shall not be borne Giving of love depends upon the wish of the giver, and the poorest of the poor can indulge in such generosity Let them squander it upon their pet cats and their tame dogs, and our good cousins the Pandavas, I shall never envy them But fear is the tribute I claim for my royal throne Father, only too leniently did you lend your ears to those who slander your sons,—but if you still allow these pious friends of yours to continue in their revels of shrill denunciation at the cost of your own children, then let us exchange our kingdom for the exile of our cousins, and go to the wilderness where happily friends are never cheap

Dhritarashtra

If my friends' pious warnings could lessen my love for my sons then we might be saved But I have dipped my hands in the mire of your infamy and lost my sense of the good I have heedlessly set fire for your sake to this ancient forest of our royal lineage—so fearful is my love With you clasped to my breast, we, like a double meteor, are plunging into a blind down'fall Therefore, doubt not in my father's love, relax not your embracing arms till we reach the brink of annihilation Beat your drums of victory, lift your banner of triumph In this mad riot of exultant evil, brothers and friends will disperse and there will remain only the doomed father and the doomed son and God's curse and nothing besides

Enters Attendant

Sire, Queen Gandhari asks for audience

Dhritarashtra

I shall wait for her

Duryodhana

Let me take my leave (Exit)

Dhritarashtra

Fly away! For you cannot bear the fire of your mother's presence.

Enters Queen Gandhari, the mother of Duryodhana.

Gandhari.

I have a prayer at your feet.

Dhritarashtra.

The utterance of your wish carries fulfilment.

Gandhari.

The time has come to renounce him.

Dhritarashtra.

Whom, my queen ?

Gandhari.

Duryodhana.

Dhritarashtra.

Our own son, Duryodhana ?

Gandhari.

Yes !

Dhritarashtra.

Terrible is this prayer from you, Mother of kings.

Gandhari.

This prayer is not only mine, it comes from the fathers of the Kauravas, who are in paradise.

Dhritarashtra.

The Divine Judge will punish him who has broken his laws. But I am his father.

Gandhari.

And am I not his mother ? Have I not borne him under my throbbing heart ? Yet I ask of you, renounce Duryodhana the unrighteous.

Dhritarashtra.

And what will remain to us after that ?

Gandhari.

God's blessing.

Dhritarashtra.

And what will that bring to us ?

Gandhari.

New afflictions. How can we bear in our breast the double thorns of the pleasure of our son's presence and the pride of our freshly acquired kingdom bought at the price of wrong ? The Pandavas will never accept back from our hands the land which they have given up. Therefore, it is only meet for us to take upon our head some great sorrow which will rob the wrong of its reward.

Dhritarashtra

Queen, you are inflicting fresh pain upon the heart already rent

Gandhari

Sire the punishment imposed upon our son will be more ours than his. When the judge is callous of the pain that he inflicts he has not the right to judge. And if you withdraw judgment from your own son to save yourself pain then all the culprits ever punished at your hands will cry for vengeance against you at God's throne—for had not they also their fathers?

Dhritarashtra

No more of this Queen I pray you. Our son is renounced by God and that is why I cannot renounce him. To save him is no longer in my power and therefore my consolation is to share his guilt and to go down the path of destruction with him—his solitary companion. What has been done is done and what must follow let follow.

(Exit)

Gandhari

Be calm my heart and patiently wait for God's judgment. The oblivious night wears on the morning of reckoning comes and time wakes up to mend its rents. The thundering roar of its chariot I can hear. Woman bow your head down to the dust and for your sacrifice fling on its way your heart to be trampled under its wheels. And then the darkness will shroud the sky the earth will tremble and a wailing will rend the air. And then will come the end silent and cruel the terrible peace and a great forgetting the awful extinction of hatred the supreme deliverance rising from the fire of death.

LESSONS FROM THE CAREER OF SHIVAJI

§ 1 SHIVAJI'S POLICY HOW FAR TRADITIONAL

SHIVAJI'S state policy like his administrative system was not very new. From time immemorial it had been the aim of the typical Hindu king to set out early every autumn* to extend his king-

dom at the expense of his neighbours. Indeed the Sanskrit law books lay down such a course as the necessary accomplishment of a true Kshatriya chief. In more recent times it had also been the practice of the Muhammadan sovereigns in North India and the Deccan alike. But these conquerors justified their territorial aggrandisement by religious motives. Ac-

* *Manu* vi. 93-100, 15.

according to the Quranic law, there cannot be peace between a Muhammadan king and his neighbouring "infidel" States. The latter are *dar ul harb* or legitimate seats of war, and it is the Muslim king's duty to slay and plunder in them till they accept the true faith and become *dar ul islām*, after which they will become entitled to his protection.

The coincidence between Shivaji's foreign policy and that of a Quranic sovereign is so complete that both the history of Shivaji by his courtier Krishnaji Anant and the Persian official history of *Bijapur* use exactly the same word, *mulk giri*, to describe such raids into neighbouring countries as a regular political ideal. The only difference was that in theory at least, an orthodox Muslim king was bound to spare the other Muslim States in his path and not to spoil or shed the blood of true believers while Shivaji (as well as the Peshwas after him) carried on his *mulk giri* into all neighbouring States, Hindu no less than Islamic, and squeezed rich Hindus as mercilessly as he did Muhammadans. Then again, the orthodox Islamic king, in theory at least, aimed at the annexation and conversion of the other States, so that after the short sharp agony of conquest was over the latter enjoyed peace like the regular parts of his dominion. But the object of Shivaji's military enterprises, unless his court historian Sabhasad has misrepresented it, was not annexation but mere plunder, or to quote his very words, "The Maratha forces should feed themselves at the expense of foreign countries for eight months every year, and levy blackmail" (p. 29).

Thus, Shivaji's power was exactly similar in origin and theory to the power of the Muslim States in India and elsewhere, and he only differed from them in the use of that power. Universal toleration and equal justice and protection were the distinctive features of the permanently occupied portion of his *swaraj*, as we have shown elsewhere.

§ 2 CAUSES OF SHIVAJI'S FAILURE TO BUILD AN ENDURING STATE

Why did Shivaji fail to create an enduring State? Why did the Maratha nation stop short of the final accomplishment of

their union and dissolve before they had consolidated into an absolutely compact political body?

An obvious cause was, no doubt, the shortness of his reign, barely ten years after the final rupture with the Mughals in 1670. But this does not furnish the true explanation of his failure. It is doubtful if with a very much longer time at his disposal he could have averted the ruin which befell the Maratha State under the Peshwas, for the same moral canker was at work among his people in the 17th century as in the 18th. The first danger of the new Hindu kingdom established by him in the Deccan lay in the fact that the national glory and prosperity resulting from the victories of Shivaji and Bajirao I created a reaction in favour of Hindu orthodoxy, it accentuated caste distinctions and ceremonial purity of daily rites, which ran counter to the homogeneity and simplicity of the poor and politically depressed early Maratha society. Thus, his political success sapped the main foundation of that success.

In the security, power and wealth engendered by their independence, the Marathas of the 18th century forgot the past record of Muslim persecution; the social grades turned against each other. The Brahmans living east of the Sahyadri despised those living west, the men of the hills despised their brethren of the plains, because they could now do so with impunity. The head of the State, though a Brahman, was despised by his other Brahman servants,—because the first Peshwa's great-grand father's great-grand father had once been lower in society than the Poona Brahmans' great-grand fathers' great-grand fathers! While Chitpavan Brahmans were waging social war with the Deshastha Brahmans, a bitter jealousy raged between the Brahman ministers and governors and the Prabhu Kayastha secretaries. We have unmistakable traces of it as early as the reign of Shivaji, though it never led to an open rupture in his Court like the Shia Sunni rivalry in the camp of Aurangzeb. "Caste grows by fission." It is antagonistic to national union. In proportion as Shivaji's ideal of a Hindu *swaraj* was based on orthodoxy, it contained within itself the seed of its own death. As Rabindranath Tagore remarks

"A temporary enthusiasm sweeps over

† For details of account and authority *History of Marathas*, p. 23.

the country and we imagine that it has been united, but the rents and holes in our body social do their work secretly, we cannot retain any noble idea long

"Shivaji aimed at preserving the rents, he wished to save from Mughal attack a Hindu society of which ceremonial distinctions and isolation of castes are the very breath of life. He wanted to make this heterogeneous society triumphant over all India. He wove ropes of sand, he attempted the impossible. It is beyond the power of any man, it is opposed to the divine law of the universe, to establish the sway of such a caste ridden, isolated, internally torn sect over a vast continent like India."

There was no attempt at well thought out organised communal improvement, spread of education, or unification of the people, either under Shivaji or under the Peshwas. The cohesion of the peoples in the Maratha State was not organic but artificial, accidental, and therefore precarious. It was solely dependent on the ruler's extraordinary personality and disappeared when the country ceased to produce supermen.

A government of personal discretion is, by its very nature, uncertain. This uncertainty reacted fatally on the administration. However well planned the machinery and rules might be, the actual conduct of the administration was marred by inefficiency, sudden changes and official corruption, because nobody felt secure of his post or of the due appreciation of his merit. This has been the bane of all autocratic States in the East and the West alike, except where the autocrat has been a 'hero as king' or where a high level of education, civilisation and national spirit among the people has reduced the evil.

§ 3 NEGLIGENCE OF THE ECONOMIC FACTOR BY THE MARATHAS

The Maratha rulers neglected the economic development of the State. Some of them did, no doubt, try to save the peasantry from illegal exactions and to this extent they promoted agriculture. But commerce was subjected to frequent harassment by local officers and the traders could never be certain of freedom

of movement and security of their rights on mere payment of the legal rate of duty. The internal resources of a small province with no industry, little trade, a sterile soil, and an agriculture dependent upon scanty and precarious rainfall, could not possibly support the large army that Shivaji kept or the imperial position and world dominion to which the Peshwas aspired.

The necessary expenses of the State could be met, and all the parts of the body politic could be held together only by a constant flow of money from outside its own borders, i.e., by a regular succession of raids. As the late Mr G. K. Gokhale laughingly told me when describing the hardships of the present rigid land assessment in the Bombay Presidency, "You see the land revenue did not matter much under Maratha rule. In those old days, when the crop failed, our people used to sally forth with their horses and spears and bring back enough booty to feed them for the next two or three years. Now they have to starve on their own lands."

Thus, by the character of his State, the Marathas' hands were turned against everybody and everybody's hands were turned against him. It is the Nemesis of a *Kriegsstaat* to move in a vicious circle. It must wage war periodically if it is to get its food, but war, when waged as a normal method of supply, destroys industry and wealth in the invading and invaded countries alike, and ultimately defeats the very end of such wars. Peace is death to a *Kriegsstaat*, but peace is the very life breath of wealth. The *Kriegsstaat*, therefore, kills the goose that lays the golden eggs. To take an illustration, Shivaji's repeated plunder of Surat scared away trade and wealth from that city, and his second raid (in 1670) brought him much less booty than his first, and a few years later the constant dread of Maratha incursion entirely impoverished Surat and effectually dried up this source of supply. Thus, from the economic point of view, the Maratha State had no stable basis, no normal means of growth within itself.

§ 4 EXCESS OF FINESSE AND INTRIGUE

Lastly, the Marathas trusted too much to finesse. They did not realise that without a certain amount of fidelity to promises no society can hold together

* From his *Rise and Fall of the Sikh Power* as translated by me in the *Modern Review*, April 1911.

Stratagem and falsehood may have been necessary at the birth of their State, but it was continued during the maturity of their power. No one could rely on the promise of a Maratha minister or the assurance of a Maratha general. Witness the long and finally fruitless negotiations of the English merchants with Shivaji for compensation for the loss of their Rajapur factory. The Maratha Government could not always be relied on to abide by their treaty obligations.

Shivaji, and to a lesser extent, Bajirao I, preserved an admirable balance between war and diplomacy. But the latter day Marathas lost this practical ability. They trusted too much to diplomatic trickery, as if empire were a pacific game of chess. Military efficiency was neglected, war at the right moment and in the right fashion was avoided, or, worse still, their forces were frittered away in unseasonable campaigns and raids conducted as a matter of routine, and the highest political wisdom was believed to consist in *raj karan* or diplomatic intrigue. Thus, while the Maratha spider was weaving his endless cobweb of hollow alliances and diplomatic counter plot, the mailed fist of Wellesley was thrust into his laboured but flimsy tissue of state craft, and by a few swift and judicious strokes his defence and screen was torn away and his power left naked and helpless. In rapid succession the Nizam was disarmed, Tipu was crushed, and the Peshwa was enslaved. While Sindbia and Holkar were dreaming the dream of the overlordship of all India, they suddenly awoke to find that even their local independence was gone. The man of action, the soldier statesman, always triumphs over the mere scheming Machiavel.

§ 5 CHARACTER OF SHIVAJI

Shivaji's private life was marked by a high standard of morality. He was a devoted son, a loving father and an attentive husband, though he did not rise above the ideas and usage of his age, which allowed a plurality of wives and the keeping of concubines even among the priestly caste, not to speak of warriors and kings. Intensely religious from his very boyhood by instinct and training alike, he remained throughout life abstemious, free from vice, devoted to holy men, and passionately fond of hearing scripture readings and

sacred stories and songs. But religion remained with him an ever fresh fountain of right conduct and generosity, it did not obsess his mind nor harden him into a bigot. The sincerity of his faith is proved by his impartial respect for the holy men of all sects (Muslim as much as Hindu) and toleration of all creeds. His chivalry to women and strict enforcement of morality in his camp was a wonder in that age and has extorted the admiration of hostile critics like Khafi Khan.

He had the born leader's personal magnetism and threw a spell over all who knew him, drawing the best elements of the country to his side and winning the most devoted service from his officers while his dazzling victories and ever ready smile made him the idol of his soldiery. His royal gift of judging character was one of the main causes of his success, as his selection of generals and governors, diplomatists and secretaries was never at fault and his administration, both civil and military, was unrivalled for efficiency. How well he deserved to be king is proved by his equal treatment and justice to all men within his realm, his protection and endowment of all religions, his care for the peasantry and his remarkable forethought in making all arrangements and planning distant campaigns.

His army organisation was a model of efficiency, everything was provided for beforehand and kept in its proper place under a proper care taker, an excellent spy system supplied him in advance with the most minute information about the theatre of his intended campaign, divisions of his army were combined or dispersed at will over long distances without failure, the enemy's pursuit or obstruction was successfully met and yet the booty was rapidly and safely conveyed home without any loss. His inborn military genius is proved by his instinctively adopting that system of warfare which was most suited to the racial character of his soldiers, the nature of the country, the weapons of the age, and the internal condition of his enemies. His light cavalry, stiffened with swift footed infantry, was irresistible in the age of Aurangzeb. More than a century after his death, his blind imitator Daulat Rao Sindbia continued the same tactics when the English had galloper guns for field action and most of the Deccan towns

were walled round* and provided with defensive artillery, and he therefore failed ignominiously

§ 6 SHIVAJI'S POLITICAL IDEAL AND DIFFICULTIES

Did Shivaji merely found a *Krieg staat* i.e., a government that lives and grows only by war? Was he merely an entrepreneur of rapine a Hindu edition of Ala-uddin Khilji or Timur?

I think it would not be fair to take this view. For one thing he never had peace to work out his political ideal. The whole of his short life was one struggle with enemies, a period of preparation and not of fruition. All his attention was necessarily devoted to meeting daily dangers with daily expedients and he had not the chance of peacefully building up a well planned political edifice. His record is incomplete and we cannot confidently deduce his political aim from his actual achievement. It would be more correct to conjecture it from indirect sources like his regulations though this class of materials is scanty and often inconclusive.

In the vast Gangetic valley and the wide Desh country rolling eastwards through the Deccan Nature has fixed no boundary to States. Their size changes with daily changes in their strength as compared with their neighbours. There can be no stable equilibrium among them for more than a generation. Each has to push the others as much for self-defence as for aggression. Each must be armed and ready to invade the others if it does not wish to be invaded and absorbed by them. Where friction with neighbours is the normal state of things, a huge armed force sleepless vigilance and readiness to strike the first blow are the necessary conditions of the very existence of a kingdom. The evil could be remedied only by the establishment of a universal empire throughout the country from sea to sea.

Shivaji could not for a moment be sure of the pacific disposition or fidelity to treaty of the Delhi Government. The past history of the Mughal expansion into the Deccan since the days of Akbar, was a warning to him. The imperial policy of annexing the whole of South India was

unmistakable to Shivaji as to Adil Shah or Qutb Shah. Its completion was only a question of time, and every Deccan Power was bound to wage eternal warfare with the Mughals if it wished to exist. Hence Shivaji lost no chance of robbing Mughal territory in the Deccan.

With Byapur his relations were somewhat different. He could raise his head or expand his dominion only at the expense of Byapur. Rebellion against his hegemony was the necessary condition of his being. But when about 1662 an understanding was effected between him and the Adil Shahi ministers he gave up molesting the heart of the Byapur kingdom. With the Byapur barons whose fiefs lay close to his dominions he had, however, to wage war till he had wrested Kolhapur, North Kanara and South Kanara from their hands. In the Karnatak division viz. the Dharwar and Belgaum districts this contest was still undecided when he died. With the provinces that lay across the path of his natural expansion he could not be at peace though he did not wish to challenge the central government of Byapur. This attitude was changed by the death of Ali II in 1672 the accession of the boy Sikandar Adil Shah the faction fights between rival nobles at the capital and the visible dissolution of the Government. But Shivaji helped Byapur greatly during the Mughal invasions of 1679.

§ 7 HIS GREATNESS LAY IN HIS INFLUENCE ON THE SPIRIT

Shivaji's real greatness lay in his character and practical ability rather than in originality of conception or length of political vision. Unfailing insight into the character of others, efficiency of arrangements and instinctive perception of what was practicable and most profitable under the circumstances—these were the causes of his success in life. To these must be added his personal morality and loftiness of aim which drew to his side the best minds of his community while his universal toleration and insistence on equal justice gave contentment to all classes subject to his rule. He strenuously maintained order and enforced moral laws throughout his own dominions and the people were happier under him than elsewhere.

His splendid success fired the imagina-

* Owen's *Selections from Nelliington's Despatch* 284

tion of his contemporaries, and his name became a spell calling the Maratha race to a new life. His kingdom was lost within nine years of his death. But the imperishable achievement of his life was the welding of the Marathas into a nation, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his people.

The mutual conflict and internal weakness of the three Muslim Powers of the Deccan were no doubt, contributory causes of the rise of Shivaji. But his success sprang from a higher source than the incompetence of his enemies. I regard him as the last great constructive genius and nation builder that the Hindu race has produced. His system was his own creation and, unlike Ranjit Singh, he took no foreign aid in his administration. His army was drilled and commanded by his own people and not by Frenchmen. What he built lasted long, his institutions were looked up to with admiration and emulation even a century later in the palmy days of the Peshwas' rule.

Shivaji was illiterate, he learnt nothing by reading. He built up his kingdom and government before visiting any royal court, civilised city, or organised camp. He received no help or counsel from any experienced minister or general. But his native genius, alone and unaided, enabled him to found a compact kingdom, an invincible army, and a grand and beneficent system of administration.

Before his rise, the Maratha race was scattered like atoms through many Deccani kingdoms. He welded them into a mighty nation. And he achieved this in the teeth of the opposition of four mighty Powers like the Mughal empire, Bijapur, Portuguese India and the Abyssinians of Janjira. No other Hindu has shown such capacity in modern times. The materialistic Maratha authors of the *bakhars* have given us a list of Shivaji's legacy—so many ele-

phants, horses, soldiers, slaves, jewels, gold and silver, and even spices and raisins. But they have not mentioned Shivaji's greatest gift to posterity, viz., the new life of the Maratha race.

Before he came, the Marathas were mere hirelings, mere servants of aliens. They served the State, but had no lot or part in its management, they shed their lifeblood in the army, but were denied any share in the conduct of war or peace. They were always subordinates, never leaders.

Shivaji was the first to challenge Bijapur and Delhi and thus teach his countrymen that it was possible for them to be independent leaders in war. Then, he founded a State and taught his people that they were capable of administering a kingdom in all its departments. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies, they can conduct their own defence, they can protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry, they can maintain navies and ocean trading fleets of their own, and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth.

He has proved that the Hindu race can still produce not only *jamaatdars* (non-commissioned officers) and *chitnis* (clerks), but also rulers of men, and even a king of kings (*Chhatrapati*). The Emperor Jahangir cut the *Akshay* Bat tree of Allahabad down to its roots and hammered a red hot iron cauldron on to its stump. He flattered himself that he had killed it. But in a year the tree began to grow again and pushed the heavy obstruction to its growth aside.

Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage, exclusion from the administration and legal repression, it can put forth new leaves and branches, it can again lift up its head to the skies.

* His early tutor Dadaji Kond Dev was a Brahman well versed in the *Shastras* and estate management. He could only teach Shivaji how to be a good revenue collector or accountant. Shivaji's institutions civil and military, could not have been inspired by Dadaji.

OUR PART IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

TOWARDS the end of January President Wilson, opening the discussion on the League of Nations at Paris, said

"The select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are in the hands of the plain people of the whole world. Satisfy them and you have justified their confidence. Not only that you have established peace. Fail to satisfy them and no arrangement you can make will either set up or steady the peace of the world."

When he said this, he did not mean only the people of America or Britain or France. He was not thinking merely of democratic and self governing countries. In this twentieth century, with the means of communication by land and sea thrown open to the humblest as well as to the highest, and the influence of education penetrating everywhere, so that the most illiterate even is affected by it, we are—everyone of us—alive to day in a more spacious manner than our ancestors ever were. We have the opportunity and the ability to influence the life not only of our community, but of our country and the world. While statesmen have their duty, so have we. If we do not seriously apply our minds to the problems that face the world to day and try conscientiously to discharge our responsibility, the noblest scheme that the wit of man or the wisdom of God can devise is foredoomed to failure. We have our part, therefore in the League of Nations, and the object of this article is to make clear what that part is.

But, first of all a word must be said on the general question of the League of Nations. What precisely is the League of Nations? In the meantime it is only a proposal, not yet an accomplished fact. Details are still being elaborated, but here it is unnecessary to deal with details. The main idea of the proposal is that of a voluntary union of nations for the preservation of good order and the maintenance of peace, an agreement on the part of the different states concerned to respect one another, to keep faith with one another, to live and let live. To make this agreement effective, it is proposed to institute a kind of international police. There will be

a central authority to which decisions can be referred, and whose decisions will be enforced.

Man is a social animal of a high order. Starting from the natural union of the family, he has gradually progressed towards wider and wider unions, culminating hitherto in the state or nation or empire. It is believed that long ago, before any of these wider unions had been organised, men fought for their individual and family rights much as the lower animals do. To this day in some outlying parts of the world which the arm of the law does not reach, or reaches only with difficulty, men are often tempted to fall back, and sometimes do fall back, upon the old savage custom according to which each man was a law unto himself. The practice of punishment by unauthorised persons without a legal trial is called lynch law, after a North American farmer named Lynch who once in this way chased a thief and having caught him tied him to a tree and flogged him. Lynch law, perhaps, was the general practice in prehistoric times. With the very dawn of civilisation, however, restraint began to be put upon individuals for the benefit of the community. A definite law of revenge, for example was evolved which limited the damages an injured man might claim. He should not ask more than an eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth. Step by step, in one country and another a code of laws was framed. Men found it was convenient and for the common good to take the right or duty of punishment largely if not entirely out of the hands of private persons and entrust it to some more or less impartial authority. Thus gradually grew up our system of law courts and judges, of police and prisons and jails.

In the proposed League of Nations if it takes effect, an endeavour will be made to apply to the mutual relations of organised states the same principles as now rule the mutual relations of individuals within those states. Up to the present it is a kind of lynch law that has prevailed in the

mutual intercourse of nations. From time to time in the past attempts had been made at international agreements. It was thought that thus something had been accomplished towards humanising the art of war, that in virtue of those agreements war had been made a more civilised thing than in the barbarous days of old. How vain the thought was we all know! Besides, no system of sound international law has ever yet been established to which the nations generally have given their adherence. It is to do away with lynch law amongst the nations that it is proposed to form this new league. It is to abolish the practice by which each nation that thinks itself aggrieved sits as judge in its own case and, if it is strong enough, inflicts upon the supposed offender the punishment it thinks deserved, it is to prevent nations and empires making war on others when they think it right to do so, it is to introduce a system of common law amongst the nations, to organise a police force that shall control all states alike, to set up a tribunal to whose decisions all alike must bow, that it is proposed to form a league of the nations of the whole world. *Not only this.* It is intended that this league shall be something more than a negative thing, settling disputes and maintaining peace. Its ardent supporters are hopeful that it may be a useful instrument for making co-operation between the different peoples, in industrial enterprise and other good works, a practicable and a real thing.

Now, it is a matter of grave concern to us all what attitude we take to the League of Nations. If, on the one hand, we take the right path in dealing with this question, we shall contribute something to the progress and happiness of our race; in hackneyed phrase, we shall be "doing our bit" towards bringing into actual existence the new heaven and the new earth of which some have seen a vision, and for which so many, through these past four dreadful years, have been longing and praying. If, on the other hand, we take the wrong path, we shall prove ourselves the enemies of true civilisation, we shall be doing our best to put back the hands of the clock, to retard the onward march of mankind. What, then, is the path we ought to tread, what is the part we have to play in relation to this problem?

If we begin by emphasising the adjective used in our first rough definition of the idea, we shall get a clue to the answer. The proposed League of Nations is to be a *voluntary* union. This is the essence of it. Yet we speak as if it would be a league embracing all the nations of the world. This is the *hope* of those who advocate the League. They believe that, if once such a confederacy is established, if a certain number of states make a beginning on a voluntary basis, and work out the idea well, substituting devotion to the common cause for that narrow patriotism which, with all that has been good in it, has yet so disfigured the pages of past history, then gradually other states will of their own free-will ask to be admitted to the League, until in course of time the whole family of men shall be gathered under one flag, and all minor loyalties shall be merged in a common loyalty to the United States of the World. This is the end aimed at and hoped for; but it is to come about by voluntary agreement. And it is to be an agreement of states, not of statesmen or diplomatists, not of emperors or kings.

On these terms we see at once how the time is not yet ripe for India as a nation to be a partner in the League. According to present intentions, only nations that are fully self-governing are to be admitted. Probably, on the whole, India herself would not want the present Government of India to decide for her the matter of her entering the League of Nations. It is a question for the people of India to decide, and as yet the machinery is not in existence for ascertaining the people's mind. For the present, therefore, India cannot decide. But the time is coming when India must decide. For that time we have got to prepare. It is not too soon to make a beginning. We have a part to play even now. Whether a state or nation has the opportunity for formal self-expression or not, its general trend of life depends upon the spirit of the families and the individuals that compose it. Psychologists will tell us that the spirit of a state is a different thing from the spirit of its separate families. Different, yes; but not alien to it. The spirit of a nation *depends upon* the spirit of its members. This is true, whatever be its form of government. In order, then, to fit ourselves and our country for a place in the proposed League,

this first of all is required of us, that we embrace the *idea* of the League of Nations with willing hearts and minds. And what is that idea?

There is a fine English word for the state which seems to have come into use in this connection in England at the time of Oliver Cromwell. If we look up our English history, we shall probably find that the chapter which tells of Cromwell's regime is headed "The Commonwealth." The first experiment in thoroughgoing democracy made by the British people was not a very successful experiment, but there was a good idea at the back of it. Men desired to share with one another all the good things that come from living together as an organised state. They believed there was such a thing as common wealth, wealth—that is to say—or well being that was common to all, and that existed only in so far as it was actually shared by the members of the community as a whole. To-day we have reached a further stage, when we speak of the commonwealth of nations. But, as in the time of Oliver Cromwell, only those truly took their place in the common wealth, in the State, who recognised that there was such a thing as common wealth who lived not to aggrandise themselves but to advance the common interests of their people, so to-day only those nations can fitly take their place in the common wealth of the world which recognise that there is such a thing as common wealth that indeed the most precious things of life are the things that nations like individuals can share with one another, yes, that depend for their very existence upon the common life, the pursuit of common interests and common ideals. This is the great idea that has inspired the proposal for a league of nations. This is the idea that we are asked to embrace. Are we ready for it?

Some think it necessary for eastern peoples who in modern times have reached a new consciousness of nationhood to pass through similar stages to those exhibited in the gradual evolution of western states. Such thought is now antiquated and out of date. It was never a very reasonable contention. Just as the hospital patient of to-day passes through no intermediate stages, but enjoys forthwith—provided he has the faith to accept them—the use of chloro-

form and all the other fruits of past labours in the field of surgery the wide world over, so—given the right spirit, the faith to make the venture—a people may pass at a bound, without innumerable intermediate stages, from a lower to a higher civilisation. We have seen it in the case of Japan, whose people, caste-ridden sixty years ago, have so effectually, through patriotic self sacrifice of a most marvellous description exorcised the evil spirit of unbrotherliness, and as a united nation have made such unprecedented strides that already they are reckoned as one of the "five great powers." The same spirit is needed in every other people aspiring to greatness. Given that spirit, such marvellous development is possible again. We may in the future see something even more wonderful. The world has moved so fast and so far during the five years just gone, that the ideals of Japan are already out of date. Their defects are manifest. Ours must be a loftier patriotism. Why? Because we have seen a vision of something higher and better than Japan could possibly see fifty years ago. And we cannot be disobedient to the heavenly vision without permanently suffering the consequences. So is it with the individual. So is it with the nation. It is essential therefore, that with the vision of the United States of Mankind shining before our eyes India's development shall be on broader lines and in harmony with a deeper spirit.

The idea of nationality was at one time a broadening influence, an inspiring conception. To backward peoples it may still be an uplifting thought. But we have seen beyond it. It is not to be desired, then, that India shall go through a long apprenticeship during which the idea of nationality—now a narrow one for every person of real culture—is bound to work much evil as well as perhaps some good. In the past it has wrought both good and evil. In the future—with the possible exception indicated, namely, of people who are out of the swim of the world's life—it must be more fruitful of evil than of good. And what is to take its place? There is another idea which has wrought some good in the world, and also very much evil—the idea of imperialism. This, too, has become for every right minded man and woman a narrow idea, almost one of sinister import. It

is to this we owe the bloodshed of these dark years with all its attendant horrors, with all the nameless atrocities no sane person had ever dreamt to be possible. The idea of imperialism as an inspiration to high living and noble service, is also dead, and must be discarded for ever. In the future the nation and likewise the empire that confines its thought to itself and its own narrow interests as opposed to the interests of the whole race of men will assuredly reap from the narrow idea of nationality and the narrow idea of imperialism more evil than good. And so, if we would make the most of the opportunity the present world situation affords, it is imperative that with willing hearts and minds we embrace the great idea that lies behind the proposal for a league of nations—that is to say, that we rise above the narrow patriotism of country and of empire to the broad conception of the Patriotism of Humanity.

It is claimed that India is a land of ancient spiritual ideals. That the claim is not an empty one sayings like these from the *Bhagavadgita* show—

Janaka and others attained to perfection through action then having an eye to the welfare of the world thou mayst perform action.

As the ignorant act from attachment to action O Bharata so should the wise act without attachment desiring the welfare of the world.

Rshihs the rsons destroyed the duality their selves controlled intent upon the welfare of all beings obtain the peace of the Eternal.

If desire of any kind is sanctioned by the *Gita* it is desire which is directed not to personal or national ends but only to the good of humanity, the advancement of the whole world. The idea that lies behind the league of nations scheme is, therefore not a new idea in India. And because it is not new because it is at least as old as the *Gita* no patriotism is worthy of India's continued and whole hearted enthusiasm which does not concern itself with the good of every branch of the human race. It ought not to be so difficult for India as for some other countries to take this comprehensive and cosmopolitan view.

Of course it is not easy especially in these days when love of country burns within many breasts with all the ardour of a new found passion to get away from the narrow kind of patriotism Indian English Scotch—we are all proud of our

a people, proud of our past history—

at least of some of it, proud of all that is good in the spirit of our country. And it requires an effort, first of all to see, and then in the second place frankly to appreciate, what is good in a civilisation and a history and a spirit in many ways different from our own. Such effort is the great need of our time. But no honest effort in this direction goes unrewarded. If we persistently make the effort, the difficulty will disappear in the joy of our discoveries, and our mutual appreciation of our respective traditions will enhance the beauty and the value of both. Indeed, what is highest and best in both of our traditions is just this cosmopolitan spirit, and so we are most loyal to our mother land, and most loyal to our empire, when we are most successful in overcoming our national and imperial pride and in losing ourselves in the service of our fellow men, be their race or colour what it may. National pride is a natural thing, and everything natural is good and has a function to fulfil. And what is the function of our natural love of country but just this to be a stepping stone to higher things?

This, then, is the first part and the major part of our duty in regard to the League of Nations—that we as individuals as families as communities, cheerfully and enthusiastically welcome the idea that has inspired the scheme, with all that it involves of willing subordination of our personal and communal and even national interests to the welfare of humanity. That this voluntary and hearty acceptance of the spirit of the League, by us and by the other plain people of the world, is of infinitely greater importance than the work of the Conference in Paris it would not be difficult to show. What it has to do with is the manufacture of machinery, what we have to do with is the generation of steam to drive that machinery and make it go. It has to organise the new international police, to regulate questions of armies and navies boundaries of territory and other external matters. We have to supply the inward motive power, the spiritual dynamic without which the most perfect paper scheme must remain a dead letter. For what is it that binds men and peoples together? However indebted we may be on occasion to the police and to the army, it is neither the

one nor the other body that really makes life and peace secure. It is the practice, on the part of the people themselves, of justice and mercy and faith in human nature, it is the good will that prompts these virtues and the good will that responds to them,—these are the forces that bind men together, these are the forces that bind nations together.

Having, therefore, welcomed the idea of the League of Nations, we are now able to answer the further question, How are we going to realise that idea? How are we, while still our people remain outside the League, going to carry out the idea in practice and so fulfil even now our part in this great scheme? The answer is in one way very simple. And yet, if we grasp it aright we shall see clearly how it is that our part, and the part of all the plain people in the world, is of fundamental importance. For it is a matter of the very elements of morality. The very essence of justice and mercy and trust in our fellow men is that they have no limitations. Justice to be real must be a wider thing than justice towards our own people. And so with mercy. The question whether men belong to our community or another community, our nation or another nation, simply does not arise in this connection. Every true act of justice, every true act of mercy, has behind it—unconsciously, no doubt, for the most part, but none the less really—the big idea of the League of Nations. The faith in human nature by which alone such a scheme can be made to work is needed for our every day life. Conversely, everytime we speak the truth because it is the truth everytime we show mercy because we love mercy, we are doing something of international value, we are contributing to the positive forces of good will in the world, dispelling prejudice and banishing suspicion, and creating a pure and healthy social atmosphere in which men will know themselves to be brothers, whatever their nation, whatever their creed, whatever their caste. An atmosphere of this kind is infectious, for there is something in every man, in every woman, and most of all in every child, that responds to genuine and hearty good

will. And what can be nobler and more satisfying than to cultivate persistently, in the whole range of our being, the spirit of good will? In this way we are linked up with all that is highest and purest in human life, with the very Source indeed of life itself. For what is active, earnest, persevering good will but the most sincere because most unselfish form of prayer, through which, as the poet tells us,

"the whole round earth is
Bound by gold chains about the
feet of God."

The foregoing has been written in full view of the fact that many criticisms have been passed upon the proposals now emanating from Paris. Doubtless there have been many disappointments, and there may be more as negotiations proceed. Sordid elements have been mixed up with what is pure. And all honest criticism that will help to remove blemishes is good. The most searching scrutiny is welcome so long as it is marked by insight and understanding and sympathy. No organisation as such new or old, can command our reverence or excite our enthusiasm. What counts in the case of this scheme is that behind it, inspiring all that is good in it, is an idea, an ideal, with boundless capabilities and potentialities. provided we, and the other plain people of the world, recognise the day of our visitation and know the things that belong to our peace. As spiritual citizens of the world it is ours to cultivate the civic virtues—the scorn of private gain, delight in serving the community, to rise above all that is petty and personal, to grow strong in that righteousness which exalteth individual and nations alike, in that purity which will make our strength as the strength of ten, above all, in that which has been named the best of gifts—charity, which "makes no parade and gives itself no airs which is never rude, never resentful, never glad when others go wrong always slow to expose, always eager to believe the best, charity which never fails."

ANDREW R. LOW.

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SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

II.

"NO religion on earth," wrote the Swami, "preaches the dignity of humanity in such a lofty strain as Hinduism, and no religion on earth treads upon the necks of the poor and the low in such a fashion as Hinduism."

"The Hindu must not give up his religion, but must keep religion within its proper limits and give freedom to society to grow." "Can you become an accidental of occidentals in your spirit of equality, freedom, work and energy, and at the same time a Hindu to the very backbone in religious culture and instincts? This is to be done and we will do it."

"We agree with those who say 'what has religion to do with social reforms? But they must also agree with us when we tell them that religion has no business to formulate social laws and insist on the difference between beings, because its aim and end is to obliterate all such fictions and monstrosities. The terrible mistake of religion was to interfere in social matters. But how hypocritically it says (and thereby contradicts itself) 'social reform is not the business of religion! True, what we want is that religion should not be a social reformer, but we insist at the same time that religion has no right to be a social lawgiver. Hands off! Keep yourself within your own bounds and everything will come right. Specially therefore must you bear in mind that religion has to do only with the soul and has no business to interfere in social matters. It is as if a man after forcibly taking possession of another's property cries through the nose when that man tries to recover it—and preaches the doctrine of the sanctity of human right!! What business had the priests to interfere (to the misery of millions of human beings) in every social matter?"

"Liberty is the first condition of growth. Your ancestors gave every liberty to the soul and religion grew. They put the body under every bondage, and society did not grow. The opposite is the case in the West—every liberty to society, none to religion. Now are falling off the shackles from Eastern society as from those of Western religion."

Again,

"There cannot be any growth without liberty [the Swami was never tired of emphasising this idea]. Our ancestors freed religious thought and we have a wonderful religion, but they put a heavy chain on the feet of society, and our society is, in a word, *borned, diabolical!*" "India's doom was sealed the very day they invented the word *Mlechchha* and stopped communion with others. It is good to talk glibly about the Vedanta, but how hard to carry out even the least of its precepts!"

"India is to be raised, the poor are to be fed, education is to be spread, and the evil of priestcraft is to be removed. No priestcraft, no social tyranny! More bread, more opportunity for everybody! — out out priestcraft from the old religion and you

get the best religion in the world. Do you understand me? Can you make a European society with India's religion?"

"We have the doctrine of Vedanta, but we have not the power to reduce it into practice. In our books there is the doctrine of universal equality, but in practice we make great distinctions. It was in India that unselfish and disinterested work of the most exalted type was preached, but in practice we are awfully cruel, awfully heartless, unable to think of anything besides our mass of flesh bodies."

"To advance oneself towards freedom, spiritual, mental, physical and help others to do so, is the supremest prize of man. Those social rules which stand in the way of unfoldment of this freedom are injurious, and steps should be taken to destroy them speedily. Those institutions should be encouraged by which men advance in the path of freedom."

It is not to be wondered at that such a thoroughgoing lover of freedom, both in thought and action, should have chafed bitterly against the deadweight of custom and authority, and mere mechanical forms of worship.

"In this country men are born according to Shastric injunctions, they eat and drink by prescribed rules throughout life, they go through marriage and kindred functions in the same way. In short, they are die according to Shastric injunctions. This hard discipline, with the exception of one great good point, is fraught with evil. The good point is that men can do one or two things well, with very little effort, having practised them every day through generations. But all these things are done by people guided like lifeless machines;—there is no mental activity, no unfoldment of the heart, no vibration of life, no flux of hope; there is no strong stimulation of the will, no experience of keen pleasure nor the contact of intense sorrow; there is no stir of inventive genius, no desire for novelty, no appreciation of new things. Clouds never pass away from this mind, the radiant picture of this morning sun never charms the heart. It never occurs to the mind if there is any better state than this, where it does, it cannot conceive, in the event of conviction, effort is lacking, and even if there is effort, lack of enthusiasm kills it out. If living by rule alone ensures excellence, if it be virtue to strictly follow the rules and customs handed down through generations, say, then, who is more virtuous than a tree, who is a greater devotee, a holier saint than a railway train? Who has ever seen a piece of stone transgress a natural law? Who has ever known a cattle to commit sin? Is that education, as a result of which the will being continuously choked by force through generations is now wellnigh killed out?—It is more blessed in my opinion, even to go wrong impelled by one's free will and intelligence than to be good as an automaton. Again, can that be called society which is formed by an aggregate of men who are like lumps of clay, like lifeless machines,

like h4-ap-i up pebbles? How can such society fare well? Were good possible, then instead of being slaves for hundreds of years we would have been the greatest nation on earth and this soil of India, instead of being a mine of stupidity, would have been the eternal fountain-head of learning."

Referring to the fondness of some of Paramhansa Ramkrishna's disciples for worshipping his person, the Swami wrote:

"I know why they busy themselves with those old, effete ceremonies. Their spirit craves for work, but having got no outlet they waste their energy in ringing bells and all that."

The wail of despair which broke out in one of the Swami's letters written nearly twenty five years ago at the sight of the puerilities in which we Hindus indulge in the name of religion deserves to be quoted in full

"There is no hope for our nation. Not one original idea crosses anyone's brains all fighting over the same old, threadbare rag—that Ramakrishna Paramhansa was such and such,—and cock and bull stories—stories having neither head nor tail. My God! Won't you do something to show that you are in any way removed from the common run of men? Only indulging in 'madness'! To-day you have your bell to-morrow you add a horn and follow suit with a chowry the day after or you introduce a cot to-day, and to-morrow you have its legs silver mounted, and people help themselves to a rice-porridge and you spin out two thousand cock and bull stories—in short, nothing but external ceremonies. This is called in English, imbecility. Those into whose heads nothing but that sort of silliness enters are called imbeciles. Those whose heads have a tendency to be troubled day and night over such questions as whether the bell should ring on the right or on the left, whether the sandal paste mark should be put on the head or anywhere else, whether the light should be waved twice or four times—simply deserve the name of wretches, and it is owing to that sort of notion that we are the outcasts of fortune, kicked and spurned at, while the people of the West are the masters of the whole world. There is an ocean of difference between idleness and renunciation. If you want any good to come, just throw your ceremonies overboard and worship the Living God, the Man God—every being that wears a human form—God in his universal as well as individual aspect. The universal aspect of God means this world and worshipping it means serving it—this indeed is work not indulging in ceremonies. Neither is it work to cogitate as to whether the rice plate should be placed in front of the food for ten minutes or for half an hour,—that is called lunacy. Millions of cupes have been spent only that the temple-doors at Benares or Brindaban may play at opening and shutting all day long! Now the Lord is having His toilet now He is taking His meals now He is busy on something else we know not what. And all this, while the Living God is dying for want of food, for want of education. The Banias of Bombay are erecting hospitals for dogs—while they are doing nothing for men—even if they die! You have not the brain to understand this simple thing—that this is a plague upon our country, and fanatic asylums are rife all over. Let some of you spread like fire, and

preach this worship of the universal aspect of God head—a thing that was never undertaken before in our country. Spread ideas,—go from village to village from door to door—then only will there be real work. Otherwise lying complacently on the bed and ringing the bell now and then is a sort of disease, pure and simple. Be independent, learn to form independent judgments. That such and such a chapter of such and such a Tantra has prescribed a standard length for the handle of a bell—what matters it to me? Through the Lord a will out of your lips shall come millions of Vedas and Tantras and Puranas.

Truly did Vivekananda say that the worship of the universal aspect of the Godhead was a thing never undertaken before in our country. What he meant will be clearer from a fine passage in a letter to a European disciple

I have lost all wish for my salvation. I never wanted earthly enjoyments. I must see my machine in strong working order and then knowing sure that I have put in a lever for the good of humanity, I will sleep without caring what will be next; and may be born again and again and suffer thousand deaths of miseries so that I may worship the God that exists, the only God I believe in, the sum total of all souls—and above all my God the wicked, my God the miserable, my God the poor of all races, of all species, are the special object of my worship."

Hitherto, asceticism in India has always revolved round the individual desire for personal salvation, and has often displayed itself in an intensely selfish dissociation from the world and its concerns. It was the great glory of Vivekananda to have transformed the discipline of asceticism into a passionate humanitarianism. From his biography we find that this strain in his character and activities was the result of the influence exercised on his mind by Comte's Positive Philosophy. The enthusiasm of humanity, the stimulus to social service, which, more than any aggressive defence of Hinduism, confers on Vivekananda the title to be ranked among the greatest of modern Indians, was communicated by the West, and he found in the Vedantic doctrine of the equality of all souls a philosophic background for the successful transplantation of this Western ideal on Indian soil. This doctrine of social and public service was, therefore, the *Practical Vedanta* which he preached. His heart bled for the poor and the downtrodden in India, and he sacrificed his life for them.

"And Oh, how my heart ached to think of what we think of the poor, the low in India. They have no chance no escape, no way to climb up. The poor, the low the sinners in India have no friends no help—they cannot rise, try however they may. They

sink lower and lower every day they feel the blows showered upon them by a cruel society and they do not know whence the blow comes. They have forgotten that they too are men. And the result is slavery. Ah tyrants! you do not know that the obverse is tyranny and the reverse slavery. The slave and the tyrant are synonymous. The wail of woe of misery of degradation and poverty that has filled the Indian atmosphere—the result of centuries of oppression. They little dream of the ages of tyrannical mental moral physical that has rendered the image of God to a mere bast of burden the emblem of the Divine Mother to a slave to bear children and life itself a curse. Oward forever! Sympathy for the poor the downtrodden even unto death—This is our motto.

Writing to the late Maharaja of Mysore, who was one of the Swami's most devoted admirers, he said

'The one thing that is at the root of all evils in India is the condition of the poor. Priest power and foreign conquest have trodden them down for centuries, and at last the poor of India have forgotten that they are human beings. They are to be given ideas, their eyes are to be opened to what is going on in the world around them and then they will work out their own salvation. Every nation every man every woman must work out one's own salvation. Give them ideas—that is the only help they require and then the rest must follow as the effect. Ours is to put the chemicals together the crystallisation comes in the law of nature. Our duty is to put ideas into their heads they will do the rest.

'I do not believe in a religion or God which cannot wipe out the widow's tears or bring a piece of bread to the orphan's mouth. However sublime be the theories however well span may be the philosophy—I do not call it a religion so long as it is confined to books and dogmas.

'I am poor, I love the poor. I see what they call the poor of this country [America] and how many there are who feel for them. What an immense difference in India! Who feels there for the two hundred millions of men and women sunken for ever in poverty and ignorance? Let these people be your God. Him I call a Mahatman whose heart bleeds for the poor, otherwise he is a Duratman. So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance I hold every man a traitor who while being educated at their expense pays not the least heed to them.

The Swami had a high opinion of the inherent capabilities of the masses in India. In one letter he says

'The only hope of India is from the masses. The upper classes are physically and morally dead.'

To the Maharaja of Mysore he wrote

'The poor in the West are devils, compared to them ours are angels and it is therefore so much the easier to raise our poor. The only service to be done for our lower classes is to give them education to develop their lost individuality.

In the *Parmayaka* (Wanderer), addressing the middle classes, the Swami wrote

'You have shined into the mine and let the new India emerge. Let it emerge from the plough from the cottage of the cultivator from the basket of the cobbler and the sweepers. Let it

emerge from the grocer's shop the grand dealer's oven let it emerge from the factory and the mart, let it emerge from the bush the jungle, the hill and the mountain. The thousand years of tyranny which they have silently endured have given them unrivalled patience. They have endured eternal sorrow, and have gained a steady vitality in the process. With a handful of barley for breakfast they can upturn the world with half a loaf the universe will not suffice to hold their vigour. They have a wonderful vitality—death cannot thin their numbers. They have also inherited a marvellous good breeding unknown anywhere else. So peaceful so loving so affectionate such uncomplaining industry, and the lion's strength in action! Be skeletons of the past here in front is your successor, the India of the future.'

Therefore, "the poor, the ignorant, the illiterate, let these be your God. Know that service to these alone is the highest religion."

'If in our country any one is born in a low caste, there! he has no more chances he is gone. Why, foresooth? What an oppression! In this country [America] everyone has hopes has something to stand upon has opportunities.'

Here everyone is anxious to help the poor. In India there is a howling cry that we are very poor, but how many charitable associations are there for the well-being of the poor? How many people really weep for the sorrows and sufferings of the millions of poor in India? Are we men?

The practical reduction of religion into mere ceremonial purity in which the only evil to be avoided is pollution by touch, and the total indifference of the sadhus and sanyasins, the wandering-monks of India, the hereditary guardians of the Hindu religion, to the sufferings of the masses, always evoked the Swami's utmost indignation.

'Are we men? And those thousands of Sadhus and Brahmins whom you find sauntering amongst you what are they doing for these degraded poor and downtrodden masses? Simply saying don't touch me don't touch me.' To what a degraded state have they reduced the religion eternal! Where is religion now? Only don't touch him—don't touch me—don't touch me—that is all!

'My brother what experiences I have had in the South of the upper classes torturing the lower! What bacchanalian orgies within the temples! Is it a religion that fails to relieve the misery of the poor and turn men into gods? Do you think our religion is worth the name? Ours is only don't touchism only touch me not touch me not. Good heavens! a country the leaders of which have for the last two thousand years been only discussing whether to take food with the right hand or the left whether to take water from the right hand or from the left—if such a country does not go to ruin what else will? A country where millions of people live on the flowers of the mahua tree and a million or two of Sadhus and a hundred million or so of Brahmins suck the blood out of these poor people, without even the least effort for their amelioration—is that a country or hell? Is that a religion or the devil's dance? My brother, here is one thing for

you to understand fully—I have travelled all over India and seen this country [America] too—can there be an effect without a cause? Can there be punishment without a sin?—We are so many Sannyasins wandering about and teaching the people metaphysics—it is all madness. Did not our Master use to say, 'an empty stomach is no good for religion'? That those poor people are leading the life of brutes is simply due to ignorance. We have for all ages been sucking their blood and trampling them underfoot.

'Monks and Sannyasins and Brahmins of a certain type have thrown the country into ruin. In tent all the while on theft and wickedness these pose as preachers of religion.' They will take gifts from the people and at the same time cry don't touch me! And what great things they have been doing. If a potato happens to touch a brinjal how long will the universe last before it is deluged? If they do not apply earth a dozen times to clean their hands will fourteen generations of ancestors go to hell or twenty-four? For intricate problems like these they have been finding out scientific explanations for the last two thousand years—while one fourth of the people are starving.

The poor, the ignorant, the down-trodden, let these be your God! A dreadful slough is in front of you—take care, many fall into it and die. The slough is this—that the present religion of the Hindus is not in the Vedas nor in the Puranas nor in Bhakti (Love) nor in Mukti (salvation)—religion has entered into the cooking pot. The present religion of the Hindus is neither the path of knowledge nor that of Reason—it is don't touchism. Don't touch me! Don't touch me!—that exhausts its description. See that you do not lose your lives in this direction of 'don't touchism.' Must the teaching be—

बुद्धिभ्रम—Looking upon all beings as your own self—be confined to books alone? How will they grant salvation who cannot feed a hungry mouth with a crumb of bread? How will those who become impure at the mere breath of others purify others? Don't touchism is a form of mental disease. Beware. All expansion is life, all contract on is death. All love is expansion, all selfishness is contract on. Love is therefore the only law of life.

Deeply conscious of the intense selfishness born even in the higher sort of the religious mind in India by too exclusive a devotion to the doctrine of personal salvation, Vivekananda waged a life long war against this idea. He endeavoured by all the means in his power to inculcate in the minds of his disciples the great lesson that the only road to salvation lay through the service of man. To one of his disciples, who preferred religious meditation to active social service, he said

You will go to hell if you seek your own salvation! Seek the salvation of others if you want to reach the Highest! Without the desire for personal Mukti! That is the greatest of all Sadhanas.

When the country was in the grip of a famine, the Swami told a gentleman who came to him for religious instruction,

"So long as even a dog of my country remains

without food to feed and take care of him is my religion and anything else is either non religion or false religion!

To a Pandit who came to him at about the same time to argue on the Vedanta Philosophy, he said

Pandit! first of all you try to ameliorate the terrible distress that is prevailing everywhere, the heart rending cry of your hungry countrymen for a morsel of food and after that come to me to have a debate on Vedanta. To stake one's whole life and soul to save the thousands who are dying of starvation—this is the essence of the religion of Vedanta!

Another preacher told him that he did not consider it his duty to help the famine-stricken wretches, as they only suffered for their own Karma. It is this callous indifference of the Sadhus and Sanyasins to the misery around us that drew forth the Swami's invectives against the ideal of salvation prevalent among them, and the exhortations in favour of a life of rigors, active, social service.

Do not talk—work work work! There is too much talk talk talk—We are great we are great! Nonsense! We are imbeciles that is what we are! To work my brave men to work. You have not caught my fire yet—you do not understand me!

My child what I want is muscles of iron and nerves of steel inside which dwells a mind of the same material as that of which the thunderbolt is made. Strength manhood Ekshattra Virja and Brahma Teja.

Work on unto death—I am with you and when I am gone my spirit will work with you.

I look back and scarcely find any action I have done for self—even my wicked deeds were not for self. So I am content.

Ramanuja Sankara seem to have been mere Pandits with much narrowness of heart. Where is that love that weeping heart at the sorrow of others? Dry pedantry of the pandit—and the feeling of only oneself attaining salvation hurry scurry! But is that possible? Can it be attained with any effort of I left in us?

Sankara had not the slightest bit of Buddha's wonderful heart—dry intellect merely.

We want some disciples—fery youngmen—do you see!—intelligent and brave who dare to go to the jaws of death and are ready to swim the ocean across!

He alone is a child of Ramakrishna who is moved to pity for all creatures and exerts himself for them even at the risk of incurring personal damnation. This is the test. He who is Ramakrishna's child does not seek his personal good. They wish to do good to others even at the point of death!

Go to hell yourself to buy salvation for others. There is no Mukti (salvation) on earth to call my own. Now is the turn for you to banish the desire for Peace and that for Mukti too! Don't worry heaven or hell Bhakti or Mukti don't care for any thing but go my boy, spread the name of the Lord from door to door! It is by doing good to others that one attains his own good and it is by leading others to Bhakti and Mukti that one attains them himself. Remember these few points (1) We are

Saunyas who have given up everything—Bhakti, and Mukti and enjoyment, and all (2) To do the highest good to the world everyone down to the lowest,—that is our vow Welcome Mukti or hell, whatever comes of it”

‘Off with your ideas of Mukti and Bhakti! There is only one way in the world—परीपक्व राय दि सुता जोषित’ ‘पराये प्राय च्छुद्धये’—The good live for others alone the wise man should sacrifice himself for others I can secure my own good only by doing your good There is no other way none whatsoever It is this God man fested through Humanity who is doing everything in this world Is there a different God sitting high up somewhere? To work, there fore!

The Swami's comparisons of American with Hindu women are instructive

‘I have seen here women by the thousands who are white like the snow of this country And how free they are! It is they who do everything Schools and colleges are full of women But in our unfortunate country women cannot walk out of doors with safety to their modesty And how kind they are! And how pure are their women! None are married below the age of twenty five or thirty And they are free like the birds of the air Marketing getting a living managing shops attending colleges doing the Professor's work—everything they do and yet how pure! Those that are rich are day and night busy helping the poor And what do we do? Our girls must be married at the age of eleven or they will become corrupt! Are we men my dear

‘Great God! I am struck dumb with wonderment at seeing the women of America There are thousands of women here whose minds are as pure and white as the snow of this country And look at our girls becoming mothers before their teens! We are horrible sinners and our degradation is due to calling women cheap cable worms’ gateways to hell’ and so forth

Well I am almost at my wit's end to see the women of this country! They are like the Goddess of Fortune in beauty and like the Goddess of Learning in virtues!—they are the divine mother incarnate and worshipping them one verily attains perfection in everything Great God! are we fit to be counted among men? If I can raise a thousand such Madonnas—incarnations of the Divine Mother—in our country before I die I shall die in peace Then only will our countrymen become worthy of their name Even your men are not fit to be placed side by side with these women—let alone your women! Good God! What horrible sinners, to marry girls at the age of ten!

‘How many beautiful homes I have seen how many mothers whose purity of character whose unselfish love for their children are beyond expression how many daughters and pure maidens pure as the ice on Dana's temple and withal with much culture education and spirituality in the highest sense!

‘Can you better the condition of your women? Then there will be hope for your well being Otherwise you will remain as backward as you are now

‘Why is it that our country is the weakest and the most backward of all countries?—Because Shakti is held in dishonour here

And yet, though the Swami held the woman of America in such high regard, when his lady friend advised

caution in dealing with the missionaries, he could enter a spirited protest as follows

‘You are good, you are so kind, I will do anything for you, but do not be angry I see you all are mere children Pooh! I try to pacify the priests’ ‘Sister do not take me amiss But you are babies and babies must submit to be taught If you can not cheer those that dash this false God society to the ground and trample on its unmitigated hypocrisy,—if you cannot cheer them, pray be silent, but do not try to drag them down into the mire with such false nonsense as compromise and becoming nice and sweet What! measure my soul according to what the bond slaves of the world say! Pooh! sister, you do not know the Saunyas!’

Vivekananda had of course the very highest regard for his Master, Paramahansa Ramkrishna He knew that faith had a tendency to degenerate into fanaticism, knowledge into dry intellectualism, and love into meaningless sentimentalism “A harmony of all these is the thing required Ramkrishna was such a harmony” “He was the embodiment of all the past religious thought of India” Though he had the deepest reverence for his Master, his advice to his brother-disciples regarding the cult of Ramkrishna was thoroughly sound, and shows how far in advance he was of the majority of the devotees who would worship the Master as God incarnate “Ramkrishna never enjoined me,” he told his disciples, “to introduce his worship and the like I was not born to create a new sect in this world, too full of sects already”

I am the servant of the servants of his servants But narrow bigotry militates against his principles and this makes me cross Rather let his name be drowned in oblivion and his teachings bear fruit instead!

‘Write a sketch of the life of Ramkrishna studiously avoiding all miracles I advise you to keep clear of them and the fools who write them’

Great sages come with special messages for the world and not for name but their followers throw their teachings overboard and fight over their names—this is verily the history of the world

Propagate his character his teachings his religion This is the only spiritual practice the only worship

Spread only what he came to teach Never mind for his name—it will spread of itself Directly you insist on everybody's accepting your Guru you will be creating a sect and everything will come to the ground so beware!

It is not necessary to preach that Ramkrishna Paramahansa was an incarnation and things of that sort He came to do good to the world not to trumpet his own name—you must always remember that his disciples pay their whole attention to the precepts their master's name and throw over sectarianism etc., are the

result. ... Try to give up ceremonials. They are not meant for Sannyasins. I have nothing to do with sectarianism or party forming and playing the frog in the well, whatever else I may do. It is impossible to preach the catholic ideas of Ramkrishna Paramahansa and form sects at the same time. ... Only one kind of work I understand, and that is doing good to others, all else is doing evil."

"Paramahansa Deva was my Guru, and whatever I may think of him in point of greatness, why should the world think after me? And if you press the point hard, you will spoil everything. The idea of worshipping the Guru as God is nowhere to be met with outside Bengal. ..."

"The masses will have the person, the higher ones the principle, we want both. But principles are universal, not persons. Therefore stick to principles."

Though the problem of sea voyage, proscribed by the Smritis for the Kali Age, has practically solved itself now, still it is useful to hear the Swami's views on the subject:

"And you, what are you? ... talking twaddle all your lives, vain talkers, what are you? Come, see all these people and then go and hide your faces in shame. A race of dotards, you lose your caste if you come out! Sitting down these hundreds of years with an ever increasing load of crystallised superstition on your heads, for hundreds of years spending all your energies upon discussing the touchableness or untouchableness of this food or that with all humanity crushed out of you by the continuous social tyranny of ages—what are you? Come be men! Kick out the priests who are always against progress. Because they would never mend, their hearts would never become big. They are the offspring of centuries of superstition and tyranny. Root out priestcraft first. Come, be men. Come out of your narrow holes and have a look abroad. See how nations are on the march!"

"B—and G—may remember, one evening at Pondicherry, we were discussing the question of sea voyage with a Pandit, and I shall always remember his brutal gestures and his *Kadapi Na* (Never)! They do not know that India is a very small part of the world, and the whole world looks down with contempt upon the three hundred millions of earth worms crawling upon the fair soil of India and trying to oppress each other."

"I wish at least that a million Hindas had travelled all over the world!"

In reply to the address presented to him by the citizens of Calcutta, the Swami wrote:

"I am thoroughly convinced that no individual or nation can live by holding itself apart from the community of others, and wherever such an attempt has been made under false ideas of greatness, policy or holiness, the result has always been disastrous to the secluded one. To my mind, the one great cause of the downfall and the degeneration of India was the building of a wall of custom—whose foundation was hatred of others—round the nation, and the real aim of which in ancient times was to prevent the Hindas from coming in contact with the surrounding Buddhist nations. Whatever cloak ancient or modern sophistry may try to throw over it, the inevitable result—the vindication of the moral law, that none can hate others without degenerating

himself—is that the race that was foremost amongst the ancient races is now a bye word and a scorn among nations. We are object lessons of the violation of that law which our ancestors were the first to discover and discriminate. Give and take is the law and if India wants to raise herself once more, it is absolutely necessary that she brings out her treasures and throws them broadcast among the nations of the earth, and in return be ready to receive what others have to give her. Expansion is life, contraction is death. Love is life and hatred is death. We commenced to die the day we began to hate other races, and nothing can prevent our death unless we come back to expansion, which is life. We must mix, therefore, with all the races of the earth. And every Hindu that goes out to travel in foreign parts renders more benefit to his country than hundreds of young men who are bundles of superstitions and selfishness and whose one aim in life seems to be like that of the dog in the manger."

The result of our isolation is to be seen in our 'frog-in-the-well' attitude of which the Swami says:

"Nowhere in the world have I come across such 'frogs in the well' as we are. Let anything new come from some foreign country, and America will be the first to accept it. But we?—Oh, there are none like us in the world. We men of Aryan blood!"

The injunctions in our law books (*Smritis*) against sea voyage need not deter us.

"The *Smritis* and the *Puranas* are productions of men of limited intelligence and are full of fallacies, errors of class feeling and malice. Only parts of their breathing broadness of spirit and love are acceptable, the rest are to be rejected."

The Swami's observations on the attitude of the Americans towards spiritual matters deserve notice.

"This great nation is progressing fast towards that spirituality which is the standard boast of the Hindas." "Where on earth is there a better field than here for propagating all high ideas? Here, where man feels for man, and women are goddesses!"

"My ideas are going to work in the West better than in India." "Here thousands of people listen to and understand my lectures, and these thousands are benefited. But can you say the same thing about India?" "Here one lives in the company of scholars, and there one must live among fools—there is this difference as of the poles. People of this country organise and work, while our undertakings all come to dust, clashing against laziness—miscalled renunciation—and jealousy, &c."

The Swami had the clearest perception of the defects of the Indian character, among which he placed mutual jealousy in the front rank.

"Jealousy is the central defect of every enslaved race." "The secret of the Westerner's success is combination."

which connotes implicit trust and obedience. He who wants to lead must learn to obey.

The whole national character is one of childish dependence. You do not deserve to live if you can not help yourselves. 'Can you put life into this dead mass—dead to almost all moral aspiration dead to all future possibilities?' 'I know, my son I shall have to come and make men out of you. I know that India is only inhabited by women and eunuchs. The brave alone do great things not the cowards.' In India the one thing we lack is the power of combination organisation the first secret of which is obedience.

His letters to his followers are accordingly full of noble exhortations.

'It is character that pays everywhere your country requires heroes—heroes!' 'Be unselfish even unto death and work. Great things can be done by great sacrifices only.' 'Purity patience and perseverance overcome all obstacles. All great things must necessarily be slow.' 'Always hold on to the highest.'

Least the fact of our being a conquered race makes us diffident of success, the Swami was careful to remind his followers that "spiritual ideals have always come from the downtrodden." He was sick of the self-depreciation and false humility which is so often mistaken for good manners in India.

ॐ शक्ति, शक्ति. *Brerthy ag* is—herish positive thoughts. By dwelling too much upon 'नास्ति, नास्ति' it is not it is not (negativism) the whole country is going to ruin! 'ॐ शक्ति शक्ति' I am He I am Shiva! What a botheration. In every soul is infinite strength and should you turn yourself into cats and dogs by harbouring negative thoughts? Who dares to preach negativism? Whom do you call weak and powerless? I am Shiva I am Shiva! I feel as if a thunderbolt strikes me on the head when I hear people dwell on negative thoughts. That sort of self-depreciating attitude is another name for disease—do you call that humility? It is vanity disguised! To me the thought of oneself as low and humble is a sin and ignorance. He who always thinks of himself as weak will never become strong.

The Swami's views on politics will appear from the following few extracts.

The wonderful structures of national life which the Western nations have raised are supported by the strong pillars of character and until we can produce numbers of such it is useless to fret and fume against this or that power. Do any deserve liberty who are not ready to give it to others? I for one thoroughly believe that no power in the universe can withhold from anyone anything he really deserves.

None deserves liberty who is not ready to give liberty. Suppose the English give over to you all the power. Why the powers that be then will hold the people down and let them not have it. Slaves want power to make slaves.

Though there is considerable truth in this, we must not forget that the struggle for power between the "Haves" and the

"Have-Nots" is not confined to India, and that liberty is essential in order to bring about those very conditions of success the absence of which Vivekananda so deeply deplored.

Material civilisation is necessary.

'We talk foolishly against material civilisation. The grapes are sour. Even taking all that foolishness for granted in all India there are say a hundred thousand really spiritual men and women. Now for the spiritualisation of these, must three hundred millions be sunk in savagery and starvation? Why should any starve? How was it possible for the Hindus to have been conquered by the Mahomedans? It was due to the Hindu's ignorance of material civilisation. The Mahomedans taught them to wear even tailor made clothes. Would that the Hindus had learnt from the Mahomedans how to eat in a cleanly way without mixing their food with the dust of the streets! Material civilisation say even luxury is necessary to create work for the poor. Bread! Bread! I do not believe in a God who cannot give me bread here giving me eternal bliss in heaven!'

The activities of the Ramkrishna Mission seem to be somewhat exclusively directed towards feeding and clothing the poor—a form of social service which has prevailed in our country since ancient times, but which produces no permanent results as it does not go to the root of the evil. Education, more than poor relief, was the aim of Swami Vivekananda, as will appear from the following.

Get every evening a crowd of the poor and low, even the Pariahs and lecture to them about religion first and then teach them through the magic lantern and other things astronomy geography, &c., in the dialect of the people.

I see it before my eyes a nation is advanced in proportion as education and intelligence spread among the masses. The chief cause of India's ruin has been the monopolising of the whole education and intelligence of the land by dint of pride and royal authority, among a handful of men. If we are to rise again we shall have to do it in the same way i.e. by spreading education among the masses.

Education education education! Travelling through many cities of Europe and observing in them the comforts and education of even the poor people there was brought to my mind the state of our own poor people and I used to shed tears. What made the difference? Education was the answer I got. Through education faith in one's own self and through faith in one's own self the inherent Brahman is working up (in them) while the Brahman in us is gradually becoming dormant.

The Swami strongly pleaded for liberty in food and dress.

Liberty is the first condition of growth. Just as man must have liberty to think and speak so he must have liberty in food dress and marriage and in every other thing so long as he does not injure others.

The Swami often discussed how India, in the Vedic times a beef eating country,

had, through the influence of Buddhism, been mostly converted into vegetarianism. He considered that those who wanted to lead the spiritual and ascetic life of Sannyasins, should live on a vegetable diet, but

"so long as man shall have to live a *Rajasik* (active) life under circumstances like the present there is no other way except through meat eating. Taking the lives of a few goats as against the inability to protect the honour of one's own wife and daughter, and to save the morsels for one's children from robbing hands—which of these is more sinful? the forcing of vegetarianism upon those who have to earn their bread by labouring day and night is one of the causes of the loss of our national freedom."

To Sister Nivedita the Swami said

"I disagree with those who are giving their superstitions back to my people. My hope is to see again the strong points of that India re-emerged by the strong points of this age, only in a natural way. The new state of things must be a growth from within."

In a letter to a lady disciple he says

"Why make people do virtuous deeds by teaching superstitions? I say, liberate, undo the shackles of such people as much as you can. Can dirt be washed by dirt? Can bondage be removed by bondage?"

On theosophy the Swami's views will be sufficiently evident from the following

"Spirituality has nothing to do with the display of psychic powers which, when analysed, show that the man who performs them is the slave of desire and the most egotistical of egotists. Spirituality involves the acquisition of that true power which is character. It is the vanquishing of passion and the rooting out of desire. All this chasing after psychic illusions which means nothing in the solution of the great problems of life is a terrible wasting of energy, the most intense form of selfishness and leads to degeneracy of mind and physical conditions. It is this nonsense which is demoralising our nation. Turn your attention to the realities of life about you. What we need now is practical common sense, a public spirit and a philosophy and religion which will make us men, which will make us stand on our own feet. We want a religion which will give us faith in ourselves, a national self-respect and the power to feed and educate the poor and relieve the misery around us. What will you do with a *Vishatma* residing somewhere in the Himalayas and appearing before you from the sky, when the people around you are dying of starvation and the millions are degenerating for want of education? Nonsense! If you want to find God serve man! If you want to acquire power, serve your brother men."

About religious music of the kind known as *Sankirpans*, which are so common among Vaishnavs, the Swami said

"A nation of dyspeptics indulging in antics to the accompaniment of *khol* and *haratal* and singing *kirtans* and other songs of sentimental type. Is it any wonder that during day and night from boyhood those soft and sentimental songs and music the nation is becoming more and more effeminate."

What degradation can be more complete? We must stop for the present those songs and music which stimulate the softer feelings in men, and instead, make them bear and cultivate those in *dhrupad* and the like. We must revivify the country through the thunder notes of the Vedic rhythm. In all our spheres of activity we should display the austere loftiness of spirit which heroism breathes. In following such an ideal of manliness alone is there the welfare of the motherland.

The following from the Swami's biography on Hindu Mahomedan unity will be read with interest

"In his own personal experience he had seen that the Mahomedans as a race were as generous as humans and as Indian at heart as the Hindus, and also that the enlightened ones among them understood and appreciated the culture of Hinduism as well as realising the intimate relationship between the philosophy of Sufism and the Advaita Vedanta and other social and religious elements. Therefore, in his own mind the distinctions between Mahomedan and Hindu which the Swami as a young man had thought to be insuperable barriers to a unified Indian consciousness were entirely modified and in many respects obliterated. He thought of all as Indians, and often he seemed to foresee as a renewed possibility, that which had already been a fact in the history of the Indian Past namely, that Mahomedan and Hindu seeing the necessity of confederation and national organisation would put aside their religious sectarianism and join hands as in the days of Akbar and Shah Jehan."

The cant and hypocrisy under which Hindu parents habitually disguise their social cowardice, has been well brought out in the following, taken from one of the Swami's letters to a lady disciple

"Oh what an example of self-denial are our widows! Oh how sweet is child marriage! Is another such custom possible? Can there be any thing but love between husband and wife in such a marriage?—Such is the whine going round now a days. But as to the men the masters of the situation, there is no need of self-denial for them! Is there a virtue higher than that of serving others? But the same does not apply to Brahmans—you others do it! The truth is that in this country parents and relatives can ruthlessly sacrifice the best interests of their children and others for their own selfish ends, and the teaching of generations rendering the mind callous has made it perfectly easy."

A girl of eight is married to a man of thirty and the parents are jubilant over it. And if anyone protests against it, the plea is put forward, 'our religion is being overturned.' What sort of religion have they who want to see their girls becoming mothers before they attain puberty even and offer meaningless explanations for it? Many again, lay the blame, indeed! Just read the *Grihya Sutras* through and see what is prescribed there as the marriageable age of a girl. And in the Vedic *Aswamedha* sacrifice the queen would be subjected to unspeakable ignominy, and all the priests and gods would scandalise themselves by drunken orgies. That *Sita* was in banishment, and king Rama performed the *Aswamedha* alone, gives me immense relief. This is to be found

in all the *Brahmanas* and all the commentators admit it. How can you deny them?

No Hindu of modern times had a more intimate knowledge of, and a deeper reverence for the past culture and achievements of the race, and yet the Swami was emphatically of opinion that the future India would be greater than the past. In reply to the Calcutta address he wrote

The past [of India] was great no doubt but I sincerely believe that the future will be more glorious still. There were many good things in the ancient times but there were bad things too. The good things are to be retained but the India that is to be the future India must be much greater than ancient India.

For mere senseless glorification of the past, and blind opposition to western enlightenment, the preaching of unworldliness as a convenient excuse for avoiding the stern duties of the householder's life, the fatal and suicidal mistake which identifies our present social and moral torpor with the spiritual equilibrium of the *sattvic* stage, and other delusions of the same kind, Vivekananda had nothing but the clearest condemnation as the following extracts from his various books will show

'The man who says I have nothing to learn is on the way to death. The nation which says we know all, is on the verge of ruin. Live and learn.' Only the thing to be learnt must be adapted to our needs and the real core of the genius of the race must be preserved but all else must be learnt. In this way we must learn everything that the foreign nations have to teach us but by preserving the national character intact and adapting the teaching to our requirements.

'We must keep our national inheritance always to the fore and we should strive to bring these treasures to the knowledge of all from the masses upwards, at the same time we must fearlessly open all doors. Let the light come from all quarters let the West flood us with its dazzling rays. That which is weak and faulty is liable to death—what is the use of sticking to it? That which is vigorous and strength giving is immortal who can destroy it?

Of course if we set to work instead of sitting inactive we shall go wrong now and then. Even so is it not better to be half fed than to go hungry? Is not action in which good and evil is mixed up better than absolute stock like inaction? When *Sattva* predominates man becomes inactive in supreme meditation when *Rajas* predominates man acts both ill and well when *Tamas* prevails man becomes once more passive and inactive. Now how is one to judge from the outside whether the *Sattvic* or the *Tamasic* element predominates in our national character? Whether we are in that *Sattvic* stage of ineffable bliss which is beyond joy and sorrow or whether we are slowly rotting in a sort of lifeless stock like *Tamas* a stupor without energy and therefore inactive—answer this ask your own mind no answer is really necessary the result we

see all around us gives the answer. The stability of the *Sattvic* stage is due to the concentration of the highest Spiritual Energy such passivity is the parent of the highest power. Owing to the influence of the Jains and the Buddhists, we have been immersed in *Tamas*, the whole country is crying to the Lord, but he has turned a deaf ear to us these one thousand years. Why shouldn't he? Even a man does not listen to a fool, let alone God. The way to proceed therefore is to follow the advice of the Lord in the *Geeta*, 'Don't be a weakling! Therefore arise and earn fame.'

"The Buddhists said, 'there is nothing like salvation so let the whole world be saved.' I say, is that ever possible? The Hindu scriptures declare, you are a householder, you need not dwell too much on such topics, you follow your *Dharma* (Duty). This indeed is the proper advice. Has the advice of the Buddhists any substance in it? You cannot combine with two men in any act of public service and yet you run after salvation! The Hindu scriptures declare of course salvation is far higher than *Dharma* but you must first do the latter. The Buddhists really made a confession in regard to all this. Non-killing is good non-enmity is a high idea but the *Shastras* tell you if any one gives you a slap on your cheek unless you return it ten times over, you shall be committing a sin. Manu says even if a Brahmin be your assailant it is no sin to kill him. This is the truth and you should not forget it. None but the brave deserve to enjoy the good things of the earth. Display heroic qualities, lead the worldly life in all the approved methods then you are a virtuous man. If on the contrary you lead a contemptible existence silently enduring all the kicks you get you suffer hell in this world as well as the next. This is what the scripture says, and is the truth and nothing but the truth. Do your duty; don't do wrong, don't oppress others, do good to others to the best of your ability. But for a householder to suffer injustice is a sin, you must retaliate instantly. Earn money with great enthusiasm maintain your family and dependants, engage in philanthropic activities. Unless you do this you are not even a man—how can you expect salvation?

'Shall the smoke of the Vedic sacrifices cover the entire Indian horizon once more with a thin cloud or shall the blood of sacrificial animals remain as again of the holocausts of King Rantideva? Shall cow sacrifice horse sacrifice the Levirate and other ancient customs prevail in our midst or shall India be converted into a vast monastery through the deluge of Buddhism? Shall the law of Manu come again into full swing or discrim nation in matters of food continue to exercise such wholesale influence as it has now acquired? Shall the caste system prevail? Shall it be based on merit or continue forever to depend on birth? With regard to the different kinds of food permissible to the different castes shall the doctrine of pollution remain as it is in Bengal or shall it assume the rigidity obtaining in Madras or shall it be practically absent as in the Punjab? Shall marriage in the *anulom* form be again permitted between the different castes as laid down by Manu and as prevalent to this day in Nepal or shall it remain as exclusively endogamous as in Bengal? It is difficult to answer these questions. The existence of the most contradictory practices among different castes and families in the same part of the country makes the solution still more difficult. What will the future bring forth then?—That which we have

perhaps never had. That which the Greeks had, at the touch of which sparks from the European battery have repeatedly galvanised the world with tremendous power—that is what is wanted. We want that enterprise that love of liberty that spirit of self-help that steadfast endurance that activity, that unity that love of progress. Instead of keeping our gaze fixed for ever on the past we want to look ahead into the infinite future, and we want the vitalising forceful energy of an intense *Rajas* coursing through our every vein. Don't you see that under the cant of *Sattva* the whole country is sinking into the sea of *Tamas*? Where the inertia of the most thoroughgoing dullness tries to cover its folly under the guise of spiritual aspiration where the born sloth wants to pass off his worthlessness under the specious name of non-attachment where cruelty under the guise of religious austerities passes for virtue where none looks to his own incompetence and everybody tries to throw the blame on others, where mere learning by rote is synonymous with knowledge genius is confined to chewing the cud of undigested lore and above all where our sole pride is in glorifying our ancestors,—that a country so situated is sinking in

Tamas, needs no demonstration. Therefore the *Sattvic* stage is still far off. Can the *Sattvic* state be attained without passing through *Rajas*?

We shall conclude our article with a warning and an exhortation both among the best things which Vivekananda has written and which furnish the key to his message to India.

Nothing great can be achieved through trickery. With love passion for truth and infinite energy, everything may be achieved. Therefore be manly in your efforts.

Thou Hero take courage be proud that you are an Indian—say in pride I am an Indian every Indian is my brother say brother 'India's soil is my highest heaven India's good is my good,' and pray day and night: Thou Lord Thou Mother of the Universe vouchsafe manliness unto me—Thou Mother of strength take away my unmanliness and make me man.

A HINDU ADMIRER

SOUNDS OF THE HEART

He closed my mouth, He sealed my lips
with the red seal of His wrath, and
bade me listen to the music of my own
heart.

And bending low in the awful shadow
of His presence, I listened

I heard the clatter of the feet of them
that ever hastened away, eager for
they knew not what. I heard the cry
of untamable birds flying swiftly

beneath the stars, with the dark circle
of the Earth far below their never-
resting eyes

And I heard the deep moaning of an old
temple bell, echoing the sorrows of the
silent, echoing the passing of all things,
and the peace that surely awaiteth
them that endure to the end

E E SPEIGHT

IN MEMORY OF MYRON HENRY PHELPS

AN AMERICAN BARRISTER WHO WAS INTERESTED IN THE THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY
OF INDIA AND IN THE WELFARE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

ALL religions, all philosophies agree in the belief that not the outward details of life, but the inward hope and desire, spiritual hunger and achievement, are the elements of which character is made and by which destiny is decided.

Outwardly, Mr Phelps' life of nearly sixty years was an active and useful one,

including the practice of his profession, extensive travel, the authorship of several books, and a practical, personal share in not a few philanthropies. But beneath and beyond all these, his keenest interest throughout his whole life centred in a deeper knowledge of spiritual things, and his most earnest and persistent desire

until the very day of his death, (which occurred in Bombay, in December, 1916), was to seek the true source of such knowledge. Friends and associates of his early life unite in recalling his earnestness in these matters even as a boy, his reverence for truth, his sincerity. And only a short time before his death he talked at length with the writer of this memorial, of these things that were nearest his heart.

After long consideration, and in a sincere and singleminded desire that Mr. Phelps' memory may live not only in the hearts of his personal friends but also in the hearts of all in whom he was interested, all with whom he sympathized, the writer has decided to make known in this way somewhat of the burthen of that last long conversation, hoping that thereby in some measure, some manner, the knowledge of it may tend toward fulfilment of Mr. Phelps' desires, as he expressed them at that time.

He had been speaking of the years that were past, of his study of Eastern philosophies and phases of Western thought, of his having found something of good in all, and his profound conviction that though ultimate truth still far transcends the grasp of human understanding, yet hope of attainment of even a fragment of the knowledge of it is well worthy the utmost effort man can make. (It was in this hope that he had for years lived the life of an ascetic, subordinating every detail of existence to the goal desired, despite the counsel of physicians who believed that he was thereby undermining his health). Mr. Phelps spoke of his desire to live longer, not only that he might make fuller preparation for the life to come before leaving this present life, but also because his long continued suffering had widened and deepened his sympathies with all who suffer, whether in body or mind, and he greatly wished to give expression to his sympathy in some helpful way. His heart went out to all who were lonely, all who were in sorrow, or deprived of the common comforts of life, all who suffered for conscience sake. In many ways, Mr. Phelps' own life had been a lonely and a sad one. His mother had died in his infancy. His temperamental reserve and

sensitiveness prevented his making friends readily and sometimes even tended toward a misunderstanding of his true character. Even before his last illness, he had borne much physical suffering with great patience—patience and gentleness were always outstanding traits of his character.

Mr. Phelps spoke also at that time of differing beliefs as to the future of the soul after death, of the comfort he himself would feel could he carry with him beyond this life the assurance of having in some signal way lightened the burdens of many here, and of his very natural desire, hope, that the new life might prove for him less lonely, less sad than this had been, that the thoughts, the friendships of those he had known here might perhaps go with him into the unknown.....



Myron Henry Phelps

Since Mr. Phelps' death, the writer has felt an increasing sense of obligation to

make known this touchingly earnest though humble and hesitating expression of his deepest desire. May it not be possible that some thought of love, of sympathy, of hope for his happiness his well being, can—(warm from the heart of a soul here who knows what suffering means) reach him wherever he may now be, and bring to him comfort, or help? Those who read this may believe that the soul is indestructible yet may hold differing opinions as to the future that may await it after death—may believe that the spirit cannot die but that hope and love are perishing things, and prayer only a waste of time. It was one of the deepest, most poignant hopes of Mr Phelps' heart that truth and hope and unselfish love, the willingness to sacrifice oneself for the good of others are indeed of the very essence of the soul itself and equally indestructible, that wherever the soul may find a home after the death of the body, it may still be within the reach of sympathy, of good will of prayer. That this may be true, was perhaps the last wish to which Mr Phelps gave expression on earth. And in making it known the writer hopes thereby to make him, his true character, more widely known and more intimately remembered, and to win for him perhaps a wider circle of well wishers, of friends, of those who will sometimes spare for him an earnest thought of sympathy and understanding.

Such property as he left is all, after the necessary settlement of obligations, to be used to help humanity in his name, in memory of his desire to be able to do more to this end before he died.

And whatever may be the widely divergent faith or unfaith of those who may read this memorial, can they not nevertheless unite in at least a kindly wish, if not some simple kindly act, in the memory of one

who suffered much and was patient under suffering, who tried to help those who were in trouble, the lonely, the oppressed, the misunderstood? Surely no one of us can say he knows all that can ever be known, and that outside the limits of his own faith there can never at any time be any other thing worthy of faith? The ages to come may hold some fuller deeper understanding of the things of the spirit?—Some brighter light of truth may some day shine on the faith we now hold dear? Even those who believe that prayer is useless, yet cannot think it harmful? Every one who lives wastes some time in some way—can we not hereafter give some of our idle moments to at least kindly thought of this (on earth) lonely, suffering and yet loving soul—it can certainly do neither our selves nor any one else any harm. The writer believes beyond all shadow of doubt that it will do good because unselfish love is a spiritual thing beyond the reach of the laws of earth and that such thoughts must surely find their way to this soul that perhaps even now waits for them. But even with those who do not believe, such thought would—at least in some slight measure—turn the trend of the thinker's mind toward kindness, toward the value of truth and things spiritual. So that by such means also Mr Phelps' memory—the memory of all that was truest and best in his character, his faith—may live on in many hearts here—hearts that know, as he did the meaning of suffering and sorrow, and thus keep burning for him the memorial flame. It is this tribute that he would have loved rather than any monument in stone or bronze.

And blessing will surely rest on all who thus share their life and their love in such spiritual fellowship.

E H

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC LIBRARY

By DR SUDHINDRA BOSE M.A., Ph.D.,
LECTURER IN POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

* To be aristocratic in taste and democratic in service is the privilege and glory of a public library.
—Bliss Perry

I remember my first vivid contact with the American library when I found myself installed, several years ago, as an assistant in one of the principal public libraries

in the United States. I was in the main Reading Room, which was of majestic size, with its richly carved walls with its countless rows of tables and chairs with its forests of high standing shaded electric lamps, its huge chandeliers hung from the lofty gold foiled ceilings, and with its

and small that may do most for the people "

LIBRARY SERVICE

The American library is not a mere stack of books, and the librarians no mere caretakers or dragons to guard their privacy. The library is mostly service, aggressive service. Go into a modern library, and stop at its Information Desk for instance. You will see the clerk at the desk explaining to one the reference volumes, directing another where to look for material, rescuing a casual reader from a fruitless search, or guiding a stranger to the proper shelves.

People who for some reason cannot come to the library may send in their requests for information by mail or telephone, and these requests are promptly attended to. The telephone is a very important adjunct of every library, and it is used in asking a constant succession of questions on the most diverse subjects imaginable. Over the telephone they ask: How high is Mount Everest? What are the best books for Christmas gift? How do you spell such and such a word? Can you tell me which is the best musical magazine published in America? May I have my book renewed for another week? Will you give me a list of books and magazine articles on co-operation? And the versatile young lady at the other end of the telephone wire gives the information desired. The Free Public Library of New York has recently tabulated that it answers annually about five thousand telephone inquiries for information from its constituency.

Another instance of the "popularization" of library service may be seen in the Public Writing Room maintained by the St. Louis Public Library. It is a room fitted with chairs and tables for the use of the public to write private letters. Pen and ink, with paper and envelopes of medium grade, are supplied free by the attending custodian, and paper and envelopes of better grade as well as postage stamps may be bought in the room at cost. This is not all. The custodian takes dictation in shorthand, does typewriting and receives orders for translations from foreign languages at current rates.

American libraries, which are not maintained for the merely book-reading public, are thoroughly socialized, they are used to their maximum. Libraries

contain lecture halls, rooms for women's study clubs, young men's debating societies, and meeting places for carrying on the work of various civic organizations. There is nowhere any suspicion of charity. The attitude of the librarian is that of a courteous host toward invited guests. They come and go much as they would in their own homes.

LIBRARY AND CHILDREN

Some thirty or forty years ago children were excluded from almost every public library. And if they came at all, they found very few books for their use. Gradually the barriers to the admission of children were broken down, the age limit for admission was reduced to 18, it dropped to 12 then to 10 next to 8, and now has disappeared altogether. Today, all children are admitted to the Children's Department of the public library.

A visit to the Children's Department is always interesting. The rooms for "little folks" are equipped with low chairs, tables, and book cases especially suited to children. Bright pictures, bits of tapestry, and cheerful hangings give these rooms an attractive appearance. Here are kept juvenile books and magazines adapted to the age and taste of "little visitors." Sometimes one finds a separate Study Room containing atlases, globes, and hanging maps where the children of over-crowded homes may come for a quiet hour to prepare their school lessons.

The Children's Department has a library staff of its own and even separate catalogues. Usually children's librarians are young women, college graduates with expert training for library work with children.

A fine feature of the children's room is the abundant supply of stereoscopes and stereopictures. The Cincinnati Public Library operates moving picture shows which take children on a "tarry at home journey" to Japan, India, Switzerland, France, and many another distant land.

The Children's Department has "story hours" to attract children of all ages. The plan of story telling is briefly this: groups of children are gathered within the library rooms in the winter months, and in the playgrounds during the summer, to hear, told by a trained story teller, folk tales, fables, myths, legends, ballads, or stories from Shakespeare's plays. The object of

INTER CASTE MARRIAGE IN BUDDHIST INDIA

PROFESSOR Rhys Davids, the author of "Buddhist India," uses the term Buddhist India to denote "ancient India during the period of Buddhist ascendancy." In this essay "Buddhist India" is used in a more restricted sense, denoting those countries in India and that period in which the Buddhist Hinayana Sutras originated. In most of these Sutras Gautama Buddha is represented as the speaker and the scene is laid in Kosala, Videha, or Magadha. So according to the preambles these Sutras refer back to Kosala, Videha, Magadha and the neighbouring countries of the lifetime of Buddha himself. But from internal evidence it is clear that many of these Sutras, particularly those that are extant in Sanskrit version only, were compiled long after Buddha's *parinirvana*. Here an attempt will be made to illustrate the Hindu attitude towards inter caste marriage in Buddhist India from some of the Buddhist Sutras.

I

Our first document is the well known *Ambattha Sutta* of the collection called *Digha Nikaya* (Sanskrit, *Dirghagama*). It has been translated into English by Prof Rhys Davids (*Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, vol II, pp 65-95). Buddha, with about five hundred followers, was staying in the wood near Icchhavanakala, a Brahman village in Kosala (Oudh). There he was interviewed by a learned Brahman, Ambattha, a pupil of the famous Brahman teacher Pokkharasadi (Pushkarasari) of Ukkattha (Utkata) in the same kingdom. Ambattha's rudeness gives rise to a discussion of the question whether the Brahmins or the Kshatriyas are the higher of the two. Ambattha admits that his ancestor Kanha (Krishna) was the son of Dasa, a slave of King Okkaka (Ikshaku) from whom the Sakyas traced their descent, and that this Kanha, after becoming a Rishi, married a daughter of king Okkaka. Then Buddha says—

'What think you, Ambattha? Suppose a young Kshatriya should have connection with a Brahman maiden, and from

their intercourse a son should be born. Now would the son thus come to the Brahman maiden through the Kshatriya youth receive a seat and water (as tokens of respect) from the Brahmins?'

'Yes, he would, Gotama.'

'But would the Brahmins allow him to partake of the feast offered to the dead, or of the food boiled in milk, or of the offerings to the gods, or of food sent as a present?'

'Yes, they would, Gotama.'

'But would the Brahmins teach him their verses or not?'

'They would, Gotama.'

'But would he be shut off, or not, from their women?'

'He would not be shut off.'

'But would the Kshatriyas allow him to receive the consecration ceremony of a Kshatriya?'

'Certainly not, Gotama.'

'Why not that?'

'Because he is not of pure descent on the mother's side.'

Similar answers are given by Ambattha to similar questions regarding a son born of a Brahman youth and a Kshatriya maiden. Buddha concludes, 'Then, Ambattha, whether one compares women with women, or men with men, the Kshatriyas are higher, and the Brahmins inferior.' Though marriage is not clearly mentioned, a Brahman youth or maiden and a Kshatriya maiden or youth, whose male issue was recognised as a full fledged Brahman must have lived as a married couple. If it may be assumed that this dialogue gives a faithful picture of social life in Buddhist India—and there is no reason to the contrary—the interdict against intercaste marriage should be traced, not to Brahman narrowness, but to Kshatriya pride.

II

Our second document is tale No 33, *Sardulakarna avadana*, of the collection called *Divyavadana*, which mainly consists of *avadanas* or edifying tales extracted from the *Vinaya Pitaka* of the *Mula sarva*

stiradin sect About the age of the Sardulakarna avadana the editors of the *Divyavadana*, Cowell and Neil, write, "Parts of the narrative are of considerable interest, and, whatever we may think of the date of some later chapters, the frame work of the avadana itself must be of great antiquity It was certainly translated into Chinese in the third century of our era" (p 655) Buddha was staying in Anathapiṇḍada's garden in Jetavana at Sravasti One day Ananda, one of Buddha's leading followers, went to the city of Sravasti to beg alms After taking his food he went to a well At that time a Chandala maiden named Prakriti was drawing water from that well

Ananda said, addressing that Chandala maiden, "Sister, give me water to drink"

Prakriti replied, "O venerable Ananda, I am the daughter of a Chandala"

Ananda said, "O sister, I do not ask you to name your family or caste If you have water to spare, please give it to me, I shall drink"

At this Prakriti offered water to Ananda, which he drank and then went away But the maiden was so much charmed by the auspicious signs in the body and face and in the voice of Ananda that she fell in love with him and determined to have him as her husband On returning home with water Prakriti requested her mother, who was a skilful magician, to draw Ananda to her by means of some spell Prakriti's mother at first refused to adopt such a course on the ground that Raja Pras-najit of Kosala would resent it and Sramana Gautama (Buddha) would be able to make her spell ineffective But as Prakriti told her mother that she would either have the monk Ananda as her husband or commit suicide, the latter began a magical rite to attract Ananda Spell bound Ananda was drawn to the house of the Chandala, where he began to shed tears and thought of Buddha Becoming aware of Ananda's plight Buddha recited a *mantra* (magical formula) which rendered the *mantra* of Prakriti's mother ineffectual and Ananda was free to return to Jetavana

On the following morning Prakriti went to the city gate and stood waiting for Ananda When Ananda entered the city for begging alms Prakriti followed him a shadow, walking while he walked and waiting while he stopped and waiting

at the door outside when he entered a house for alms As soon as he recognised Prakriti's design he ran to Buddha, of course followed by Prakriti, and cried, "Save me, O Bhagavan! Save me, O Sugata!" Buddha asked Prakriti, "O Chandala maiden, what do you want the monk Ananda for?"

Prakriti replied, "I want the venerable Ananda as my husband"

Buddha, "Have you been permitted by your parents to marry Ananda?"

Prakriti, "I have been permitted, O Bhagavan, I have been permitted, O Sugata!"

Buddha, "Then let them signify their consent in my presence"

This interview led to the inevitable result. The Chandala maiden was admitted to the Buddhist order as a *bhikkhuni* (nun) But the news of the admission of an outcast Chandalinī created a sensation in the city of Sravasti, and the citizens, headed by Raja Prasennajit, flocked to Jetavana to know the reason why from the lips of the Bhagavat. Buddha then narrated the life history of Prakriti in her previous birth

On the Ganges once upon a time there lived a Raja of the Chandalas named Trisanku with many thousands of Chandalas In his previous birth Trisanku was a Brahman well versed in the Vedas and the subsidiary sciences In his present birth as a Chandala he still remembered the contents of those works The Chandala chief had a son named Sardulakarna to whom he imparted knowledge of the Vedas and the subsidiary sciences At that time there was a very learned Brahman named Pushkarasari who had received a prosperous village named Utkata as a royal gift Pushkarasari had a very handsome and accomplished daughter named Prakriti One morning surrounded by a large number of Chandalas Trisanku went to Pushkarasari and said, "Give your daughter Prakriti to my son Sardulakarna as wife, I shall pay you as much money as *kulasulka* (present due to your family) as you think fit" Enraged at this audacious proposal, Pushkarasari reminded Trisanku that no one, be he a Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Sudra, Chandala or Pukkasa, marries out of his own caste Trisanku replied —

यथा भवन्ति सीरके विभिन्न उपलभ्यन्ते ।
 ब्राह्मणे बान्धवातो वा न विप्रयोऽस्ति वे तथा ॥
 यथा प्रजापतयस्य विभिन्न उपलभ्यन्ते ।
 ब्राह्मणे बान्धवातो वा न विप्रयोऽस्ति वे तथा ॥
 न हि ब्राह्मणं पाप्मानम् सदो वा समुत्थिन ।
 विष्णा वा पुदिरी जातो जातवेदा यथारब्ध ॥
 ब्राह्मणा भविता जाता चण्डाला अपि योनिव ।
 वेष्ठाने उपलब्धे च विधा यमसि कारयन् ॥
 ब्राह्मणेऽपि चतुर्गुण्योऽपि जगुषः स्त्रीऽपि बन्धने ।
 वशीकरोत पापयो वा नु तत्र विप्रयुता ॥

तद्विद ब्राह्मण ते शरीरि । संश्रामाह विदधेत्तल्ल
 पद्विमुच्ये ब्राह्मण इति पुत्रि इति वा वैश इति वा कुल इति
 वा । सर्वविदधेत्तल्लेति विप्रश्च पुत्राय वे प्रादुर्लभ्यैव
 प्रकृतिं भानविकानमुपयच्छ भावीर्वाह यारय कुलपुत्रकं
 पञ्चम तावत्पुत्रपुत्रदास्तामि" (*Diryavadana*, pp
 623 625)

Substance—There is no real difference between the Brahman caste and the other castes. The Brahmins and Chandalas are born in the same way. The dead body of a Brahman is as impure as that of a man of any other caste. Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra are mere names. Knowing all these (castes) to form one single (community), marry your daughter. Prakriti to my son Sardula karna."

Still more enraged at this Pushkarasari explained the law of intercaste (*anuloma*) marriage and the origin of the four *varnas* from different parts of the body of *Brahma*. Trisanku's reply is very interesting. A few extracts from it can only be given here —

यथा हि दारका बाहोऽङ्गमाणा पद्मापये ।
 पाण्डुकाणि संविष्टा स्युः नामानि कुर्वन्ते ॥
 इदं सीरमिदं इति इदं सीरमिदं इदं नृ ।
 न च बाह्वल वचनात् पाण्डुकाऽह भवन्ति हि ॥
 वशी स्युषे पलारो यथा ब्राह्मणं पाण्डु ।
 पाण्डुकाभिधानेन योगोऽप्ययं न विद्यते ॥
 न किंशेन च कर्माभ्यां न प्रीयेन च वतुषा ।
 न मुखेन न भासया न शीतया न वाङ्मया ॥
 शीतवायव्यं पाण्डुकां न पृष्ठशरीरं च ।
 शीतवायव्यं जङ्घाभ्यां पाणिपादनौ च ॥

न शरीरं न वचनं न संश्रियं न वेदुर्न ।
 नानाविधेषु सर्वेषु समुत्थेषु न विद्यते ॥ (p. 626).

तद्यथापि भी इन्द्राकारम् गवाश्च गर्दभोऽपि घ्नन्-पञ्च
 जेडकानां जरायुल कछदलोवपाङ्गकानां शानाकरच प्रजायते
 बहुत पादतोषि मुखतोषि बर्षतोषि सञ्जानातापि चाहार-
 तोषि मोनिस्मयतोषि नामाकरच प्रजायते । न च शीर्षा
 वपुर्वा र्वाणां शानाकरच प्रजायते । तत्तत्तथा सवमिदमेक
 विधि । (p 627)

Substance—The four castes are like dust balls made by little girls at play and named curd, meat, *ghī*, &c. As such names can not transform dust into curd, *ghī* and meat, so names like Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra cannot transform men into different classes of beings. "All men have similar physical features. So there are no hereditary varieties among men. Cow, horse, ass, camel, deer, bird and other kinds of animals have different physical characteristics and habits. Such varieties of characteristics are not found among men. Therefore all men belong to the same (caste)."

As in the last quoted clause and what follows in the text so in the Pali *Vasttha Sutta* (No 35 of the *Sutta Nipata*) appeal is made to comparative morphology to show that caste distinctions are unscientific. Mr (now Lord) Chalmers writes —

There are numerous generic and specific marks distinguishing the several grasses and trees, worms, moths, beasts, birds and fishes, but these numerous marks are not found on men as on all other living creatures. The distinctions between man and man are individual not specific or generic. Herein Gotama was in accord with the conclusion of modern biologists that the *Anthropidae* are represented by the single genus and species man — a conclusion on which was the more remarkable inasmuch as the accident of colour did not mislead Gotama as it did within living memory the citizens of a free and enlightened republic. (J R A S, 1894 p 346)

The remarks contained in this dissertation on caste embodied in Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist texts are based on observation of the physical features of men of different castes. In our own day on similar grounds—absence of differentiating physical characteristics in different castes—Nesfield came to the conclusion that *varna* or caste originated not from actual difference of colour (*varna*) that is, of race, in different groups of men, but from

differences of occupation These texts also show that at the time of their composition the physical differences that originally distinguished the different castes* had practically disappeared in Aryavarta partly through the influence of physical environment and partly through race mixture

Now to return to our narrative, Trisanku's arguments demonstrating the fundamental unity of different castes softened Pushkarasari, who ultimately consented to give away his daughter Prakriti to Sardulakarna In course of his further argumentation Trisanku named two well known Brahman sages of mixed parentage—Dvaipayana born of the Nisada woman Kali and Rama (Parasurama) born of a Kshatriya mother Renuka (p 637) After narrating the story Buddha explained to the audience that at that time he himself was born as Trisanku, Ananda as Sardulakarna, Sariputra as Pushkarasari and Prakriti, the Chandala maiden, as Pushkarasari's daughter (p 654)

III

Our third document, *Divyavadana* No 26 (Pamsupradana Avadana), is a historical romance When Vindusara, son of Chandragupta Maurya, (erroneously represented in our text as son of king Nanda), was reigning at Pataliputra, a Brahman of the city of Champa had a beautiful daughter born to him about

whom the astrologers predicted that she would be married to a king and give birth to two sons one of whom would be the overlord of the four quarters of the earth and the other would renounce the world The Brahman took his daughter to the court and offered her to king Vindusara who sent her to the royal harem There other wives of the king grew jealous of her and assigned to her the duties of a barber In course of time Vindusara was pleased with the girl and requested her to ask for a reward The girl implored the king to treat her as his wife The king replied, "You are a barber woman, I am king, Kshatriya Murdhahnisikta, how can I have intercourse with you?" The girl then told her story Vindusara made her the chief queen and had by her two sons, Asoka and Vitasoka As Chandragupta Maurya "contracted marriage alliance" with Seleukos Nikator, so there is nothing incredible in this story about his son

It should be pointed out that Gautama Buddha was not a social reformer but the founder of a new order of monks in the recruitment of which caste distinction was ignored Buddha's lay followers (*Upasakas*) remained what we should now call Hindus But these Buddhist tales, like some of the epic tales such as that of Santanu's marriage with Satyawati, show that though in ancient India intercaste marriage was practised only by a minority, the majority that did not do so could not and would not stand in the way of the minority

* For the writer's views on the origin of caste see *The Indo-Aryan Races* pp 33-36

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT IN INDIA

BY K V TAMHANKAR, B A

Although it must be clearly recognised that Indian industries are now and will be in future chiefly based on the agricultural products of the country we find that important and valuable as these are much still requires to be done for their development The extent to which they are manufactured whether for export or internal consumption instead of being sent out of the country as raw materials can in some cases be largely increased and the Agricultural Department will find great opportunities and sometimes an urgent necessity of

improving the output and quality of many Indian crops

(Report of the Indian Industrial Commission.)

I

WRITERS on Agricultural Improvement in India often lose sight of the fact that the question of Agricultural Improvement is not merely related to Scientific research alone, but it largely

depends on the spread of education in general and agricultural education in particular, and on the rural economy of the country. Research work is undoubtedly of first importance, as it brings about new methods and new principles leading to the economic betterment of the cultivating classes. But unless, there is the peasantry, who can understand those improvements and have the means to put them in practice the preaching of new principles would be of no avail. It is therefore obvious that all the factors underlying the subject of Agricultural Improvement must be taken into account. It is difficult to say which of them is of the greatest importance, and a scheme, which contemplates the handling of any one of these, without a consideration of the other two, cannot be said to be complete. It may be that all the three factors cannot be easily solved at the same time. Perhaps it may be very difficult to effect any economic change in the condition of the rural population all at once. Whatever difficulties there may be, they in no way minimise their importance. With this great principle before us we are not in a position to say that in India at least the three factors have received equal consideration while research work has been going on apace, education is lagging considerably behind and rural economy remains untouched except for the small amount of work done by co-operative Societies. Simultaneous advancement along all these lines is extremely desirable if any real work in the direction of Agricultural Improvement is to be accomplished.

It is proposed to treat the subject under three heads: (1) Improvement in Crops (2) Agricultural Education, (3) Rural Economy. We shall take up the subject of scientific research first, as substantial work has been done by the Imperial as well as the Provincial Departments of Agriculture.

IMPROVEMENT IN CROPS AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Stray attempts were made to improve Indian cotton, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in the cotton growing tracts. Foreign varieties of cotton were freely introduced without attention to their climatic requirements and it is no wonder that these early attempts ended in failure. It must be noted here that

these attempts were made by Government, not of their own initiative but through the outside pressure brought to bear, by English merchants at Home. As no thing substantial was achieved, it would be useless to give a detailed account of what was being done in several provinces. The idea of the formation of a Department of Agriculture was first conceived as far back as 1869 after the disastrous famine in Bengal and Orissa in 1866. More famines were however required in other tracts of India, to convince the authorities both in India and in England, of the imminent necessity of Agricultural Improvement in India. The Famine Commission of 1880 laid down a scheme for the formation of Provincial Departments of Agriculture. In 1881, the Government of India 'decided to postpone Agricultural Improvement, until the scheme of agricultural enquiry had been completed'. The arrival of Dr Voelcker in India in 1889 marks an important phase of Agricultural Improvement in India. The publication of his 'Agricultural Improvement in India' generally indicated broad lines of improvement. Not only did it dispel the erroneous ideas of some men in England and in India who had a very poor estimation of the agricultural methods followed here, but it also strongly pointed out the defects and the ways of improvement to those who were too conservative to observe them. The importance of Dr Voelcker's book is very great, and it has deservedly occupied a high place in the agricultural publications bearing on Indian agriculture. No one interested in Indian agriculture should fail to make a critical study of the work.

It was not however until the appointment of Mr. Mollison as Director General of Agriculture in 1901, that Government seemed to take up the subject seriously. Whatever may be the failures of Lord Curzon in India he did one very useful work, in that, that he gave a great impetus to the scientific work in agriculture, by organizing the Imperial Department of Agriculture, and he instilled a new life into the Provincial Departments of Agriculture. Provincial Colleges of Agriculture were started, to produce men who would go to the rural tracts and serve as a nucleus of Agricultural Improvement, and also to provide men fit to take up the work of scientific research.

Prior to the year 1901, serious atten

tion cannot be said to have been given to agricultural improvement, in the various provinces, as the Directors were also saddled with the work of Land Record. A mass of information and statistics were collected by those officers, and it cannot be said to be useless work, though it has very little to do with research work in agriculture. The need of whole time Directors of Agriculture was soon brought home, and they were then freed of the revenue work. Without further going into further details of organization of Provincial departments of agriculture, let us briefly review the work, so far done by these departments.

As mentioned before, cotton was the first crop that attracted the attention of Government. Wheat was the next crop, and jute and other fibre crops, oil seeds, indigo, sugarcane and rice stand in descending order. It is natural that the export crops should be taken up first, as it is in the interests of both the buyers and the producers.

COTTON

Of the total cultivated area in India, more than 6 p c is under cotton, and this is likely to increase in consonance with the increasing world demand for cotton. As mentioned before, early efforts were mainly directed to the introduction of exotic varieties, in Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces and Madras. Experience has shown that that is not the only method of improvement. Selection, hybridization, improved methods of cultivation, play a more important part, than what is usually understood, in the improvement of any crop. Climate and water supply also determine the suitability of a new variety. Dharwar American, Cawnpore American, Upland Georgian, or Buri, Cambodia, and Egyptian are the instances, of exotic varieties, that have achieved some success and have become established in parts of Bombay, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Madras and Sindh respectively. All these varieties have longer staple and finer texture than those of indigenous varieties in those provinces. Though the average yield of in Egypt and America is 450 lbs

• 200 lbs., it is considerably less in India. Mr. Mollison in Bombay first pointed out that exotic varieties were generally unsuited to the climatic conditions of India, and therefore new methods of

improvement must be followed. As a careful study of all indigenous varieties in every province was thought very necessary, it was soon undertaken and an Imperial Cotton Specialist was appointed.

The following are some of the Deshi types of cotton: Broach, Kumpta, Oomra, Bengal, Karungannu, etc., the length of staple varying from $\frac{1}{2}$ " to 1". The outturn of cotton in India in 1913-14 was estimated at about 5,913,000 bales of 400 lbs each. Out of these the yield of long stapled varieties was about 500,000 bales or about $\frac{1}{5}$ of the total outturn of cotton in India. In the same year about 2,900,000 bales of cotton were exported bringing in about 40 crores of rupees to the country. Japan is the largest buyer of all foreign countries. Most of the countries require long stapled cotton, and the supply is chiefly provided by America. 'An increase of a penny a pound in the value of cotton produced in 14,000,000 acres, which grow the short stapled varieties at present, would yield over 6 crores of rupees justifying amply the immediate expenditure proposed.' This will show how vast the field for research work, there is, for the Agricultural Department. Mr. Mackenna in his 'Agriculture in India' says, 'The small cultivator requires and is content with little and so long as he can get the necessary minimum without undue exertion, he is not likely, willingly at all events to undertake more laborious cultivation, unless the advantages are beyond doubt.' But where these advantages have been clearly brought to his notice, the Indian cultivator has not been slow to take up new varieties of seed or new methods of cultivation. Experience has shown that cultivators have willingly responded to the call of Agricultural departments in Bombay, and Berars, to accept selected seed of cotton.

So far, much work has been done in Bombay in popularising Broach cotton in Dharwar and supplying selected seed to cultivators in Gujarat and Khandesh. In the Southern Marhatta country, Kumpta is chiefly grown and there is, I believe, much room for improvement. In Central Provinces a local variety—white flowered roseum—has been selected and developed and selected seed is supplied to cultivators. In the United Provinces and Madras, work on similar lines has been with success.

The spread of long stapled varieties will always depend on the water supply, which can only be assured by the construction of canals. Black cotton soil tracts have mostly to depend on precarious rainfall during a season of three to four months and consequently the plants are stunted, with few bolls, and the yield is poor. Costly manures are thus out of question, and the tillage is also not quite satisfactory. The holdings are too small to enable a farmer to have his own pair of bullocks in many cases, and the never dying Kunda and Harali render inter culture ineffective.

The question of cotton improvement cannot be fully solved by introducing a new variety, or giving selected seed to cultivators. The difficulties of the farmer must be carefully studied, and the means of taking the fullest advantage of the preachings of the Agricultural Department must be brought within his reach. So long as the Agricultural Department concerns itself with one side of the question only, the farmer's problem will remain unsolved.

WHEAT

This crop occupies nearly 10 per cent of the total cultivated area of India, and up to 5 million tons of wheat are exported to foreign countries. As an exporter of wheat, India ranks third but the output of wheat per acre in India is only about one third of that in England. The principal defects of Indian wheat are (1) Weak straw, (2) Low yield (3) Susceptibility to rust-disease. And besides these the diversity of seasons acts as a great hindrance to the spread of any one variety of the selected type, throughout the country. As to the milling qualities, experts in England have expressed that there are many types in India, quite suited to the English Market.

As in the case of cotton foreign rust resisting varieties did not prove successful in India. These varieties which were mostly Australian and required a long season for maturity, could not withstand the hot dry winds of March in the plains of India. Greater success however was attained by introducing suitable varieties from one province into another province. Wheat from the United Provinces was introduced into the Southern Shan States and the Muzaffarnagar variety into Bom-

bay, Sindh. But greatest success will be achieved, it is hoped, by the new types of wheat, that are being evolved at Pusa, by Mr and Mrs Howard, on Mendelian lines. Mr Mackenna says

"So far as one can predict the establishment throughout India of these Pusa wheat is the solution of the improvement of Indian wheat. It has been calculated that a safe estimate of the gain to Indian wheat growers if the crop were replaced by varieties like Pusa would be rupees 15 per acre per year. The rate at which extension will take place will depend on the efficiency of provincial organisations for seed distribution. In view of the favour with which these wheats have been received and the cordial co-operation of provincial officers it is a modest estimate to assume that in the course of a very few years the area under Pusa wheats will reach at least five million acres. This means an increase in the near future in the value of the agricultural produce of India of 750 lacs of rupees or five million pounds."

SUGARCANE

India is the largest sugarcane growing country in the world, the total acreage under sugarcane being 2 659 800 in 1913-14. In spite of the enormous quantity of gur produced in the country, the imports of foreign sugar had reached the figure of 800 000 tons costing about 15 crores of rupees before the World War. In 1913-14, the output of gur was estimated at about 3 428,000 tons. Besides this quantity, 150,000 tons were expected from palm trees. Thus the total quantity of gur and sugar required for consumption is about 3,578 000 tons. The average yield of gur per acre in India is 1.2 tons while in other sugarcane growing countries in the world it is more than 3 tons per acre. In Bombay it is 3.1 tons and in parts of Madras the same figure is reached. Now, if the average yield of gur per acre could be increased in India the total yield would be 82 000 000 tons, i.e., more than double the quantity of gur and sugar required for home-consumption, so that India will be able to export 3 600 000 tons of raw sugar annually, bringing nearly 65 crores of rupees to Indian cultivators! On the contrary, owing to the very low yield of gur per acre, India is actually losing 80 crores of rupees every year. These figures will give an idea of the enormous possibilities of improvement and the vast economic advantages that would arise therefrom. The deterrent factors however are many. Sufficient water supply and the necessary capital are the first requisites of a crop like sugarcane. The first is wanting in some tracts while the second

is needed everywhere. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission says that

the obstacles in the way of increasing local production lie mainly in the poor type of cane and the inferior cultural methods in the principal cane areas of the United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal, and the Punjab and in the very small holdings on which cane is grown with the consequent impossibility of securing the regular supply for a modern cane factory.

In Bombay, Bengal, and the United Provinces the Agricultural departments paid early attention to cane cultivation. And the introduction of iron mills is due to the efforts of the officers of Agricultural Departments. The Manjri sugarcane experimental station in Bombay has done valuable work. In the United Provinces, the Hadi process of sugar manufacture seemed for a time to have a great future before it, but the hopes have not been realised. The great obstacles in the cane cultivation are want of heat and water in Northern India, while in the South water supply falls short of the requirements. In the former case, the difficulty can be got over by introducing varieties suited to the tract, while extension of canals and the use of pumping machinery will help considerably to reduce the want of water supply.

The red rot disease also acts as a great hindrance to the extension and successful cultivation of this crop, and in finding out new varieties susceptibility to this disease must be carefully guarded against. In this connection the work of Dr Barber is being watched with interest in Madras. In Java, disease resisting varieties were produced by cross fertilization, and work on similar lines is being carried on by Dr Barber. Work of this nature requires years of patience and experimenting to produce substantial results. Manuring and careful cultivation play a very important part in the production of cane as in the case of other crops. The cultivation of sugarcane in the canal areas of Bombay stands very high, the warmth of the climate being a natural advantage there. Added to this owing to the shrewdness of the Deccan Kunbi who rarely fails to observe the requirements, manuring as well as cultural, of his crops, cane cultivation in the Deccan stands as model, and compares favourably with that in other countries of the world.

Perhaps, the greatest amount of good remains to be done in connection with manufacture of gur. The iron mills

are no doubt superior to old wooden or stone mills. But the extraction of juice by a power driven mill is still higher than that, obtained by a bullock driven iron mill. Power mills will certainly give one per cent of gur more than the ordinary iron mills. The total loss to the country caused by the wasteful methods of manufacture nearly amounts to 60,900,000 rupees, annually. The installation of power mills in cane growing tracts is a matter of first importance, and the agricultural departments will be doing an immense amount of good, by encouraging the installation of power mills.

The estimate of loss, just given above, will be seen to be a moderate one, because the report of the Industrial Commission says 'where these small power-driven mills have been introduced, it has been definitely established that they have increased the value of the product from a given acre of land by from 25 to 30 per cent.'

Machinery and better cultivation mean more capital, which is becoming an ever increasing want in India. The Indian cultivator, who is notoriously debt ridden, has very little to invest for the present requirements of agriculture, and it is out of the question for the present, that he will be able to invest more. Manuring is also becoming more costly and great difficulty is experienced in canal areas, in obtaining sufficient supplies of concentrated manures. Chemical manures are destined to play an important roll in agriculture, and unless means are devised to manufacture them in the country, it will go very hard with Indian cultivators to buy them from foreign countries.

Appendix C, to the report of the Indian Industrial Commission gives a detailed account of the present state of the sugar industry of India, and the conclusions therefrom are not very hopeful. Man to man the Indian cultivator is not inferior to his foreign brother but so long as he is unable to invest more in agriculture the talk of improvement will be a cry in the wilderness.

OIL-SEEDS

The export trade of India in oil seeds is very large nearly amounting to 25 crores of rupees annually. The following table is taken from the report of the Indian Industrial Commission.

Crops	Area in 000, acres	Value of export Rs 000
	1913 14	1913 14
Castor	Not shown separately	20,500
Copra	"	15 506
Cotton	15,844	21,231
Groundnut	463	48,814
Linseed	2,268	66 871
Rape and Mustard	4,088	44,737
Sesamum	4 278	2,043
Total non essential Oils, excluding copra and cotton	14 658	275 006

Considering the value of exports Linseed stands first, Groundnut second and Rape and Mustard third, while the order is reverse, regarding the acreage under each of the three crops, excepting groundnut which stands third.

As to the work of the Agricultural Departments the report of the I I Commission says

'Little has been done hitherto by the over burdened Agricultural Department to improve the local types of oil producing plants or to investigate the condition under which oil is formed in the seeds. The methods of oil extraction have been equally neglected and we recommend that the important matter should be examined by the experts who we hope will be available in the future.

Let it not, however be denied to the credit of the Agricultural Department, that foreign disease resisting varieties of ground nut have been introduced in parts of India, while in Burma it has become a crop of considerable importance, bringing prosperity to those tracts, which are mostly unsuited to any other crop. As regards Linseed nothing seems to have been done by the Department, and Rape and Mustard have the same tale to tell. It will be thus seen that this important field remains yet unexplored. No one doubts the possibilities of improvement, as in the case of other crops. Let us hope that the Agriculture Department will soon bestir itself and undertake this important branch of work.

The following are the lines of work in this respect —

(1) Selection of hardy and better yielding varieties, suited to the climatic conditions of the tract. (2) Cross fertilization on Mendelian lines to produce the required characters. (3) Introduction of new varieties from foreign countries. (4) Manurial requirements to be carefully studied and means to be devised to meet them. (5) Proper rotation of crops, which is of considerable importance in

agricultural economy. A giant variety of sunflower is grown in Southern Russia on thousands of acres, yielding an excellent oil like safflower oil. We do not know if this plant is grown anywhere in India for oil.

Along with the question of oilseed crops, the question of oil-extraction also deserves special attention from an industrial as well as agricultural point of view. Oil cakes are being now largely used as manure, and the demand will go on increasing with the extension of canals. The oil industry in India is still very backward, through want of capital and technical skill. It is time for capitalists to take up the industry, and the new Department of Industry should spare no pains to help these ventures.

Indian soils are notoriously deficient in phosphates and the drain is growing every year, without recuperation. Consequently, the yield of grain or oil seed is very poor, and the quality is far inferior in India. Now it is a well known fact that phosphates are highly important in the building of bodies of animals. It therefore goes without saying that the population, living on food poor in phosphorus should be weak both in body and intellect. It is therefore extremely necessary that the phosphates should be returned to the soil, by using oil cakes, as manure. This is only possible if oil mills worked by power are scattered over the country, and only oil is exported to foreign countries. It would not be too much to say that it behoves Government to help this industry by advice as well as by guidance and it would be a material help for the solution of the problem of manure supply in India.

RICE

This crop occupies thirty five per cent of the total cultivated area in India. About nine per cent of the total production is available for export, the value amounting to 27 crores of rupees. If we deduct from this figure, the value of the Burma rice, which amounts to 21 crores the remaining six crores is the value of India's rice export. Burma is the greatest rice producing country in the world, and India has to import rice from Burma, to the value of about seven crores of rupees annually, and it is feared that she will have to import more rice, as the area under export crops, other than grain,

goes on increasing as in the case of Bengal, where jute has supplanted rice, and Bengal now cannot satisfy the demand for rice.

As an important staple crop, Agricultural Departments ought to have undertaken it for research and improvement very long ago. As an export crop it may not compete with cotton or wheat, but as a food crop, it occupies a high place. Mr Mackenna pleads that "it is probably due to the magnitude and complexity of the subject that little progress has so far been made." If the task is difficult or complex, why should it not be handled with redoubled energy?

Improvement and specialization of varieties of maize have been successfully achieved in the United States of America, and work on similar lines may be undertaken in India. It is largely a work of botanists, having a thorough knowledge of the principles of Plant breeding. Dr Hugo De Vries, who recently brought this subject into prominence, has very clearly indicated the lines on which a work of this nature may be carried on. In the selection of varieties of rice, the nutritive value must always be taken into consideration. Unlike wheat, rice is not subject to any dire fungoid disease. Insects however do enormous damage to the rice crop every year.

There are hundreds of varieties of rice, each having a special character. These characters must be studied and the desired combination may be effected by cross fertilization. Varieties only useful for starch must be isolated, as in the case of maize in America. Higher nutritive value, productivity and fineness are the important characters, in the selection of varieties for human consumption.

In many parts of India, cultivation of rice stands in direct need of improvement. Transplanting of seedlings is more economical than broadcast casting of seed as considerable amount of seed is saved. Mr Clouston's work in Central Provinces has effected considerable improvement in this respect. Rice being an aquatic plant, the use of chemical manures will always remain limited, as there is the danger of the manure being altogether washed away. In Bombay perhaps, experiments on rice were undertaken long before. One of the objects of these experiments is to find a substitute for rab burning, which is considered very essential by cultivators preparing the seed bed. But the practice

is a nuisance to the adjoining forests, 'be cause cultivators collect leaves and small branches of forest trees for rab burning. Experiments, in this connection have revealed many facts which were not understood before. Rab burning is useful in three ways: (1) it acts as a manure, (2) it liberates plant and improves the physical properties of the seed bed, (3) it kills harmful organisms in the soil. This particular case has been given here simply to show that agricultural practices in India cannot be discarded as useless and based on traditions.

Green manuring perhaps will be of more use in the case of rice, in parts of Madras, Dhencha or wild indigo has come to be used as a green manure and in part of Bombay 'sann' has been found to be considerably useful as a green manure for rice.

JUTE, INDIGO AND OTHER CROPS

Up to the discovery of synthetic Indigo, natural indigo had a very important place in the exports of India. But in 1897 the artificial product gave a rude shock to the indigo cultivation in India, and the area under this crop has been gradually declining. In India, Bihar occupies the foremost place, in Indigo cultivation. In Madras, it has greatly declined, while in Bombay, the area under indigo is negligible. In Bihar, most of the planters are Europeans, and up to date methods are employed in the manufacture of the dye stuff. In 1908 one of the planters visited Java, and brought with him the seed of the variety grown there. This variety which came to be known as Java indigo proved a success in Bihar and the area under the crop rapidly increased. Later on, however, the crop was attacked by an insect pest, and the plants also did not flourish well, owing to defective physical condition of the soil. Both these difficulties have now been removed, and the work of selecting better types is going on at Pusa.

Indigo is a leguminous plant, and the nodules on the roots contain bacteria which assimilate free nitrogen of the atmosphere. In order to supply the required air, inter culture is necessary, and water logging is extremely harmful. The amount of indican or colouring matter in the leaves, depends on the development of bacteria in the root nodules. In this connection, it would be interesting to try inoculation of soils, deficient in bacteria.

We do not know, if it has been tried at Pusa, but the experiment is worth the attention of those engaged in research work. With all the desired improvements both in the cultivation and manufacture of indigo, it is a question, whether natural indigo will ever regain its former position.

JUTE

Of recent years, Jute, the principal fibre crop of Bengal and Assam, has attracted considerable attention, as it has become a menace to the rice crop, the average area under crop being about three million acres. Jute is exported to the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and the United States of America to the value of about thirty crores of rupees. There are jute mills at Calcutta, where gunny cloth is manufactured. Last year, these mills cleared more than seven crores as net profit! In the United Kingdom, Dundee is the chief place of jute manufacture. The increasing number of mills at Calcutta has greatly diminished the importance of Dundee. The jute industry in Calcutta is entirely in the hands of European merchants.

Scientific work on Jute dates from the appointment of Mr. Finlow as fibre expert in 1904. In 1905 Mr. Finlow toured throughout India, and he found that jute could be grown, in Burma, N. Bihar and Assam. Since 1905, the work of selection of jute varieties has been going on and better types have been separated.

Manurial experiments have shown that cow-dung is the best manure for jute. Oil cakes and green manure are also advantageous. Government have come to know the danger of any rise in the cultivation of jute in Bengal, and attempts are being made to obtain increased yield of jute. From 1872 to 1913, the area under jute has been trebled, and if this goes on at the same rate, the people of Bengal will have to depend for food grain on Burma. This is not at all desirable and Government should not fail to take timely measures to put a stop to the increase in area.

There are various other kinds of fibre plants in India, but none perhaps is of any considerable importance. Sann (*Crotalaria juncea*) and Ambadi (*Hibiscus cannabinus*) are fibre crops grown in Bombay and Madras. Sisal hemp is another fibre plant, growing in places of

moderate rainfall. In the Deccan it is extensively grown as a hedge plant. It however deserves better treatment, and if waste lands are planted with sisal hemp, the money invested would be returned with profits.

INSECT PESTS AND DISEASES

These are very common throughout India. Mr. Lefroy the first Imperial Entomologist at Pusa, has done much spade work. He has laid down the lines on which future workers should do their work. Life histories and habits of insects must first be studied, without a knowledge of which it is impossible to suggest remedies or preventive measures. Valuable work has been done during the last fifteen years in this respect. It has been demonstrated to cultivators that insect pests can be prevented or destroyed, and they are not the scourge of Heaven, sent for the destruction of crops, and consequently beyond control.

It has been estimated that damage, amounting to nearly fifty crores of rupees, is done every year by insect pests. This at once shows the gravity of the work, the magnitude and complexity of the works, however, are proportionately greater. It requires years of patient work, and careful study, to bring about tangible results.

Diseases. Enormous damage is done to crops every year by different kinds of Fungoid and Bacterial diseases. Red rot of sugarcane, Rust of wheat, Smut of Jwar, and Tikka disease of groundnut are examples of diseases, causing considerable damage to the crops, they attack. Some of these diseases are such, that they cannot be detected before they have finished their work. In such cases, preventive measures are more useful. Smut of Jwar can be best prevented by steeping the seed in a solution of copper sulphate. In the case of groundnut, disease resisting varieties have been introduced, and the cultivation has rapidly revived. The work of the mycologist has thus been of immense practical use to cultivators.

With regard to the remedial measures, it must be remembered that they must be adopted on the whole of the affected area, otherwise, they would not be successful. The difficulty is enhanced in a country like India, where the majority of holdings are small, and farmers are not acquainted

with modern scientific methods of treatment. The farmer must clearly understand that he would not only himself suffer loss, if he remained inactive, and did not use remedial measures in time, but he would also be inflicting injury on his neighbours' crops, by allowing his own farm to be a breeding place of insect pests and diseases. Lectures accompanied by demonstrations

are of more practical use, than issuing printed leaflets, which he does not understand on account of his illiteracy.

This then is a brief review, so far as merely the crops are concerned, of what has been done, and what yet remains to be done. In the next part of the article it is proposed to deal with the educational side of Agricultural Improvement.

WILLIAM ARCHER'S "INDIA AND THE FUTURE"

BY LAJPAT RAI

I

HINDUISM is a vast sea of beliefs and doctrines, customs and manners which have been developing growing and accumulating in the course of millenniums. Hinduism existed when there was no civilization in Europe long before the dawn of history. It flourished when Greece and Rome were at the zenith of their glory. It is alive now and hopes to thrive and live in the future. It is not a religion but a system. It is not a creed but a mode of thought. It allows an amount of individual freedom in thought the like of which is not known to any other religious system of the world. It gives absolute freedom of worship to every individual according to his own taste, belief and development. Its moral standards are extraordinarily elastic. Its ethical code is suited to the social and intellectual evolution of the various groups for which its provisions are meant. Its laws, rules and commands are not of universal application, nor do they stand good for all eternity. Hinduism is extraordinarily flexible, changing, adaptive and progressive. It has sustained a population of hundreds of millions for a period of thousands of years and is not known to have borrowed a single idea or article of faith from the outside. Up till the 5th century B.C., it reigned supreme through the length and breadth of India and even in some countries beyond its borders. About that time it gave birth to another system of thought, since known as Buddhism, which overflowed its boundaries and influenced practically the whole of Asia East, West, North and South.

Up to the rise of Buddhism, Hinduism believed only in ideas and not in the names of the personalities who gave out these ideas. Its culture was more impersonal than personal. Hence the fact, that posterity does not know the names of those who composed the Vedas and the Upanishads, or of those who founded the different schools of Hindu philosophy.

Buddhism was and is a child of Hinduism. Outside of India it has existed as an independent system of thought and life. It was the first missionary religion of the world and has survived the rise of the other missionary religions born since. Many of the modern religious and social practices of the Hindus bear the mark of Buddhist thought but as

a definite creed it disappeared from India more than a thousand years ago.

It is generally admitted by scholars that Hinduism has not borrowed anything worth mentioning from the outside, yet the Hindus developed a literature and a system of thought which contain within their bosom some of the best, the most elevating, the most uplifting and the most invigorating ideas known to the world. Many a scientific truth rediscovered by Europe within the last 500 years was known to the early Hindus. They were the first to develop a system of medicine, a system of notation and many more things, upon which the great edifice of modern civilization has been constructed. They were early to discover that the earth moved round the sun and was not flat.

Hindu literature is as vast extensive and indeterminate as Hinduism itself. Speaking historically, it is a growth of at least 5000 years, it not more. Within this period there was not a day perhaps when something was not composed. These 5000 years of the life of Hinduism may be divided into three periods that of growth, stagnation and decay. It is rather difficult to say that it was ever stagnant. From the period of growth and progress it started at once to decay. By decay we mean comparative decay in vigour of thought and ideas, certain degeneracy of conception and a vast corruption of practice. The last period is a curious mixture of soundness and unsoundness. Alongside of the most fanciful mythology the most absurd and seemingly ridiculous stories of the origin and progress of the world, the most pernicious and sometime even revolting practices in religion, flourished the most elevating and uplifting ideas and the purest and noblest conceptions of life both here and hereafter. Thus in course of time, Hinduism has come to be a sea of varying and sometimes conflicting beliefs and customs and practices. Yet it has managed to maintain its loquacious and purity, without diminution or abbreviation. In this apparent conflict, and chaos however, there is a certain unity of idealism and also a certain uniformity of practice which distinguishes it from other religious systems of the world. The period of decay has now ended and Hinduism is once more on the upward course. A new life has sprung up, new blood is coursing in its veins. The old dried up bones are being re-invigorated and strengthened. The whole

country is alive with vigorous thought and the country is ringing with cries of revival, reform and reconstruction.

As with Hinduism, so with Hindu Literature. During the course of centuries, Indian literature has undergone a curious process of accumulation. Some of the best products of the period of growth and progress have been polluted by subsequent additions and interpolations. This is particularly true of the Epics and the Codes. The Mahabharata, which now contains over 100,000 lines is believed to have originally consisted only of 10,000 lines. The Ramayana also, has been tampered with, though not to that extent. The latest recensions of the Epics are placed somewhere in the first ten centuries of the Christian era, when Hinduism was fast treading the path of decline. The same may be said of the Code of Manu, the latest edition of which is said to have been compiled in about 200 A.D. Yet there is hardly anything in Hindu literature, and Hindu mythology, which does not find some kind of parallel in the literature and mythology of other nations of the world—we mean nations which count.

The Hindu Community, too, is the one community of its size in the world, living in one country under one denominational nomenclature. It includes within its ranks men and women in all stages of intellectual and social evolution, from the most primitive to the most modern in their mental and moral equipment.

Under the circumstances it is no wonder that a foreign student can find anything he is looking for to praise or damn India and its civilization, in Indian literature and Indian life. It all depends on the point of view, with which he starts, or on the first impressions his mind receives. It is thus understandable why India—a study of Indian literature and Indian conditions—leaves such entirely different, sometimes diametrically opposing impressions on the minds of different foreign students. A critic has ample, more than ample, material from which to select, to prove that India is a "barbarous" country, unfit to associate with the "civilised" countries of the world on terms of equality. The proselytizing missionary and the superior Imperialist, both find enough evidence to base their condemnation of Hindu religion and Hindu life. They pick up what suits their respective theses. Even a rationalist and a scientific enquirer finds plenty which is "revolting" to his sense of "propriety, decency and right." While condemning and criticizing India, these critics ignore, rather forget for a moment, the history of the rest of the world, and the literatures of other nations. They judge India by absolutely modern standards and finding a good deal there, which is below the highest and the best of these standards, they pronounce an unfavorable verdict and think they have destroyed a hydra-headed monster. If India were politically free, and economically self regulated, such a condemnation, however wholesale or sweeping, would not matter much. In fact the chances are that it would not be indulged too often, for fear of "hurting the susceptibilities of a powerful community".

But as it is, India is neither politically free, nor economically self regulated, and most of this fault finding and dissection of Indian thought, Indian life and Indian literature has an ulterior motive behind it. This motive may be conscious or unconscious, but so long as such critics must insist on India being politically and economically controlled from without, by men of their own race and blood, the Indian patriot must be excused, if he cannot help seeing a political and economic motive behind such

criticism. Nor does it improve the situation, that a critic of this kind should see the wisdom of admitting that British rule in India cannot last forever. No human institution can. An admission of such an obvious fact can hardly be called evidence of open-mindedness. Remember *British Connection* and *British Rule* are not one and the same thing.

It is quite in keeping with human nature that one should presume the superiority of one's own people, see the mote in the other man's eye quite concernedly while ignoring the beam in his own. Humility is a peculiar weakness of the East, it finds no worshippers in the West, except when the West wants to impose it on others. The westerners believe in boosting as an essential factor for the psychology of success. This is a commercial age and boosting pays. Boosting of one's own goods involves the running down of the rivals in the market. No two things could be "the best in the world", an expression very common in commercial advertisements. Boosting is by no means confined to the domain of commerce. It is an extremely useful weapon in the region of politics too. It stimulates effort to keep what one has and supplies fresh momentum to get more. An Imperialist's psychology is greatly helped by a belief in his people's superiority and in the inferiority of those whom it is intended to dominate and exploit. It strengthens the former, and weakens the latter. It is necessary to constantly repeat it, and to harp on it to maintain that degree of efficiency which is essential for its continued success and so we find that all Imperial and masterful people have since the beginning of the world posed as saviours of their victims, "the chosen of the gods," the possessors of a superior morale and culture as compared with those whom they wanted to rule and exploit. Their right to govern, they think, has been guaranteed by the gods. Secondly, a constant repetition of their superiority, skillfully and adroitly done, hypnotises the victims into a belief of their own inferiority and 'barbarism', and gradually wins them over to the side of willing obedience and quiescent submission. A conqueror is always a better man than the conquered, at least in his own estimation. It is to his interest to produce the same belief in the conquered people. The Aryan conquerors of India called the succent inhabitants of the country 'barbarians', the Moslems in their turn, called the Hindus 'barbarians', and the British in their turn have called both by the same name. The Romans called their subjects barbarians; and so did the Greeks and the Persians. Even Chinggis Khan the Mongol, and Tamerlane the Turk, claimed to be more civilized than the Hindus, the Persians and the Europeans whom they conquered and reduced to the position of subjects. The Germans of to-day are doing exactly the same thing. They believe their 'Kultur' to be the best in the world, and that by enforcing it at the point of the bayonet, and by bringing the world under their subjection they would be conferring a boon on the latter. The truth is, that the very fact of "subjection" is proof presumptive of the inferiority of the subject race, and as long as the latter remains convinced of its inferiority, they must continue in subjection. It is the business of the master to foster that belief both in himself as well as in the other. That is the way of Imperialism.

Mr William Archer, the author of the book under review, is not an Imperialist, though he is awfully shy of being considered a Little Englander, and is anxious to establish that negation by constant

reiteration "I am no little Englander," says he in protest (p. 19) "on the contrary, I regard the British Empire as one of the greatest, and possibly one of the most beneficent facts of history." The italics are mine. Ever since the dawn of history, imperialists, all the world over, have been using identical language. It is a necessary part of their make up. But Mr. Archer is not an Imperialist, because with his keen intelligence and acute mind, he feels that "the time is ripe for the open recognition and promulgation of a greater view of England's duty and opportunity in India" and that "the brutally contemptuous attitude of the West to East" has had its day. "Bad manners are no longer (Italics mine) good form," (thereby clearly implying that once they were) and "racial superiority, if it exists at all, is not to be demonstrated by bluster and swagger." The curious thing is that Mr. Archer should believe that a mere recognition, however 'explicit', that England's rule in India cannot last forever and is only "a means, not an end" furnishes him a complete justification for a display of that very same "bluster and swagger" and "bad manners," which he condemns in others.

In his Prologue, Mr. Archer justified his effort, which he calls an "addition to the mountainous mass of Anglo Indian literature" by the fact, that "he had something to say which has not" to his knowledge, "been fully, explicitly and dispassionately said before." Comparing his work with that of his predecessors he wants his readers to understand that "others have spoken with a passionate partisanship, or with a querulous pessimism, which has lessened the weight of their words," while he sees no reason either for "pessimism" or for "invective." Now this is only another illustration of the European habit of 'boosting' or self complacency. There is very little in this book, which has not been said before, by other writers, not even his much vaunted discovery, that British rule in India cannot last forever and is only a means to an end. Yet, there is hardly any other book, written by any Anglo Indian of scholarly reputation, (we are not speaking of super rabid writers) who has displayed such "passionate partisanship" and who has made such a free use of superlative "invective" in criticising everything Hindu—their religion, their social life, their culture, their literature and their art, as Mr. Archer has, in this work. The book bristles with invective, exaggerations, misinterpretations, omissions and special pleading. There is also a good deal in it, which is truly just, and to the point, the value of which, for constructive purpose, has

situation." A critic of that calibre can hardly be considered reliable, because even the worst enemies of India do not deny her a civilisation in the past. Mr. Archer has to admit that in certain places, but these half hearted, forced admissions exasperate him all the more to the use of strong language. At times he feels that "the tokens of barbarism in manners and religion, on which" he has "been dwelling are indeed superficial" (italics mine, mark the force of the word indeed), but his disgust at the social degeneracy of the Hindus is so strong that he is not prepared to withdraw or soften his judgment as to India never having had any civilisation at all. "There never was a great civilisation in India," says he, "but there must have been in the epic ages a splendid barbarism. In the course of hapless centuries, it sank into the Hinduism we see to day." "Splendid barbarism," as plentifully proved by the present war and its orgies, by excesses resulting from physical and intellectual intoxication, is perhaps, the very expression which an equally critical Asiatic might, more justly, apply to the civilization of Europe, but then, we shall have to confess that the world has not yet developed beyond the stage of this "splendid barbarism." Mr. Archer is fully conscious of this fact, because he practically admits this in his Prologue (p. 6). He knows very well that "the struggling out of the age of faith into the age of knowledge" is a very, very recent phenomenon and that signs are not wanting which do not remove it from the range of possibility, that before Europe finally emerges out of this struggle, it may have a fearful relapse into real barbarism compared with which the "barbarism" of India may be civilization itself. No one deplores more than the educated Indian the "secular stagnation" of India but it should not be forgotten that during the period the world of Europe has been carrying on its struggle towards "secular" progress, India has been under the iron heel of a foreign bureaucracy who laid down for it the pace of progress according to the exigencies of their rule. Even now, there are parts of Europe and of America, whose "barbarism" is neither "splendid" nor "picturesque" nor even "venerable". The whole thing turns upon one's idea of civilization, There are phases of European 'civilization' which no Indian would wish for his country. One comes across them in the most civilized cities of Europe and America, in the saloons of London, Paris, Berlin, New York, in the Ghettos of Italy, Greece and Russia and in the packing houses of Chicago.

Mr. Archer's book may be divided into two parts (a) which deals with those aspects of Hindu religion

extolling religious education of the most reactionary kind, which in their judgment imposes upon their believers the duty of implicit obedience to the king and the priest. The "secular stagnation" of India is partly due to her Government. While Brahmins advocating political reforms have been denounced, Brahmins and priests advocating 'secular stagnation' have been lauded and exalted. Caste rivalries in secular life have been set up, encouraged and stabilised. I, for one, would have welcomed Mr Archer's monoclasic condemnation of popular Hinduism, and of the caste system, but for the orgies of exaggeration and partisanship into which he has descended. For some time past I have been deploring the tendency of indiscriminate glorification of the past of India to which some though only a very few, educated Indians were falling a prey in imitation of their western brothers. Mr Archer's criticism would have been really helpful and useful in curing these Indians of this habit if he had only used sober language and been even tolerably moderate and fair in his selections of the things attacked. As the book stands, however, it is likely to be dis-

missed as the 'latest exhibition of that "swagger and bluster" which the writers of the West have been persistently showing towards the East and to which the East has become quite accustomed. In the political portion of the book Mr Archer is fairly accurate and impartial when he deals with facts, but he is hopelessly wrong when he comes to the defence of British policy, in answer to the criticisms of the Indian Nationalists. The latter portion is only a reproduction of the usual Anglo-Indian special pleading which one may better read in the books of the actors themselves. The air of impartiality which Mr Archer assumes deceives nobody. In fact as one proceeds with the reading of the book one gets more and more suspicious that the object of this book is not reform, but that the whole stage was set for a particular purpose and that that purpose was to prejudice the Indian claim for immediate autonomy. The book was written before the war had broken out, but it was published just when the Indian claim for Home Rule began to come into prominence. This may be purely accidental, but it is significant.

COORG, A CENTURY AGO

TO students of Indian History the administrative methods of Indian rulers have an absorbing interest, as the views of the East about some of them have peculiarities which are in many respects in marked contrast to those of the West. Some functions of social life (hospitality, for instance,) which in the West are considered to be generally beyond the sphere of government control and others which are considered to be the peculiar domain of Trades Unions and guilds, such as fixing of prices of goods, are in India enforced by Royal command.

The orders or *hukumnamahs*,* as they are called, issued in the year 1811 from the Dewan Kutcheri of Linga Raja Wodayar, Raja of Coorg, are in these respects interesting as illustrating the principles of government which are essentially Indian. These *hukums* are also instructive in respect of the internal condition of Coorg a century ago. But in view of the generally formed estimate of the character of this Raja, these *hukums* assume an extraordinary value in defending him. In Richter's Coorg Manual this Raja is described as "having all the traditional caprice and

inhumanity of an oriental ruler, maiming and murdering his dependents without remorse and without control." Writing in 1817, Lieutenant Connor considered "his abilities not above mediocrity" and was inclined to think, he took little active part in the administration of the State. A German missionary, Dr Moggling, has described him as having "a greediness after gold, no matter how obtained, and a bottomless depth of cunning."

A reader of these *hukums* will be puzzled to reconcile the account of the Raja's character as given by the above authorities with the tender solicitude and paternal care displayed in every one of the *hukums* issued by him.

Born in 1775, he succeeded Virarajendra the Great in 1810 under rather peculiar circumstances. On the death of Virarajendra, the kingdom devolved by will to his daughter Devammaji. Rule by a woman being, however, a departure from the usual custom, was unwelcome to the people and the Rani voluntarily abdicated her throne in favour of Lingaraja, the last but one Raja of Coorg.

The opening years of the Raja's reign seem to have been devoted to the preparation of a system of "sist" or all land was

* *Hukumnamahs* of Lingarajendra Wodayar, Raja of Coorg Translated by A. T. Curgenven, 2 sc., 1 c.s.

and classified and their assessment fixed. That landowners still trace their possession to these "sist pattas" is a tribute to the thoroughness with which the work was done. This in itself would have been sufficient to credit the ruler with an anxiety to be just to all his subjects. It was in his reign, too, that the palace in the fort at Mercara, now used for Government offices, and the splendid Temple dedicated to Vonkara Iswara, were finished. It might incidentally be mentioned that in the construction of the latter, iron bars and mortar are used, a precursor to the modern ferro concrete.

These *hukums* then have their origin in this period when the Rajah was endeavouring to systematise his government. The *hukums* are 53 in all, dealing with various administrative matters and though addressed actually to the Parpathigar* of Bettictnad are in fact circular orders for the guidance of the officers of the District. The first *hukum*, for instance, issued on the 1st day of the bright half of Chaitra, Prayotpatya year (4913 *Kali yuga*), corresponding to 25th March 1811, is addressed to the Parpathigars, Shan bogs, Potails, Takkas† and the people of Bettictnad. Though the *hukums* follow no methodical plan, they can for our purpose be treated conveniently under 4 or 5 different heads.

Being essentially an agricultural country, the problem of agricultural prosperity and the allied one of assessment are by far the most important. We will therefore deal first with *hukums* treating of these subjects.

The most noticeable and gratifying feature about them is that the State seemed to take a very real and lively interest in the welfare of the ryot and in every way tried to encourage cultivation. The new settler was helped with loan of cattle and paddy from the palace farms in addition to the land he required. The paddy and cattle were to be returned when he was able to stand on his own legs (11)‡. To tide over times of difficulty he could borrow from the palace either grain or money at the remarkably low rate of 1

per cent per annum (12). Among the duties of the potail one was that he was required to see that the lands of any ryot, who unfortunately fell sick in the cultivation season, were ploughed by his neighbours (26), a very salutary provision in such a malarial country as Coorg. The potail was also required to encourage the ryots to cultivate various pulses, vegetables, etc., in the gardens adjoining their houses and on every Monday in the cultivation season was required to inspect the village and rebuke any ryot who, instead of working, was idling away his time. Once a fortnight a report was to be submitted to the parpathigar about the progress of cultivation in his nad (26). Liberal provision for the remission of taxation was made in the case of lands newly brought under cultivation.

Lands brought under cultivation for the first time had full remission for 8 years and $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ full revenue was to be collected after the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th years respectively. If however it had been once cultivated but lying fallow for the past 50 years or if it had been low lying timber clad waste, full assessment was paid after the 8th year and $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ assessment was to be paid in the 6th and 7th years respectively. The ryot had to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ and full assessment after the 5th, 6th and 7th years in the case of one cultivated land lying fallow for only 25 to 50 years (11). Under certain conditions the ryot could give up a portion of the holding which he found too large for him (13 and 45).

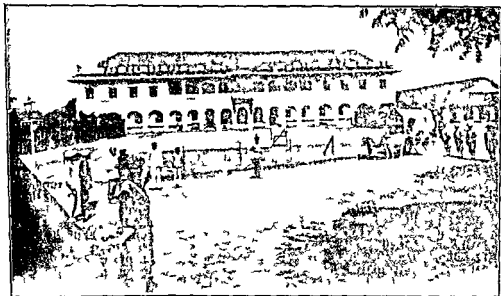
The assessment was calculated in 4 instalments in the months of *Magha*, *Phalgun*/*Chaitra* and *Vaisakha* (14) and not in other months, as "in other months the ryots will have to reap the grain and the palace dues will not be collected." There was, it would seem, no system of coin currency of the State and either grain or coins of any description could be accepted in payment of the land tax, the State specifying from time to time the rates of exchange at which different coins were to be received (4). If paddy was given it was to be stored agreeably to the instructions laid down in the 5th and 6th *hukums*.

The land assessment seems to have been very low and indeed, Connor mentions "the extreme lightness of the land tax." The absence of indication, moreover,

* The officer in charge of a nad and an administrative Division.

† Headman.

‡ The figures with n brackets refer to the number of the *hukum*.



Mercara Fort Palace

about the difficulty of collecting it seems to confirm the statement

Intimately connected with assessment is the question of land tenure. The basis of tenure at the time was evidently feudal. The officers of the Government were paid in kind and land was given on *jama* right where in return for services to be rendered such as following the chase with knife and gun discharging police duties etc. a favourable rate of assessment was charged. Lands which were not held in service tenure were called *Sagu* lands and had to pay in consequence double the above rates. For extraordinary and meritorious service rendered to the State there was the *Umbli* rate i.e. specially light assessment. Mention is made in the 35th *hukum* of certain persons who on account of their services were allowed to pay the tax on their land at *Umbli* rate. In return for these privileges one man out of three from those households had to render service in the Palace for a fortnight and to return home he being supplied with food and raiment at the Palace expense during the period he worked. It is however incorrect to say that no service was demanded of the *Sagu* ryot. A certain amount of service was probably expected of him though not to such an extent as

was required of the *Jama* ryot since we find from the 46th *hukum* that such *sagu* ryot could by paying 3 *Varahas* instead of the usual 2½ for assessment exempt himself from all services. We have observed already that a light assessment was fixed in the case of the *Jama* ryot and a lighter one for special meritorious service. It remains to observe that in the case of traitors a penal assessment of Rs 12 per 100 *batties* of land was levied (52).

The land tax was reduced to ⅔ of the produce as against ¾ sanctioned in the *Shastras* says the 3rd *hukum*. In the *Dharmashastras* appertaining to *Rajas* it is written that by this shall the policy of a *raja* be governed of the crop harvested—¾ shall be the share of the palace while ⅛ shall remain with the cultivator. Now guided by divine wisdom and desiring that our people may live in happiness and ever pray for our welfare renown and prosperity we take one tenth and leave nine tenths to the cultivator (Italics are ours). The usual or *sagu* rates was 2½ *varahas* (Rs 10) for 100 *batties* of land or about 10 Rs for 3 acres. The normal *jama* rate was Rs 5 for 100 *batties* of paddy land while Rs 3 2½ and 1 were the special *umbli* rate for the same extent of land.

Besides the land tax there was also a

kind of profession and house tax varying from 0.48 to about 1 Re for different professions and certain dues on account of marriage childbirth, attaining puberty, funeral ceremonies and other religious functions ranging from 0.48 to 0.94. Lastly in connection with the Huttani festival held when the harvest is gathered, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ and 1 pata maund (50 tolas) of ghee was to be delivered by ryots cultivating 25 50 75 and 100 batties of land. At the same time $\frac{3}{4}$ batty of paddy was to be taken from owners cultivating 25-50 batties and $1\frac{1}{2}$ batties from those cultivating over that. These taxes were originally of an eleemosynary character, being voluntarily presented to the *Haleri Jangama* (a priest) who ultimately became king of the land and imposed it as a tax.

We will now briefly review, as being next in importance, the *hukums* dealing with the procedure and administration of justice. These *hukums* do not mention the higher branches of judicial administration probably because these were beyond the powers of the Parpathigar, who was empowered only to try minor offences, the major ones being sent to the Dewan Kutcheri and in the last resort to the king in person. But what does refer to this subject, however, is extremely interesting. Evidently there were 4 courts, those of the Potail, Takka, Sime Amila and Dewan Kutcheri, each of which could entertain only a certain class of cases. What they were is not mentioned. It is evident on the other hand that these courts could interfere in cases which are generally outside the pale of civil and criminal courts as we have it at present. "Whoever goes to the village potail with an account of his troubles of other matters shall be heard *privately and with sympathy*" (italics are ours) says the 20th *hukum*. "If trifling it must be redressed and he must be sent home with his mind set at peace." If it be beyond his powers he must be referred to the proper courts.

The method of trial was by jury. "Four men of good sense and repute (two on either side) shall be sought whose award will be marked by equity and truth." The *panchayatdars* were to give their finding after hearing the evidence before "one in authority." Provision was made to meet cases in which the parties demurred to the finding. "In such cases the reason for dissent shall be demanded before the

arbitrators, whose decision, if it appear just, shall prevail." If it appears partial, the matter was to be submitted to the Dewan Kutcheri.

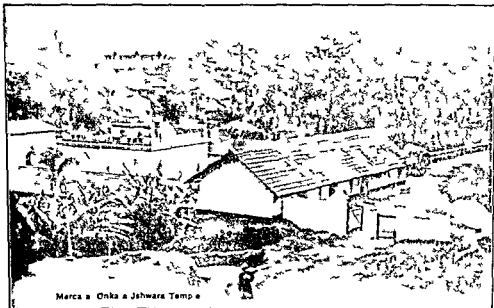
Next follow some directions as to the way the trial was to proceed. The parties whether rich or poor, were not to sit during the deliberations of the Panchayat. At its conclusion, the successful suitor was to take his seat as became his rank. But he whose case was lost "shall not sit in the assembly—and if of mean condition shall stand apart."

The arbitrators were not usually paid. But in cases as the recovery of gold, silver or money pawned "as the time of the arbitrators is taken from the palace and devoted to plaintiff," the latter was required to give 10 parts out of 100 of the property recovered. Of these 5 parts were to go to the palace and out of the remaining 4 were for the arbitrators and one to the person presiding over them.

The punishments to be inflicted for certain minor offences is given and seem curious. For abuse it was to be returned doubly by the adversary if successful, for assault double the beating administered by the person beaten. The offender in a case of criminal misappropriation was fined $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the value of the misappropriated article. The value of the article was given to the complainant, the other half being credited to the Palace (20). Five slaps on either cheek were considered sufficient punishment for brawling and breach of the peace (16).

The only other *hukums* dealing with the subject are the 39th, 51st and 47th. The first concerns itself with the guardianship of minors. They were to be the nearest kinsmen of the minor or in default the Potail. What remains of the property after deducting the cost of management was to be given to the minor on his attaining majority (39). The second lays down the principles for the extradition of offenders. The rule was that offenders from neighbouring states found in Coorg were to be exchanged for a corresponding number of fugitive offenders from Coorg (51). The last one treats of the policing and guarding of frontiers.

The third group or classification of these *hukums* may fitly be called "Rules for the guidance of public servants and officers," inasmuch as they prescribe the attitude of Government officers towards



Mercara Onkara Jashwara Temple

Onkara Jashwara Temple Mercara

subjects and are interesting in the extreme. Says the 2nd order: Remember the commands set forth in these *bukumnamas*. Collect the palace dues with discretion and diligence which is rightly due. Oppress not the people; it warns or collect more thinking to gain the favour of your protector. By such collection the treasury is not filled. It goes on. Many and varied are the ways of the people. Do you who wear the badge of power guide them in the ways of virtue and cherish them as a mother its child and ends with a solemn warning: whoso disobeys these commands will endure misery both in this and the next world. So say the *Dharmashastras*. The remaining *hukums* which deal more or less with office routine are not so important. The first *hukum* deals with the hours of work to be observed in the nad kutcheri; the 21st the registration of all *Uttaras* and *Viruqas* issued from the palace; the 18th with the necessity of speedy despatch in official communications and the 31st with the forms of address to be used. In addition to the directions to the Shanbog and the Parpathigar to be found scattered in various other *hukums* the 40th and the 53rd *hukums* deal specifically with the duties of these two respon-

sible officers. The Shanbog was to act as the remembrancer of the Parpathigar and to record all matters coming to his knowledge. All other executive work was to be done by the Parpathigars of whom there were two each having 20 days duty and 10 days off duty every month. The treasury was to be kept open till 27½ *galges* (about 5 o'clock) after sunrise for the transaction of business after which it was to be closed and sealed. The 44th *hukum* insists on there being neither erasures nor corrections in the accounts to be submitted by the Parpathigar and Shanbog.

Many *hukums* about miscellaneous matters touching the welfare of the people next claim our attention. Of such nature is the 12th *hukum* dealing about loans to needy ryots which has been already referred to. For 10 *varahas* charge 1 *hana* (96-5), as interest for 150 *battis*, one *battu* of paddy; the rate of interest working out at one per cent. Food was to be given to any stranger if he scrupled not to eat it; otherwise food materials for a meal. Should such a person be sick let him be fed once or twice and tended, says the 42nd *hukum* for that is but ordinary courtesy. It is left to the pleasure

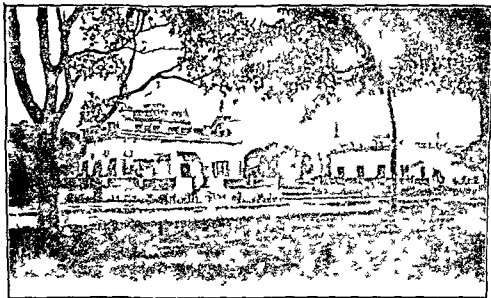
of the host to give or refuse more than this ' Europeans also were to be supplied with provisions at specified rates and bill for the same to be presented and cashed at the Palace treasury (48) The Potal and neighbours are warned against entering the house of a person who died leaving property but no heirs, lest, as the 10th *hukum* naively puts it, "they might remove his cash jewels and good cattle and substitute those of no value" But Parpathigar, the Shanbog, the Potal and the Takka were to enter together, make an inventory and enter the same in the Palace accounts New settlers in want of cattle might apply for such to the Palace The expenses of cremation and funeral of such persons were to be borne out of that money If, however, he died very poor the same were to be performed at public expense Directions are also given in the same *hukum* (49) for the disposal of dead bodies of lepers and pregnant women The State also introduced a system of uniform weights and measures (15) Sample specimens with the Royal seal were to be distributed to various *nads* and those without such seals were forbidden to be used Foreign traders were to sell their wares only in certain places near a lutcheri, as "it is not required that they shall paddle their wares from door to door throughout the *nad*" (34) we have already noticed the *hukums* directing help to be given to villagers handicapped by illness The State also, whenever there was surplus paddy in the Palace store, would order the distribution of the same to persons in straitened circumstances (6) The remaining *hukums* deal with subjects which range over a wide area, from the 38th fixing the minimum price of paddy, the 36th advising about the siege of elephant pits, the 50th offering rewards for the slaying of tigers, and the 9th for searching for absconders, to the 37th dealing with passports, the 23rd with the forms of marriage, 24th with *Jama* coolies and the 32nd with *pooja* in Siva temples

The remaining *hukums* concerning as they do the requirements of the Palace form a series by themselves We must observe in the first place that sandal wood, beca wax and cardamums were monopolies of the State The mode of cutting and the length of the logs of sandalwood trees are laid down in the 41st and the punishment for damage deli-

berately done to these trees in the 43rd *hukum* Directions are given in the 28th order regarding the mode of and the time for collecting honeycomb from trees standing on State land Wax from combs on trees on private land was to be sold to the Palace at the rate of Rs 8 and Rs 7 per maund for the refined and unrefined variety respectively (28) Cardamums collected in the forests leased by the State was also to be given to the Palace at certain specified rates (3) The 7th and 33rd *hukum* deal with the collection of certain minor forest produce How certain articles of home manufacture such as "mats, umbrellas, baskets, winnowing fans, sieves, etc.," were to be obtained is mentioned in the 27th *hukum* "12 mats and 12 umbrellas" were to be collected according to custom from each hut of the Pales,* inasmuch as the "house tax on them had been remitted last year" The other articles were to be made to order by Medas and Gourigas* on requisition from the palace These Pales, Medas and Gourigas were to be paid from the paddy in the palace stores according to prescribed scale

The remaining *hukums* deal with the cultivation of the palace lands These were lands set apart for the use of the Royal Household "From that household which owns 2 ploughs, 2 men and 2 women, 1 plough, 1 man and 1 woman are required to come and assist for 3 days in the cultivation of the palace lands" "Those who will help will be well fed and be given betel leaf and nut and the women oil for their body" "By exacting labour more than 3 days," says the 29th *hukum*, "the displeasure of the State is incurred. Nor should houses having only one plough, pregnant women, and those just delivered be asked to come To such the parpathigars shall themselves give assistance and if they harass them, they expose themselves to punishment" Apart from help in cultivating palace lands, a ryot had to give as many days' service to the Palace as he had ploughs (8) The parpathigars are ordered not to disobey this rule but "having regard to the number of the ploughs and men a ryot employs and other circumstances claim service accordingly" Prompt obedience to summons

* Different classes of Panchamas
† Basket weaving class



Rajah Tomb Mercara

for Royal occasions was required of all Those bearing arms on hearing the news directly or indirectly were required to hasten at any hour of the day or night passing word to neighbouring villages (19)

This concludes a brief survey of these *hukums* and one cannot but be struck with the fact that the author of these *hukums* could not have been a heartless and greedy tyrant The high purpose

and large degree of beneficence observable in several *hukums* are quite remarkable It is probable that these *hukums* were actually carried out in practice and they were responsible for the prosperity and contentment in the land At any rate they give us an insight into the attitude of the Ruler to the ruled and shows us that the government was paternal in its relations to the people

R S SANJIVA RAO

A NEW IMAGE AT BENARES

PASSING along an alley in the Mahalla called Hararbhag in the city of Benares I suddenly came across an image of unique interest situated at the foot of a Pipal tree (*Ficus Religiosa* Skt *asvattha*) and bearing marks of daily worship by the Hindus who passed by it every morning What presumably the original site of the image was there is now no means of ascertaining The singularly novel appearance of the image at once attracted my attention and led me to examine it very

closely What struck me at the first sight was the peculiar ty of the faces borne by the image So far as my knowledge of the Indian Museums goes I may almost venture to say that no such image as this has ever been collected in any museum in any part of India I hunted up several books on Indian Iconography* but none of them possessed any account or *Sadhana* which might at all apply to this image.

* Foucher Iconographie Bouddhique Gronwedels Buddhist Art in India Gronwedels Mythologie

remained subordinate to him and his famous son, Tippu Sultan.

When, however, Tippu's power was crippled, His Highness the then Rajah of Cochin concluded a treaty with the Honourable East India Company in 1791. The Rajah then agreed to become tributary to the Company for all his territories which were in the hands of Tippu and also to pay a subsidy of one lakh of rupees every year in return for the protection which the British Government promised against all outside invaders. In 1808 Pahlath Achan, the prime minister of the State, conspired against the life of the Resident and raised a revolt against the Paramount Power. The insurrection was

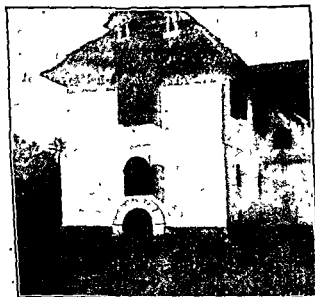
must be remembered that, according to the treaty of 1809, the advice of the Paramount Power tendered through the British Resident should be taken in all matters concerning problems of finance, increased taxation, revision of tariffs and the constitution of Civil and Criminal Courts of justice. In all other respects the authority of the Rajah is supreme and in purely internal affairs of administration there is no interference from the British Resident.

The Dewan is the responsible minister of the Rajah and the chief executive officer of the State. His appointment and removal are generally made after consultation with the Madras Government, though his nomination proceeds from His Highness. The Dewan alone has access to the Rajah and the British Resident, no other officer being allowed to correspond officially with them. An account of the administration of His Highness' Government is given annually in the form of an Administration Report for the benefit of the public and the information of the Madras Government.

There is no legislative assembly in the State for making laws and regulations. Whenever legislation is rendered necessary a draft bill is prepared and submitted by the Law Officer of the State. After the Dewan's scrutiny it is published in the State Gazette for public criticism and submitted to the Government of Madras for advice. If approved, it goes to His Highness the Rajah and on receiving his assent becomes law. Such enactments are called regulations.

The law of succession in this State is peculiar. The son does not succeed the father, for the matrilineal system of inheritance obtains in this State. A man's heirs are not his sons, but his sister's children and therefore in the Royal family of Cochin the eldest surviving male member succeeds to the vacant throne. The Rajah's wife and son have politically no recognized status. For instance, the Consort of the present Rajah is highly educated and intelligent and yet on State ceremonial occasions she cannot appear with His Highness. There are at present 90 Princes of Cochin who are in receipt of fixed monthly allowances.

The eldest female member of the Royal Family is known as the senior Rani. She owns extensive landed estates, and the



11 The Old Historic Palace where Cochin Rajas are even to-day crowned.

quickly put down, but a fresh treaty was concluded, according to which the Rajah agreed to pay a tribute of 2½ lakhs and not to correspond with any foreign power nor to admit any Europeans into his State without the sanction of the British Government. This treaty is still in force, except that in 1818 the annual subsidy was reduced to two lakhs.

The present ruler of the State is His Highness Sri Rama Varma who was born on the 6th October 1858. He is the fountain-head of all authority in the State.

The important officers of the State enjoy powers delegated by His Highness. It

income derived from these goes towards the maintenance of all the female members of the Royal Family and all children under 16 years of age. In addition to this income an allowance of Rs. 45,000 a year is given from the State treasury for the same purpose. Among the Princesses of Cochin hypergamy, or the system of "marrying up", prevails. There are at present 101 female members in His Highness the Rajah's family.

Cochin is very important economically. Her forests are a great asset. They contain teak, ebony, blackwood and other valuable trees. A forest tramway has been constructed to tap distant areas of virgin forest and to facilitate the export of timber. Saw and timber mills have been established in several places and the timber trade of the State is one of the most prosperous. Rubber plantations have recently come into prominence.

In those regions which adjoin the sea and the backwater, cocoanut-growing is the greatest industry. It supports a very

large population. The export of copra, the manufacture of yarn, ropes, rugs and mattings and the pressing of cocoanut oil have therefore taken the first place among the industries of Cochin.

The existence of a natural system of water communication has given Cochin a great advantage in point of internal trade. The whole west coast is a network of backwater and canals which afford splendid facilities for export and import purposes. The portion of the backwater in front of the public buildings at Ernakulam, the State capital, is a very safe anchorage for even large draught vessels. The late Lord Kitchener was struck with the vast possibilities of the Cochin harbour as a naval base in the East Indies. The great port of Cochin owes its rise to this cause alone. It is, therefore, no wonder that, small as the State is, it is economically one of the most important of Indian States.

P. K. RAMAN.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Problem of English versus the Vernaculars

In the course of a singularly well written article under the above caption contributed by Mr. K. H. Kelkar, in the April number of *Indian Education* (of Bombay) the writer observes:—

We are told that the Committee, appointed by Government in England to consider the teaching of modern languages, emphasised the necessity of a thorough grounding in English for the study of a modern language. This means that the study of a second language should not begin unless the knowledge of the first language is adequate. It is a well known fact that our pupils begin the study of English with a most inadequate knowledge of their own vernacular, although theoretically it is the first language. The question is, who is responsible for this inadequate grounding? It is alleged by the advocates of teaching through vernacular that this inadequate grounding is largely due to the medium of instruction in High Schools. It is true that the English language, on account of its being the medium of instruction, receives special attention at the hands of High School authorities. But this is no reason why the study of vernaculars should be neglected. The truth is that our educated society as a whole

did not care for the vernaculars. Some parents even went so far as to positively discourage the use of the mother tongue in their homes. I remember quite well how my father, who was a teacher himself, insisted upon my talking in English while at school. We were constantly encouraged by our teachers at school and elders at home to practise talking in English and to read extra English books. If a person pointed to the neglect of the vernacular, one replied 'It is our mother tongue and as such requires no special study'. It is only of late that we have begun to recognise the necessity of a thorough grounding in the vernacular. And it is very likely that this general social apathy influenced the High schools in the past. Thus it appears that the English language cannot be made wholly responsible for the evils attributed to it.

Now let us consider the effect of the proposed change on the study of English in our secondary schools. It does not require much reflection to see that the change in the medium of instruction will benefit our pupils in many ways. But it requires careful consideration to determine the extent of the evil which the proposed change will inflict upon the study of English. In our opinion if vernaculars become the medium of instruction, the study of English will seriously suffer, unless some judicious changes are introduced into both the syllabus and the time table. In this connection a reference to the re-

cently issued quinquennial report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces will be very instructive and interesting. Up to the year 1915-16 instruction in English began with III class and English was the medium of instruction in all the classes from VII to X. In 1915-16 vernacular became the medium of instruction in all classes from I to VIII. One Inspector reported that the change ought to be beneficial but he feared that the result might be detrimental to the study of English. Some head masters reported that many boys who had already learnt their subjects in the vernaculars found it impossible to learn them all over again in English in the time at their disposal. The Inspector of Benares division observes: "One can only hope that the improvement in the quality of education will be sufficiently marked so as to repay the additional burden imposed upon the teachers and to compensate for the inevitable falling off in the knowledge and familiarity with English. These extracts amply justify the fear that the study of English will suffer, if vernaculars become the medium of instruction. And as a result of this the English language will be reduced eventually to a subordinate position in the system of our education. There are some persons who will not mind this result while there are others who will welcome it. It becomes, therefore, absolutely necessary to determine the position of the English language in our system of education."

Before we do so let us first measure the social value which the English language enjoys at present. There was a time when society set such high value on the ability to talk and write English well that to be ignorant of it was considered a disgrace. Familiarity with the English language was necessary both for social and official distinction. And even to-day educated Indians use English freely in their intercourse with one another. For instance, the Mandala of Poona thought it better to issue its pamphlet in English! Then again the English language is preferred to vernaculars as a medium for discussion and deliberation, e.g. the deliberations of the National Congress are principally conducted in English. In short the English language is the medium of exchange in the intellectual market of educated India. This then is the inevitable given which must be taken into consideration in determining the position of the English language in our system of education. We cannot agree with those who preach ' militant nationalism which measures the value of English by the principle of sword and bannerism. These militant nationalists maintain that the standard of English in secondary schools need not be very high. It is enough, if students holding school leaving certificates are able to consult English text books and works of reference. This position however cannot be maintained without contradiction. Our lives to-day are influenced by the ideals of nationalism and self determination. This influence has been possible to us through our contact with western culture. This contact has been accessible to us through the study of the English language. Therefore again the presence of healthy optimism in our midst can be traced to the same source. The valuable influence of English education consists just in this that it has taught us to appreciate the grandeur of this life. It is true that our forefathers lived a life of lofty ideals in this world. But they were not interested in it. Our religious traditions have a decidedly anti-mundane influence. It is necessary to place special emphasis on this point in

view of the present reaction against the Indian leaders of the old school who attached such a great importance to everything English that they failed to recognise the defects and limitations of western culture. But the present reaction is equally one-sided in its tendency to belittle the influence of western culture. It is true that our literature, i.e., Sanskrit and Persian is full of lofty ideals. But it is impossible to revive them however strenuous our efforts may be. Western culture both for good and evil, has produced indelible impressions on our minds which cannot be effaced. And wisdom consists in arriving at a judicious compromise which will effect a happy synthesis between the eastern and western ideals. It is therefore necessary that every educated Indian should be able to appreciate both these cultures. This means that he must be familiar not only with his literature but with English literature as well. Under the present circumstances college education is not within the reach of many persons. A majority of us will have to be satisfied with secondary education. The standard of English in secondary schools therefore ought to be such as to create a taste in the pupil for English literature. Then again we must remember that no nation can afford to rely exclusively on its own store of knowledge. It must be in touch with the whole of the civilised world. And in the case of India this vital touch can only be maintained through the medium of the English language. Thus it is clear that it is of supreme national importance that English should occupy an important position in our system of education. If the point of view maintained in this article is sound the question of the ultimate disappearance of the English language is simply unthinkable.

Vernaculars in the Universities.

The new class in Vernaculars for the M.A. degree in connection with the University of Calcutta will be opened from July 15, next. The study of Vernaculars has not hitherto found a place in the curriculum for the degree of M.A., and this proposed innovation will be watched with considerable interest by the public. The object of this new class is to prepare M.A. candidates for examination in the following twelve Vernaculars: Bengali, Hindi, Guzerati, Oriya, Assamese, Marathi, Canarese, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, Maithili and Urdu. The text books for these various vernaculars, we are told, have already been compiled and the requisite staff of professors for lecturing in them have also been appointed. The presence in Calcutta of professors in these various vernaculars will, it is hoped, lead to useful philological, and antiquarian research which cannot fail to be of great interest. The Calcutta University has, thus, been the first in India to take a lead in giving a marked encouragement to the study of important vernaculars of all

parts of the country and we doubt not that other Indian universities will follow suit in adopting this new trait in higher education in this country. In this connection it gives us pleasure to make the following extracts from the April number of *The Mysore Economic Journal* being the substance of a conversation which Sir Rabin-dranath Tagore, P. Litt., had on "some educational questions" while he was at Bangalore in January last.

It is an imperative necessity that India of the present, and especially her universities should, adequately realise her ancient sense of equality which the narrowness of castes and creeds has during recent times almost stifled. This misfortune has to be partly traced to the exclusive cultivation of Sanskrit by the few. It is high time that the liberal walls were pulled down, and equal chances afforded to every one in the land to secure the benefit of the intellectual and spiritual legacy which India's children have jointly inherited. The great thoughts in her ancient Sanskrit literature if rightly understood and rightly interpreted, would be the most powerful antidote for the modern narrowness and exclusiveness which have contributed not a little to her sufferings. Sanskrit education should therefore be denied to none. It will help best to put into the hands of every one of India's sons and daughters a vernacular efficient for the acquisition of a higher culture common to all India.

Again, if it is agreed that universal or national education is not possible except through the vernaculars, it is absolutely necessary to make them fit instruments for this purpose. That they serve best as media for instructing children in the lower stages is readily acknowledged. Whether as the languages of the masses, mostly illiterate, they could express highly abstract, scientific, technical and literary ideas has been a matter of grave doubt. In fact, their inherent deficiency in this respect has been patent from time immemorial inasmuch as they have had to borrow words from Sanskrit to convey deeper and technical thoughts. And if from these tongues the Sanskrit element should be eliminated, there would be left in the great majority of them little to indicate real culture. If the vernaculars, therefore, are to respond to the need either of the higher and the university stages of study, or of modern public life in India, whatever gives these languages the capacity to form abstract, scientific and literary terms should be strengthened. In other words, without a reinforcement of the Sanskrit element the vernaculars can never fulfil the higher functions of Education.

If they are not to depend on Sanskrit, they must have European languages for assistance. Else, they will die of inanition in the modern struggle for existence. Which then is the more practicable and the easier of accomplishment—either to cut off the Sanskrit source and to open in their stead new European channels, or to retain the Sanskrit element, to develop it and to supplement it by borrowing not from the languages of Europe alone, but from those of all the world, whatever may be needed?

It is sometimes argued that Sanskrit is a 'Dead language, and that as such it can infuse no life into

the vernaculars or rather, its influence would be retrogressive, and would unfit the people for the modern struggle. But 'Dead' is an epithet which only means 'not current' and that in a particular form. The words of a language bring with them not merely sounds but also ideas. Who does not know that Sanskrit ideas imported by the Sanskrit words in the Vernacular are at the present moment influencing Indian life as deeply as the vernacular ones? And what is more, like the Greek and other classical literatures of Europe, the Sanskrit culture contains many thoughts of value to the end of time, thoughts to which men not only of India but of the entire world would recur again and again, thoughts that can never be old and therefore much less 'Dead' as applied to a language like Sanskrit signifies, therefore, neither uselessness nor lifelessness. And if the vernaculars are still living, it is because they still continue to draw upon the Sanskrit source of vitality.

The need for frequent translations from one Indian language to another, not only for their common enrichment but also for the development of mutual intellectual sympathy is increasingly felt. Is any argument, then, required to show that with the common Sanskrit element developed, it would be easier to achieve this object than with the common features of the vernaculars suppressed or whittled down to the least possible dimensions?

Again one of the serious problems demanding solution, in this country is that of a common popular tongue, at least for all non-Urdu population. And this hope will be nearer realization only if a knowledge of the common Sanskrit element be spread rapidly and wide and not by any other means yet known.

One of the first steps to be taken therefore in the matter of Indian Educational reform is to make the *Elements of Sanskrit* a *Compulsory* subject of study for every non-Urdu pupil whenever the advancement of the Indian vernacular is sought.

That a simultaneous study of two or three such languages entails undesirable strain upon the child is, to say the least, a thoughtless criticism. This argument would have some force if Sanskrit were a foreign tongue or if it were made a medium of instruction. At the present moment, in many parts of India, Sanskrit and the vernacular are actually being taught. In the past, the Lingayats of the south and the Jains, not to say anything of the Brahmmins, all over India, studied Sanskrit and a vernacular. Most Urdu speaking Mahomedans learn, even now, not only Urdu and sometimes the local vernacular, but also Persian or Arabic. And in Europe, America and Japan children learn, in most schools, more than two languages one of which is often a foreign tongue. And yet the complaint of a 'strain' has not till now been heard. There may be a few abnormal minds that find it difficult to study more languages than one. And even for normal minds, the acquisition of languages, late in life, is really a difficult task. But to the average child the learning of languages, especially allied ones such as Sanskrit and those Indian vernaculars that have borrowed largely from it can never be a strain. It is at bottom only a question of the method of teaching languages, at that stage. The book-method now so frequently employed is the very opposite of rational. At Foulpar not only Sanskrit but even English is taught without books

No practical educationist can contend that the study of Sanskrit at an early stage will fix the mind of average Indian children speaking the Indian vernaculars.

If the study of Sanskrit is dropped in our schools we cut ourselves off from our past completely and gradually westernize ourselves. And this would amount to our suicide.

The real advantage of the vernacular medium—It is true that those who graduate in the vernacular have comparatively more limited prospects in modern life than their brethren, who acquire knowledge through English. But the fact should not be ignored that those who take the vernacular path can gain more knowledge in the same time. In Germany for instance, the average boy of the High School stage knows more than his compeer in India. *The standard should, therefore, be raised when the vernacular medium is adopted.* And it will follow naturally that a vernacular graduate will command a higher market value than the English whose general standard of attainments would be lower, in spite of his special knowledge of English. The vernacular men ought, in the interests of every government to be preferred for public service. Men and women will then naturally seek in larger numbers the vernacular courses, which will rapidly increase its popularity.

The Nomads in India

In the April number of *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* published from Bangalore, Professor M. Rathnaswamy, of Madras, writes rather a long article under the above caption which is highly interesting and instructive at a time when India is again under invasion, albeit of no consequence, by a Moslem Power. We make the following extracts from it—

To understand the rule of the Mahomedans in India, a rule which extended roughly from 1000 to 1800 A.D., to understand their success and their failure their rise and their fall the character and value of the service which they rendered to the country they invaded and ruled for so long we must know first of all what kind of people these rulers of India were. What was the character and degree of their civilization and culture when they came into India? Were they savages or civilized? Were they an agricultural or a pastoral people? Were they a people driven by the Demon of progress or were they satisfied with the ideal of a moderate and permanent ease? Were they a people easily open to new ideas and quickly receiving the impress of new surroundings or from pride or stolidity, were they afraid and jealous of the new and the strange? These are questions that must be answered on the threshold of any study of the Mahomedan Rule in India. Not till we allocate to the Mahomedan conquerors of India, their place in the history of civilization and culture nor till we know their characteristics—thoughts that voluntarily moved them their attitude to life and the world—not till then shall we be able to estimate their rule and their achievements aright. Not till we know them shall we understand them.

What then were the Mahomedan rulers of India? We have already given a partial answer to our question in calling them Mahomedans. But that is only a part of the answer. They were not only Mahomedans by religion they were something else. To call them Mahomedans will not explain them. For, Mahomedanism although it influenced their civilization and life, will not account for everything in it. We must therefore find out what the Mahomedan rulers of India were by race, civilization and culture, apart from what they were on account of the religion which as a people we see them professing when they came to India. To what kind and degree of civilization then did they belong? Not to speak of the Arabs who invaded Sind in 712 A.D., and who have left little or no traces of their rule over that part of India, we find that all the other Mahomedan invaders of India were either Turks or Afghans by race, mainly the former. Mahmud of Ghazni and his soldiers immortalised by the period of Gibbon were all Turks. So were the Slave kings who held Northern India almost throughout the thirteenth century, the House of Taglak (1321-1414) as well as and especially the Dynasty of the Great Mogul (1526-1857). For comparatively shorter periods of time, the representatives of Mahomedan rule in India were the Afghan dynasties of the Khiljis (1290-1314) who came between the Slave kings and the Taglaks, the native dynasty of the Sayyids (1414-1451), again the Afghan dynasties of the Lodis (1451-1526) from the last of whom Babar wrested the rule of Delhi and of the House of Sher Shah (1539-1556) the rival and the exemplar of the greatest of the Great Moguls. But it was the Turk that predominated. An eloquent testimony to the fact that Moslem rule in India was mainly Turkish is that in South Indian languages Turk denotes Mahomedan (*Toorkhan* in Tamil, *Toorkodu* in Telegu). But Turks or Afghans, the Mahomedan rulers of India, all belonged to the same kind and degree of civilization. Whatever their race, whenever and however they came to India to whatever dynasty they belonged, the Mahomedan rulers of India, in matters of Government, social life and culture were one and the same. Similar political arrangements, a similar social economy, added to a common religion, impart unity to the Mahomedan period which divisions of race or dynasty cannot impair. Slave or Taglak, Afghan or Mogul their rule as we shall see was characterised by the same ideals, the same practice, the same achievements and the same shortcomings. And for the valid reason, that in civilization and culture they were akin to each other.

What then were the Mahomedan conquerors of India according to their civilization and culture? The answer is they were Nomads.

Continuing the writer observes :

Not only in matters of government but in family and social life we find the characteristics of nomadic civilisation among the Turkish invaders of India. Like that of most nomads their family life was based upon polygamy. They had the nomad's contempt for agriculture and for the slow laborious and unexciting means of acquiring property. Outside the profession of arms the occupation they favoured with their service was the nomadic one of trade. Carrying commodities from one country to another in caravans gave them the movement and change of

scene which their hearts desired. It was the native more settled peasants of the countries they conquered like the Tajiks of Persia or Afghanistan or the Tartars of Central Asia that supplied them with food and drink.

As with the Turks so it was with the Afghan conquerors of India like the Ghoriids the Sayyids and the Lodis. Then as now the Afghans tended cattle and fought when they had not to feed their flocks. Agriculture manufactures and industry were in the hands of Persians, Armenians or Hindus. They were filled with a love of free movement and were fond of changing their boundaries. House against house and village they were what De Sacy says of the descendants incapable of the discipline of Law and settled government and always on a warlike footing with their neighbours. As an Afghan is reported to have told Elphinstone disunion and bloodshed are natural to them and they would never acknowledge a master.

Thus, whether Turks or Afghans and however they might differ from each other in race and language the Mahomedan conquerors of India were nomads. Of course there are nomads and nomads. There are gradations between for instance the Mongol the Afghan and the Turk. Put in all that constitutes the difference between the Nomadic and the settled State—political restlessness dislike for agriculture and hatred of discipline they each of them in varying degrees had the root of the matter in them. Historians have often wondered how the word Mogul which Babar as all true Turks hated has come to be applied to the Empire in India founded and ruled by people of Turkish descent. But it would seem as if the rarely existing instinct of Tradition has fastened upon the Turkish rulers of India a title which would prevent them or their admirers from ever attempting to renounce their nomadic identity.

The writer continues

Nomads were the Mahomedan conquerors of India and nomadism was their rule. The impress of nomadism was felt in their government their social life, their attitude to the country they invaded, and their relations with the people they brought under their subjection. It coloured their public and private life prompted some of their most characteristic actions and policies, and determined the course of their career in the country. Now on a moderate scale, now overwhelmingly, at other times battling with opposing influences. It is always there

dogging, dogging, so to speak, the footsteps of people who could not get rid of it. Through change of fortunes and dynasties throughout their history, nomadism was the characteristic of the Turkish and Afghan Rule. It is the key to their history, because it was the spirit of their civilisation.

Like the Huns and the Mongols the Afghan and Turkish invaders of India showed themselves as nomads in nothing so much as in the motives that prompted their invasions. It was love of plunder and booty or the overflowing energies of a people untamed by the arts of peace and industry, or simply the lust of conquest that inspired the Mahomedan invasions of India. Some modern historians indeed deceived by the *obiter dicta* and the afterthoughts of the chroniclers have attempted to picture these invasions especially those of Mahomad of Ghazni as being undertaken for the sacred cause of Islam. But if we observe the character of these invaders and the course of their invasions we shall see that they were directed by more secular and vulgar motives. 'Sabaktagin,' says Al Utbi, made frequent expeditions in the prosecution of holy wars (a mere tag) and there he conquered forts upon lofty hills in order to seize the treasures they contained, and expel their garrisons. He took all the property they contained into his own possession and captured cities in India.

The writer concludes

Sometimes the Mahomedan Sultans intruded even into the private life of their immediate dependents. Whereas in the first flush of victory their absolute rule over the subject races was exercised through the despotism of subordinates who belonged to their own race and religion a time came when the members of the ruling race itself were overtaken by the nemesis of despotism. After being allowed to tyrannise over the Hindus and even while doing so the conquerors themselves in their turn became the victims of the tyranny of the common Sultan. *Propos* the marriage of a nobleman's daughter even the prudent Sher Shah could say 'It becomes not a noble of a state to do a single act without the King's permission.' And under the easy going Jahangir, it was considered a fault, if not a crime that Mahobat Khan had affianced his daughter without the royal permission. In the end both the ruling caste and the subjects were governed despotically. It was not for nothing that the term *rayat* which denoted the subject population came from a word which meant originally a flock of sheep.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"Mr. Gokhale's Servants of India Society and its Work"

We make the following extracts from an article which Mr. G. K. Devadhar, M.A., of Bombay now in England on a political

mission contributes to the April number of *The Asiatic Review* of London, under the above caption.

The Servants of India Society came to be started in 1905 with its headquarters at Poona with the idea of training men prepared to devote their lives

to the cause of the country in a religious spirit,' and 'to promote, by all constitutional means, the national interests of the Indian people.' Its members, who have, at the time of admission, to take, among others, the vows of poverty and lifelong service in the cause of promoting the best national interests, are required to direct their efforts principally towards (1) creating among the people, by example and by precept, a deep and passionate love of the motherland, seeking its highest fulfilment in service and sacrifice (2) organizing the work of political education and agitation, basing it on a careful study of public questions, and 'strengthening generally the public life of the country,' which, according to him, needed 'to be spiritualized', (3) 'promoting relations of cordial good will among the different communities, (4) assisting educational movements, especially those for the education of women, of backward classes, and industrial and scientific education, (5) helping forward the industrial development of the country, and (6) elevation of the depressed classes.' This comprehensive scheme of training and work by the members of the Society was intended by Mr. Gokhale, who believed in an all round progress, to be a full-grown nation to include every sort of willing and devoted worker, who wanted, according to his attainments, tastes and inclinations, fields for national service under good guidance in various directions, all leading to the one goal of national regeneration. In laying down his scheme of national activity, Mr. Gokhale has clearly stated that "much of the work may be directed towards building up in the country a higher type of character and capacity than is generally available at present", and his sole aim was to create a higher type of the average man and woman, to play his or her legitimate part in working for the nation's progress. Thus it will be seen, from some of the basic ideas of the Society, and from the ramification of the various activities of its members, a steadfast attempt is made to serve the masses as also the classes. The membership of the Society at present numbers about twenty five, and consists mostly of graduates, who come from most of the provinces and belong to different communities, there being no bar of race or creed to membership but it is at present confined to men only, not necessarily single. For the first five years they have to be "under training" either at the headquarters or at the branches working under a senior member. The Society is thoroughly non-sectarian and severely non sectional in character, and its affairs are regulated by a council and a president. The Society which is an all India movement, carries its activities at present through four branches at Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, and Nagpur.

The writer continues

(1) Under the group of political work come the (a) newspapers, five in number, which are conducted by the Society as organs of liberal progressive opinion, and which are its instruments of political education and agitation besides, members carry on, on several occasions of public importance, a regular propaganda by means of lectures and leaflets. (b) The Society owns two presses the services of which are utilized for the purpose of publishing newspapers and pamphlets for political education, and the creation of well informed public opinion on burning topics of the day.

(2) Next comes the very large group of activities of members, which would be characterized as social

reform propaganda, carried on by helping or starting associations and societies aiming at (a) the creation of a better fellowship, mutual understanding, and a spirit of co-operation among different races and communities, (b) helping forward movements calculated to broaden the basis of sympathy among different ranks and classes of society, (c) popularizing efforts initiated to widen opportunities for larger social intercourse, and to reduce social injustices and inequalities, such as the disabilities at present, unfortunately, attached to a large section of the people in India called the untouchable classes. Moreover, the members of the Society carry on an active propaganda to remove the untouchability of these classes, basing it on national and patriotic grounds and those of social justice and humanity.

(3) The third group of activities includes work undertaken by members to popularize and facilitate, by systematic effort, primary education. The members of the Society have been actively engaged in organizing institutions to undertake the education of girls and married women in Poona and Bombay. These have given ample facilities to a large number of married women and widows to be trained as teachers, nurses, midwives, sub-assistant surgeons, and needle-women, etc., by adopting systematic courses for literary, industrial, and technical education, and for the better understanding of their domestic and civic duties, aiming thereby to create the kind of workers which modern Indian society badly requires in several fields of national service.

(4) A further group of activities may be placed under the head of the co-operative work, and the Servants of India Society at its various branches is recognized as an active non-official agency, carrying on co-operative effort in India. Its members have started co-operative societies for various classes that need them, such as agriculturists, small wage earners, municipal servants, mill hands, and the labouring class population, and a considerable amount of this work is being done in Poona and Bombay by starting co-operative societies to meet the special needs of these classes. In one or two places co-operative dairying, co-operative manure supply, co-operative sugar cane crushing, and co-operative supply of agricultural implements has been undertaken, and a good deal of ground is now prepared for the introduction of co-operative distribution by interlinking the rural people with the urban population.

(5) Another group of activities, which is growing popular and rapidly spreading all over the country, relates to the broad division of social service in other directions, such as travelling libraries and settlements among the poor, and this work has been undertaken by members in all its branches, and social service leagues, on the model of the Bombay Social Service League, have been started in Madras, Bengal and in the U P, where it bears a different name.

(6) Lastly, comes the category of relief work undertaken by members of the Society, on a well-organized basis to give the necessary help to sufferers on the lines of non official relief to supplement Government relief on occasions of widespread calamities like epidemics, fire and famine, and the Society now has established, by its famine work, on six different occasions, such a reputation for this help, that when the first signs of this enemy of humanity make their

appearance the people generally look to the Society for the undertaking of non-official famine relief

The more such societies for amelioration and improvement of the people are established throughout India, the better for us all concerned.

The Attitude of Islam.

On the eve of a war again with another Moslem country, the following article on "The Attitude of Islam" which appears in the March issue of *The British Empire Review* [London] from the pen of Roland L. N. Michell, C. M. G., cannot fail to be interesting to our readers.

The war has put all Moslem nations, more or less, to the test, and has settled in its course a few questions regarding which some doubts existed. The first related to the effect which Turkey's entry into the struggle would have upon the more powerful and homogeneous communities.

The Pan-Islamism for which Abd-el-Hamid worked was never regarded as practicable by leading students of the East. Though local outbursts might blaze out, the basis of world wide cohesion does not exist. The Kaiser and his advisers, however, believed that the power which claimed spiritual leadership could, and would, bring about a Pan-Islamic movement against Britain, France, and Russia, for the success of which a subtle propaganda of insidious intrigue had been unscrupulously engineered for many years throughout the whole Mohammedan world. This attempt of a so-called Christian Power to arouse against Christians the whole force of Islam has been rightly stigmatised as one of the most monstrous crimes of history. The Sultan and the Sheikh el-Islam were coerced into the declaration of a *jihad*, or holy war, which can only be legally proclaimed when Islam is attacked or in danger. In this case a Mohammedan country was attacking Christian countries, including Turkey's own best friends, at the bidding of a power which aimed at world domination.

Considerable regret was felt in Britain for the people of Turkey for it was clear that the suicidal folly which betrayed the native and Islam at Constantinople was the act of the self-styled "Committee of Union and Progress", i.e., the corrupt, pro-German, Enver clique, which controlled the army, and consequently the Sultan and his people, as clearly seen by the best men of the Ottoman Empire. The reply was prompt and decisive. The action of Turkey was universally denounced, and it was realised that there were but two alternatives, either the Germanisation of Turkey or, should the Allies prevail, the ruin and further dismemberment of the Ottoman dominion.

In India no time was lost in proclaiming adherence to the teaching of the Kuran, which inculcates fidelity to the ruling sovereign. A loyal and stirring manifesto of the Nizam of Hyderabad was followed by similar declarations of leading Moslem princes. The Afgha Khan issued appeals which created a deep impression throughout the British and Russian Empires. The Amir of Afghanistan, recently struck down by dastardly assassins, gave, and remained faithful to, pledges of

neutrality. In Egypt and the Sudan leaders of Moslem opinion strongly condemned and protested against the action of Turkey. Many of the resolutions—too many to mention here—passed by Mohammedan communities, and transmitted to Britain, are of great interest. They have expressed deep gratitude for the peace and prosperity enjoyed under British protection. They include proclamations by the Sultan of Selangor, the Sheikh el-Islam of Sierra Leone, the Arab communities of Zanzibar, Jeddah, Bahrein, Mosul and the Jubaland Somali who ceasing to fight against Britain sent troops to fight for her, and "prayed daily in the mosques for British victory."

One matter of considerable interest related to the Senussi bodies in North Africa. Some years ago alarmists drew pictures of the vast armed forces and latent power of the Senussi Sheikh, who only awaited the right moment to strike a spark which would kindle all the northern countries into a blaze of fanaticism that would sweep all Europeans out of the Continent. The Sheikh was no doubt a "dark horse." But the Senussis were no friends of the Turk. Their aim was to drive the semi-infidel Ottomans out of Africa. "The Turks and the Christians," they said, "are all one, we will destroy them all together." For a time it appeared that Sheikh Ahmed's policy was to maintain friendly relations with Egypt and Great Britain, just as his father had refused to join the Mahdi and his "dervishes." Turco-German intrigue and gold, however, brought about an apparently half-hearted movement, which confirmed the views of those who were sceptical as to the fighting qualities of Senussi warriors, when opposed to modern arms. They learned a lesson from British troops. An agreement was arrived at between Britain and Italy in the summer of 1916. The Allied forces in North Africa suffice to keep the tribes in order. According to the latest accounts the Senussi desire to be on friendly terms with both France and Italy.

The development and consequences of the Arabian revolt in 1916, to which Turkish folly inevitably led, have been of the highest interest. Arabs have always hated and despised the Turks as a tyrannical and freethinking race that fight for territory, not for the faith, and such acquiescence in Ottoman rule as has existed was yielded to the superior force which usurped the Khalifate and held the holy places of Islam. No benefit came from the Turkish revolution of 1908. On the contrary, Arabia soon learned that the Enver clique aimed, with German support, at the Turkification of the Empire, the crushing of the Arab element and the supplanting of Islam by the monstrous Neo-Turkian creed.

The problem of the Khalifate is again presented for solution, as an outcome of the war, after three and a half centuries of usurped possession by the Ottoman Sultans. Leaving out of account the Moslem States which remain, as hitherto indifferent it is improbable that the spiritual leadership of Islam can remain in the hands of a power which has done its best to degrade it. The majority of Moslems can hardly regret the collapse of a power which has ruined Turkey, has preached an illegal and unholy *jihad*, has treated its own subject races with brutal cruelty, and has helped to stir up enmity throughout the Mohammedan world, and that against Powers that have always treated with respect and complete tolerance the religion of Islam.

A recent proclamation of the Ulama of Mekkeh says 'As to the question of the Khalifa in spite of all that is known of the deplorable condition in which it is situated at the present moment we have not interfered with it at all and it will remain as it is pending the final decision of the whole Mohammedan world. Whatever temporary embarrassment the War upheaval may cause there can be little doubt that the question will be settled satisfactorily. There is indeed no ground for misgivings but rather for confidence in the era of reconstruction. The fate of a Power which had worked for the subversion of religion may coincide with the rise of an Arab State or confederation which recognising the real needs and true interests of the time may lead the way to a regeneration destined to bring fresh unity and strength to the nations and religion of Islam

According to the latest news, at the request of Mr Lloyd George the Council of the principal Allied and Associated Powers heard on Saturday, May 17, the views of the Indian delegation, on the future of Turkey, consisting of the Secretary of State for India, the Maharaja of Bikanir and Lord Sinha accompanied by His Highness the Aga Khan, Sahibzada Pithab Khan, member of the Council of India, and Mr Yusuf Ali, late of the Indian Civil Service. As to the fate of Afghanistan it is trembling in the balance!

THE TEACHING OF PATRIOTISM

By LAJPAT RAI

THE teaching of patriotism in India and its place in the scheme for national education must revolve round the following points

(1) Love of India as a whole as distinguished from love of village, town, city or province. There is enough in both the Hindu and Mohammedan literature to strengthen this sentiment and to bring it into line with the beautiful and ever inspiring lines of Scott

I am sure Indian Nationalists do not want to set up an aggressive nationalism of the kind which will breed contempt or hatred of other nations. The idea that love of one's country necessarily involves hatred of others, or even indifference to the welfare of the rest of mankind, is absolutely fallacious and mischievous and should be combated through and through. We love our country because that and that alone can enable us to ascend higher to the heights of humanity

The justification of this characteristic, says Sir Charles Waldstein, lies in its efficiency in the social life of man*

As the forces of society act upon members of a family and a home so with the citizens of a State the physical and practical conditions of national life and of the native country are the true training ground for the most effective higher moral idealism

* Patriotism National and International, by Sir Charles Waldstein, p. 143, Longmans 1917

ending in the love of mankind. Not merely in thought, but also in the emotional life of man, the world of feelings and of passions, which are the most direct and effective sources of action, this love of country, this true patriotism has the most ennobling influence

Vague, undefined, indeterminate cosmopolitanism is often a disguise for gross selfishness and a life of sensuous inactivity. We cannot do better than caution the younger generations of Indians against the fallacies of the cult of vague cosmopolitanism. Some time ago when addressing a meeting of a Cosmopolitan Club attached to one of the famous Universities of America (Columbia), the present writer took occasion to point out that while cosmopolitanism meant something noble in the mouth of an Englishman or an American, in the mouth of a Hindu and a Chinese (there were Hindus and Chinese in the gathering) it may mean only an attempt to escape the duties which patriotism lays on them. While I respect the former, I added, for their cosmopolitanism, I despise the latter for their lack of patriotism. For them it will be time to become cosmopolitan after they have cultivated patriotism and raised their respective countries to the level of other independent, self-conscious, self-respecting nations

Mazzini's famous dictum on cosmopolitanism and nationalism should never be forgotten. Intense and devoted patri-

otism is quite consistent with the love of humanity. We should spare no pains to point out the co-operative nature of our patriotism and the analytical dangers of a loose cosmopolitanism. There are only a few men in the world, if there be any, who can be true cosmopolitans without being true patriots. There is no such thing as international patriotism unless the expression is used in the sense that our patriotism must take cognizance of our international duties and must not violate the rights of others who are not our countrymen.

Text books for the primary schools should be free from discussions of Nationalism and Internationalism. They should inculcate the love of India, of Indian rivers, Indian hills, Indian landscape, Indian scenes, in choice, simple language. Is there any place on earth which is more beautiful and more sublime than our Himalaya? Is there any river which is more majestic and inspiring than Ganga or Brahmaputra or Narmada or even Sindhu? Are there any cities which in their natural situation and in their past histories and traditions can excel many of our Indian cities? In short, in physical features, natural scenery, fertility of soil, productive climate, we have everything in our country to be proud of.

Among domestic and useful animals, what country on earth produces more beautiful cows and bullocks? Our horses and camels, dogs and cats, sheep and goats, are inferior to none. We have noble trees, the noble *pipal*, the great *chinar*, the tall poplar, the sacred bo, and many others. We grow fruits which in flavour and delicacy, sweetness and taste, are superior to any other in the world. The kingly mango, the guava, the orange, the banana, the mangosteen, the grape, the melon, oh how impossible it is to count them! There is no one country on earth which produces so many fruits and of such high quality, and corns and cereals, pulses and oilseeds, vegetables and roots, the variety and taste of which is simply amazing. The text books meant for little children should, in suitable language, dilate on the beauties and the bounties of our country.

Patriotism, however, does not include only the material and the physical aspects of a country. "It includes all that Renan has called 'l'ame d'une nation,' the more

delicate shadings of feelings, such as piety for the past, admiration and love of the heroic figures in the history of the nation, and its great achievements, love of language, community of tradition, laws and customs, and all that gives individual character to the civilization of each nation.

This leads us to the second point around which our teaching of patriotism should revolve, viz.

(2) The love of the nation as a whole, regardless of the various religious creeds and castes into which it is internally divided.

Every Indian child should be taught in so many words that every human being who is born in India, or of Indian parents, or who has made India his or her home, is a compatriot, a brother or a sister, regardless of colour, creed, caste or vocation. The diversity of race, religion and language is often exploited by the foreigner as a pretext to deny us the status and the privileges of a nation. Now it should be made absolutely clear to every Indian youth that in India there is no such thing as the conflict of races. No Indian Hindu or Mohammedan, ever attaches any importance to his racial origin or to the racial origin of the rest of his countrymen. *There is no country on the face of the globe which has a pure race.*

The sons of man have so freely mixed and mingled in the past that racial distinctions are only a matter of imagination or conjecture. More often than not they are a cloak for political dominance and economic exploitation.

All these ethnological pretensions and past ones—and this is one of the distinctive features of the more modern conflict of races—are based upon the achievements and results of modern ethnological study the youngest and least accurate of modern sciences. In federation with the revived study of philology comparative religion and anthropology the ethnological politician and agitator found a fertile field especially for internal disintegration and antagonism in the inner life of modern States (*in modern States we have unconsciously won an unconsciously quite free from consideration of material interest and greed*) in the antagonism between Aryanism and Semitism.

It is the anti-Jewish sentiment to which Sir Charles Waldstein expressly refers in this quotation. But the mischief which these theories are working is not confined to "internal disintegration and antago-

* Patriotism National and International by Sir Charles Waldstein p. 133. The italics are mine.

nism in the inner life of modern States", it extends to the more extended sphere of relations between nations and nations. The cries of "the yellow peril" and the "black peril" also are traceable to the same causes. It is the desire of political domination and economic exploitation that is at the bottom of these cries and it is a matter of sincere joy that some of the most eminent sociologists of the age are earnestly combating these vicious theories. Professor Todd ascribes "modern race boasting and strutting" to "ignorance" and to "deliberate fostering of imperialism and dynastic pretensions," as well as to "the headiness" which comes from the new wines of quick and easy success. He examines in some detail the extravagant and foolish claims of the tribe of Bernhardt's and Chamberlaine's. The following observations on page 284 of his book are worthy being quoted:

'Owing to the internationalising of human activities, an international osmosis so to speak, the concept of race is of diminishing importance and may disappear from the focus of men's thought and passions. Hence it turns out that the real selective forces in complex societies are economic or moral or psychological or educational but not ethnic.'

Later on, he concludes that "the inevitableness of race conflict is still only a hypothesis, rather let us say, a superstitious survival in our world."

In India there is no race conflict. Hindu and Mussalman and Christian are all a racial 'mix up'. The Mussalman descendants of Persian, Afghan, Turkman, Mogul and Arab invaders have a great deal of Aryan blood in their veins and the Hindu descendants of the Aryans have a great deal of Mongolian blood. The Anglo Indians of India, too, have all these elements. It is stupid and mischievous to talk of race conflict in India. Mother India knows and recognises no race distinctions.

But that there is a religious conflict in India cannot be denied. Even that conflict is more artificial than real, manufactured quite recently by interested parties. In the remote past, there was once a conflict between the Hindus and the Buddhists, then there were occasional conflicts between the Hindus and the Mussulmans. It was almost dying out when it was revived by political agitation and schemes on both sides, under impetus given by outside influences. Even when *bona fide*, it was due to false ideas of

religious nationalism and communal patriotism. Even that bitter critic of the Indian Nationalists, Mr. William Archer, has admitted that before the "British established themselves in India, Muhammadan princes ruled over Hindu subjects and Hindu princes over Muhammadan subjects, with very tolerable impartiality of rule or misrule. And the same is true in the native States of today, not merely as a result of British overlordship. At no time since the days of Aurangzeb either religion seriously tried to overpower and cast out the other." Did even Aurangzeb ever do it? Even a careful scanning of the history of India for the last 1000 years, from the invasion of Abul Qasim up to the disappearance of the last vestige of Mogul sovereignty shows nothing which by any stretch of imagination may be compared with the conflict between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism which raged in Europe for over four centuries. Is there anything in Indian history which can be cited as parallel to the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in France, or to the orgies committed by the rival sects in Holland, Spain, Italy, Germany, and even Great Britain and Ireland, in their frenzied attempts to extirpate each other?

The general massacres ordered by Tamerlane and Nadir Shah made no distinction between Hindus and Moham madans. The long trains of slaves taken away by Mohamad and others of that period are occurrences of a period when there were no or very few, Muhammadans in India. There is no authentic record of Aurangzeb having ordered any general massacre of the Hindus. There was some persecution of the Mohammadans by the Sikhs by way of reprisal (*revanche*), but it was confined to the Punjab and even there it was by no means general. Hindus and Mohammadans have come to realize that India is the country of all of them, that their future prosperity and progress depends on their unity and that religion is a matter of individual faith and taste, and that in the common civic life of the country religion does not and should not interfere. But it must form an important part of the active teaching of patriotism in India to impress on the minds of young children the fact of their common country, of their common political and economic interests, of their

common history and of their common destiny. Text books of patriotism should take special cognizance of this branch of the subject and insist on the essential unity of Hindus and Mussalmans and also of Christians and Buddhists, Parsees and Sikhs and Jains. They should take particular note of the best and most glorious achievements of the Hindus and Mohammadians, both.

Indians first and last, and all the time, in all political and economic matters and in our relations with non-Indians must be taught to our boys and girls by written and printed lessons as well as by word of mouth. It is a necessary and a vital article of faith in the religion of patriotism that we must teach to our boys and girls. Even denominational schools and colleges and universities must include it in their curricula of studies. Thank God, the spirit of unity is abroad in India and we can safely build upon it. But it will be folly to ignore the counteracting forces. We must meet them by active, deliberate and well concerted plans. Complete success may not attend our efforts speedily, but come it must and by the grace of God it will.

The teaching of Hindu Mohamman unity can be much facilitated by the writing of special and carefully worded theses on the lives of our national heroes. Lives of Shivaji, Partap and Govind Singh, as well as those of Akbar, Sher Shah and Shah Jahan must be carefully written. They should contain no untruths, they should be scrupulously true, but written from a broad, patriotic and national point of view. They should be a composite production of patriotic and scientific history. Hindus should learn to take pride in the achievements of Mohamman heroes, saints, and writers, and the Mohammadians in those of the Hindus.

If Mother India had an Asoka, she had an Akbar too. If she had a Chaitanya, she had Kabir also. If she had a Harsha, she had Sher Shah too. If she had a Vikramaditya, she had a Shah Jahan also. If she had a Mohammadan Alah Uddin Khilji and Muhammad Taglaq she had their Hindu prototypes as well. For every Hindu hero, she can cite a Mohamman hero. If she is proud of a Todar Mal, she is equally proud of Abul Fazl. She can as well be proud of her

Khusroes, Faizis, Galibs, Zauqs, Badonis, Ferishtas and Ganimats (I wonder if Ganimat was not a Hindu), as she can be of Valmiki, Kabdas, Tulsidas, Ram Das, Chand, Nasim and Gobind Singh. Even we modern Indians can be as well proud of a Hali, an Iqbal, a Mohanias of Tagore, Roy and Harish Chandra. We may be as proud of Sayid Ahmed Khan as of Ram Mohan Roy and Dayananda.

As regards caste, even Archer admits that in spite of caste Hinduism is and will remain a mighty bond of union. Hindus and Mussalmans must unite to remove all internal divisions based on caste. All social barriers must be removed and the school, the college, the court and the council must be open temples for all to enter and worship, regardless of caste, colour and creed. Even in other social relations, the lines of differentiation should be thinned with a view to its ultimate extinction, unless and until religious beliefs become a matter of individual personal faith.

This will not come of itself, we should pledge ourselves to it, by making it a subject of study by our children, in all national schools and colleges,—nay even in denominational schools and colleges.

3. The third part of our course for the teaching of patriotism must deal with our relations with the State. The promise of responsible self Government within the Empire makes us free to include our obligations to the State in this course. If the Empire treats on terms of equality, we shall be true and loyal to the Empire, and faithfully discharge our obligations towards it.

The announcement made by the Secretary of State for India in August, 1917, must be made the foundation of the scheme of studies. The Constitution of the Government of India should form a part of the curriculum of studies with full freedom to the teachers to explain by what processes and by what qualifications we could get it improved on democratic lines and what we have to do in order to win complete self government. Advanced students in high schools, colleges and universities should be absolutely unhampered and free in discussing politics and economics.

The German theory of the supremacy of the State over the nation must be

repudiated and the future citizen should be trained to think that the nation is superior to and in every way the master of the State. She determines the form of the State and is free to change it as, in her corporate capacity, by her corporate will, she wants to do.

In short, our loyalty must be rational, reasoned and sincere. Let me make it clear that any attempt to enforce the

teaching of loyalty to the established British Government in India as such, without pointing out the road to make it truly national and truly democratic, will end in a *fiat*. The analogy of Germany does not apply. The Indians must feel that their loyalty is voluntary, and an outcome of their conscious desire to remain a part of the British Commonwealth on terms of equality with the rest.

THE LAW OF LIMITATION AMONG THE ANCIENT HINDUS

THE Hindu law on limitation was not as elaborate as the British Indian is. The reason is quite evident. In a system where it was a pious and moral obligation for the wife and the son to pay off the debts of the husband and the father respectively, it was only natural that it would be slow to defeat the just claims of a creditor by setting up a plea of limitation. But the highly-developed juristical code such as the ancient Hindus had, made it incumbent upon the Government to secure men in the undisturbed possession of their properties to ensure them the benefits of the improvements made thereupon, to free their minds from suspense to punish the slothful and the insolent and to aid the vigilant and the industrious taking care at the same time that the weak and the poor should be maintained in their just rights and that no unfair advantage should be gained by any party. Law should act in peaceful concert with morality and if at any time, law should prevail over morality it must have to be justified by such circumstances as would not appear repugnant to the feelings of the community. What little of the Limitation law the ancient Hindus had was built up on the tacit consent of religion and morality combined with the silent approval of society.

The Hindu Law of Limitation may be stated as follows —

I IMMOVABLES

(a) When any property was possessed for three lives (generations) in succession lawfully or unlawfully it could not be recovered (*Narada* I 91, *Bṛhaspati*, IX,

26 27). In case the father, grand father, or great-grand father of the man, was alive and he was in possession, the approved mode of calculation was possession for thirty years was taken as possession for one generation, thrice that period for three generations. Possession for a longer period than three generations was considered possession of long standing (*Bṛhaspati*, IX, 23 24).

(b) Occupancy of land for twenty years unmolested by the owner was held to be possession during one generation, e.g., for twice that period during two, for thrice that during three. Proof of a prior title was not required (*Vyasa Colebrooke Digest*, Vol. IV, cccxc X, p 144). The possession must be by strangers, not by kinsmen within the Sapinda degree.

(c) The king, his ministers, husbands of daughters and learned priests could not acquire title even by a long and undisturbed possession. This restriction applied also to a friend or near kinsmen in the male or female line (*Bṛhaspati*, *Colebrooke Digest* Vol IV, cccc VI, p 144).

(d) If the property of a person, not being an idiot or minor, was enjoyed by another in his presence for ten years it was lost to him by law. This was evidently the law of adverse possession of the early Hindus regarding immovable property. A close kinship is observable between the Hindu and Roman systems in the matter of the occupation of immovable property adversely. In Justinian's law too ownership in land was acquired by *res occupis* in ten years *inter presentes* and twenty years *inter absentes*.

II MOVABLES

A creditor had no remedy if he failed to recover his dues either from his debtor or from the debtor's heirs of the next two generations. That is to say, a creditor could make hable the son or the grandson of his debtor but on no account his great grandson.

III Where the father, uncle, or eldest brother resided abroad and was known to be alive, the son, nephew, or younger brother, as the case proved to be, was not bound to pay his debts till after the lapse of twenty years (*Narada* I 14).

IV The owner of a chattel could not recover it after the lapse of ten years when he allowed it to be enjoyed by others in his presence during that period.

V Pledges and loan not being the property of the king or a woman were lost to the owner if they had been enjoyed

in his presence for twenty years (*Narada*, I, 82). Evidently IV and V consisted of the Hindu law of adverse possession with regard to moveables.

VI If the king detained the property of a private individual for three years, the owner thereof not answering to the proclamation made in respect of that, he could confiscate it. If the owner turned up within those three years he could get it back but never after that period. This was apparently the Hindu law of Escheat (*Manu* VIII 30 *Colebrooke Digest*, Vol II C), p. 115).

The king also took by Escheat the belongings of that of his subject who died without leaving a male child. The case in point is that of merchant *Dhruvamitra* in *Ibbynana Sakuntalam Act VI*.

PRAPHULLA CHANDRA GHOSH

THE CURSE OF THE DARK SKIN

INDIAN newspapers have frequently published articles dealing with the political grievances of Indian Settlers in the Colonies, but there have been very few references to the evils to which they are exposed when attempting to obtain justice from the Colonial Law Courts even in non political or ordinary matters.

In the Colonies that have imported Indian indentured labour it has become an axiom to hold that Indian witnesses are untrustworthy, if not liars, and that European or Semi-European witnesses are absolutely reliable.

In almost every case where Indians and Europeans are on opposite sides the Europeans win their cases especially in the little Crown Colonies, the atmosphere is similar to the atmosphere in our petty Indian states of by gone times. The ruling race is white, they are a minority it is true, but it is not the best and the noblest white people who have settled in these little Colonies and every one that has a white skin is necessarily called a Mr Somebody and supposed to be a gentle man.

An Indian no matter how honest or rich or intelligent he may be, must share

in the general contempt in which his indentured or ex-indentured fellow countrymen are held. The late lamented Honourable Mr G K Gokhale was spoken of by a vulgar white correspondent of a South African paper as 'The Coolie Gentle man', Mr Gandhi was commonly spoken of as the 'Coolie Barrister', and Mr Manilal was behind his back spoken of by Mauritian whites contemptuously as 'The Advocate Malabar' and one may not be surprised if our independent Rajahs and Nababs were called 'Coolie Rajahs or Nababs'.

It is unfortunate that our countrymen should ever have emigrated as indentured labourers to these Colonies. The life led in the barracks known as the 'Coolie Lines' is most demoralising.

The Magistrates who try our cases do not know our languages. The Interpreters are usually half-educated men. Many of them are servile Indians and prepared to do or say whatever would please their superiors. Some of those who have internal sympathy and fellow feelings can not speak out their minds freely. Add to these that the Magistrates and others concerned in the administration of justice

cannot keep themselves aloof or untouched by the local white vested interests

With the ignorance and stupidity that illiterate Indian witnesses, who are nervous may exhibit in court and the low moral life led in the colonies and the axiom that the white skin denotes truthfulness, honesty and respectability, the chances of an Indian obtaining anything like justice are very few indeed, particularly when the white man can hire a professional lawyer to take advantage of all the tricks that rules of relevancy and irrelevancy and treacherous cross examination are capable of. The Indian's evidence is not given as it should be it is not understood as it ought to be, it is not translated as it may be, it is not taken down as it must be and it is not believed or appreciated as it would be in India, with the result that those who seek justice in the Colonial Courts very often get stones instead of bread, one may even say that to use a Biblical expression "A camel may pass through the eye of a needle, but not justice through Colonial Courts." One may well imagine the same causes leading to the same results in almost all the Colonies if not exactly in the same degree, one may take Fiji as an instance. Lawyers are too few and very greedy. Lawyer's Indian Clerks or Commission seekers encouraging their own ignorant and superstitious countrymen feeding them very often on false hopes to make business for their employers what is the result? A general discontent and dissatisfaction with their lot in Fiji despair developing in some instances into cases of murder and suicides. Even before the Supreme Court it is difficult to obtain justice. The Supreme Court has no Indian Interpreter, that is to say an Indian by race, and for civil cases anyone may be picked up to interpret. The judge of the Supreme Court is not as independent of the executive as Judges of High Courts in other countries. We have only one Judge and strange to say he is described as the Chief Justice. The impression is easily given that the Government and the Courts of Law are to a great extent influenced by a clique of vested interests who are supposed to run the Colony. Such at least was the feeling when a case between Turner and Cuthbert was decided here some years ago. Although both parties in this case were white people, the richer

prevailed. Much more so is the case when a white man is pitted against an Indian.

If the axiom "Indians are liars and whitemen truthful" is not openly recited in so many words, it is all the same understood and implied in all addresses of counsel to the courts and embedded in all judgments pronounced by the judge.

There was recently a case between a European Civil Serrant and a young Indian. A civil servant is not supposed to possess any landed property in the Colony over and above his actual needs for a place of residence, garden, etc. But this one in particular had managed to buy two or three blocks of freehold land in the township of Suva. This young Indian had a previous lease in one of the blocks on which he had erected a building and invested all his little savings. It so happened that the Indian was somewhat late in the payment of his rent. This whiteman placed the matter in the hands of a solicitor without giving the Indian notice or reminder of any kind and it was looked upon as a good opportunity to re-enter into possession and practically rob this Indian of his hard earned and harder saved earnings in the shape of the building he had erected. The English law is applied, and buildings are supposed to be part and parcel of the land on which they are erected and cannot be removed in the absence of an agreement to the contrary contained in the lease.*

This Indian offered to pay the rent but he was tossed backwards and forwards between this precious solicitor and his worthy client and finally the poor man believing that it was for his own benefit, signed an agreement to surrender his lease on condition that he would be allowed to remove his buildings within a certain time. On finding an opportunity to get independent advice he found that he had made a mistake in signing the agreement, and he resisted the claim of the whiteman for specific performance of the agreement. The whiteman's claim was supported by his own evidence as

* There are many instances of Indians being robbed of their buildings (as they do not know this peculiar law) of wood and iron erected on land which it is next to impossible to acquire as freehold. In England the buildings are concrete brick and mortar here they are human cages of galvanised iron and timber on wooden supports and yet they are not considered removable fixtures as they ought to be.

well as that of the solicitor who had managed to influence the Indian to put his signature to the agreement he had himself drawn up in favour of his client. The honourable Mr So and so on his oath must be believed as against a mere Indian and the Chief Justice could not find any evidence of undue influence.

The plaintiff won his case and the Indian defendant must pay ruinous Supreme Court costs to the person or persons who have, morally speaking, wronged him, although the law and the Law Courts may not hold them responsible.

This is not the only instance, such and worse than such occurrences take place every month and every year and the hope of ever getting any redress is always as remote as it has always been.

The cases that come before courts are not the only cases where Europeans take an undue advantage of Indians. Many cases never come before the courts at all, many more are endured meekly and

patiently and most have to be put up with whether you will or no. Our original sin in these Colonies is that we or our parents have come under indenture; it is our misfortune that we have not been able to make the most of our opportunities to accumulate wealth and it is a continual calamity to have to submit to the doctrine of the inferiority of the coloured races as against the Divine right of the white skin. God knows when the universal brotherhood spoken of by the Christians, Theosophists and others is going to be a reality. But in the meanwhile we shall have to do uphill work to raise our countrymen to a higher level and endeavour by constitutional and educational means to raise the prestige and the good name of Indians and their mother country in the eyes of their European neighbours. The work is holy and so the workers and their hands.

SUVA

PETER RAIHMAN

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

GITANJALI THE GARDENER SADHANA by Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co. Price Rupee one each.

These famous and world renowned books need no fresh introduction at our hands. The publishers have done a great service to the reading public by issuing these Indian editions at so cheap a price. The printing and paper and the get up are none the worse for the admirable cheapness of the publications. The publishers have brought these precious books within the easy reach of every intending reader and we hope that these will find a place in the book shelf of every lover of literature and every non-Bengali who is eager to make his acquaintance with the great Bengali poet and philosopher.

Report of the 13th Indian Industrial Conference held at Calcutta in 1927. Published by the Hon'ble Joint Secretaries The Indian Industrial Conference Bombay, 23 Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay. Price Rs 2 12 postage extra.

This report contains the Resolutions passed and the speeches delivered and the various papers read by experts at the conference. After the conclusion of the Peace when there will be industrial reorganisation all over the world, we Indians ought to be on our guard against the inrush of foreign capitalists and exploiters and take up the indigenous industries in

our own hands as much as possible, leaving but little room for foreign encroachments. Those who are industrially disposed and have a knack for industrial enterprise will we hope derive much help from reading this report which will serve to place them on the right track and a safe footing.

BABY'S HOME TRAINING, by Dr Harish Chandra Pl. D (Berlin) Director The Techno Chemical Research Laboratory Dehra Dun. Rs 1.

In this booklet of only 29 pages the author has laid down the rules of child rearing and nursing from its birth to its third year. The things requisite in a lying-in room are given in minute detail and there are useful instructions as regards the baby's bath, food dress airing rest mental training playthings, etc. In case of sickness the doctor has laid down the signs by which to detect the particular illness which a baby is prone to, as also particular about sick diet and artificial diet. This book may be of some help to English knowing mothers and householders. It is printed on art paper which accounts for its costliness. A cheaper edition would have been more serviceable.

WHAT A HOME RULER OUGHT TO KNOW, by P T Chandra Home Ruler office, Rambaugh Road, Karachi. Price two annas only 2nd edition 1928.

In this small booklet of only 34 pages the author has put down a statistical survey of the position India occupies among the nations of the world.

whether in economic conditions, or in agriculture, or in literacy and education, or in vitality and sanitation and expectation of the duration of life India's position has been relegated to the last place beyond which one cannot imagine a nation so vast and numerous can proceed, but in the case of salaries and appointments of higher officials, who are mostly foreigners, India occupies the first place! Had space permitted we would have reproduced the whole book which brings home to the mind of the reader, by clear statistics only, the wretched position India occupies among nations. To read is to be convinced what the real position of India is. Therefore we request every lover of India to get a copy of this precious book and take to heart seriously the lesson which this booklet intends to convey.

CHARU BANDYOPADHYAY

ODE TO TRUTH by James H. Cousins (Ganesh & Co Madras)

The poet sings of the "overshadowing power which on the foamed marge of youth and age a quiet sea setteth from hour to hour veiled from rude gaze as oriental brides." He knows that the accents of truth roll down the ages and "Not all of thee thy richest bearer hath, —not he who trod out "the eightfold path nor the 'thrice gentle Christ' " He who boasted high love for truth and cried out "Lo! all truth is mine, is mine alone" did not at all grasp its nature and wiser was the Celtic seer who saw in a vision "Thy snow white birds that left thy snow white brow, And through the prismatic earth found each a cage in varying colour of a race and age." The poet remembers Bruno who understood the great truth that "who in his age knows how to die lives through the centuries," as also "Great Russia's greater daughter" and "He of the building brain, the healing hand," the son of "Columbia's republic." We pray that man may rise to the great plane of truth and that Religion, Science, Art, knowledge and Wisdom, "bear their mutual part True to all truth," and that "Truth and Life and Earth and Heaven be one."

The poem is a noble composition on a great moral subject and the varied vehicle of mostly ten syllabled lines with free rhyme has given the poet ample liberties for the expansion of his genius. The whole might have been more impressive if the references were more compressed and the digressions less few for such a simple subject of morality calls for the highest concentration of purpose. But such criticisms are fruitless and beside the point.

THE DREAM QUEEN by A. G. Shirreff and Panna Lal (The Indian Press, Allahabad)

It is a translation of the *Swagatasahadatta* of Bhāsa, the great dramatist, some of whose works were brought to light in Southern India a few years ago. The theme of the play is the self-sacrificing love of a wife and as such bears some resemblance to the *Alcestis* of Euripides. The work of translation has been well carried out and the spirit and imagery of the original preserved as much as possible. For those who cannot go to the original this book should be of valuable help in the way of allowing them to appreciate the genius of Bhāsa.

GUTTILA THE DIVINE MINSTREL, by Lucy and Gordon Pearce (Ganesh & Co Madras)

It is based on a version of the Sinhalese "Guttilla" by Mrs. Muscans Higgings and nothing like

a literal translation of the original. There are two parts in the book, the one giving us the story of the days of Dambisara, the rivalry of Guttilla and Musila and the other the vision of Heaven. The first part is in simple blank verse, but the second in Spenserian stanzas has sought to preserve more of the spirit of the original. This story of the olden days will not fail to impress any reader.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF RAM SHARMA

Babu Nabakissen Ghosh (or Ram Sharma, as his nom de plume was) may be regarded as one of the first of those Bengali writers who tried their hand at English verse in the last century. Some of his poems had appeared in the old *Mukherji's Magazine* and *Ras and Ryt* of Babu Sambhu Chandra Mukherji, —others had come out either in periodicals or in pamphlet form. This volume is the first collection of all the poet's works and the interest of such a book is great. Some of these poems were written on topical subjects and their appeal was mostly for the poet's contemporaries. But for us the charm of the volume would depend on such pieces as "The *Shivamati*" or the *Shagabati Gita* of which the Glasgow journal, *Saint Andrew*, has said "Here the poet attempts a more sustained flight and in our judgment these poems are worthy companions to Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*." The *Last Day* is very ambitious in design and brings before us a procession of images whose creation enables us to judge the imagination of the poet. "The Ode to Albert Edward, Prince of Wales," is a prize poem, but its extravagant imagery does not attract us so much as the odes "To England" or "To the Men of India." The poet had a talent for the satiric touch and his powers of quiet satire may be understood from a perusal of such pieces as "The Rape of the Gown," "The Bride of Sambhuddas," "St. Paul and Huzrut Bull" or "The Song of the Scribe." Mr. Dunn in his recent book on the Bengali Writers of English Verse tells us that the study of the works of poets like Ram Sharma contributes little to the understanding of the Indian mind. In spite of this adverse comment, however, we must say that this volume is worth being read by every lover of Bengali literature, but we fear that the price of the volume (five rupees) will interfere with its popularity.

NIRMALKUMAR SIDDHANTA

HISTORY OF THE PORTUGUESE IN BENGAL (WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS) by J. J. A. Campos Butterworth & Co., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta

Thanks to the boring reiteration of imperialistic poets and bureaucratic merchant governors, the "meeting of the East and the West" has become a monumental cant in our journalistic vocabulary. Yet the successive stages in the history of this mysterious infiltration—the blind groping of the West for the East, the harrowing parenthesis of greed and envy, of lust and cruelty, ultimately resulting in the overpowering of the decadent East by the nations of European renaissance—this is a theme which would demand from its historian, the judiciousness of a Tacitus and the comprehensiveness of a Gibbon. Failing that we have but fragmentary treatments of a stupendous international epic. Mr. Campos presents us with one of such fragments. As it is his "History of the Portuguese in Bengal" is a document of rare value. His mastery of details and method of presentation are remarkable. For the first time we get a lucid account of the Portuguese influence on the history of Bengal "the Paradise of India." Bar-

and "partial vow." Figuratively they convey such meanings. But one can happily render them as 'great vow' and 'small vow' adding a short note explaining them.

Lastly we think that more words should be added to those already collected.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

GUJARATI.

SIR RAVINDRANATH THAKUR NAN SAMSMARANO (सर रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर नान सन्समरणो), translated by Ambalal Balkrishna Purani, B.A., and published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. PP. 231. Price Rs. 0-7-0 (1919).

"My Reminiscences" from the pen of Sir Rabinendranath Tagore, when being published in the pages of the *Modern Review* furnished instructive, delightful and interesting reading to those who could follow the poet in English. It was a happy idea to convert them into Gujarati, and we are sure they would be read in the vernacular with as much avidity as they were in English.

SAMANYA DIHARI (सामान्य दिवसी) by Rajyuratna Atmaram (Amritsari), Educational Inspector, Baroda, printed at the Lakshminilal Press, Baroda. Pp. 23. Paper cover. Price 0-2-0. (1918).

In this little pamphlet, Mr. Atmaram holds forth his pet subject, and marshals arguments in favor of removing the brand of untouchability from the lower castes, with force and vigor.

K. M. J.

WOMEN AS TEACHERS FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN INDIA

I

THE value of women in the education of little children of either sex is now generally recognised in Europe and America. This process of recognition has been slow and the concession has been made rather unwillingly. A circular of the Department of Education in England published about 40 years ago, for instance, "after suggesting several objections to the employment of women teachers in the lower classes of boys' schools, ends by permitting managers to try the experiment on their own responsibility." We are told that paid teaching was considered to involve social descent in England in the mid-Victorian period. The majority of the Mosely Educational Commission to the United States of America in 1903 viewed 'somewhat with alarm the growing preponderance of women teachers,' in that country; yet we find that Mr. Arthur Aderton, one of these Commissioners, while sharing in the general alarm bears the following testimony to the worth of these women teachers. "One could not fail to be impressed with the character, ability, and the bearing of the female teachers generally. They are a great power for good." It is only fair to point out that Prof. H. E. Armstrong, another Member of the Commission, felt that owing to this preponderance of female teachers

and a consequent co-education of the sexes there was a strange and indefinable feminine air coming over the men, 'a tendency towards a common, if I may so call it, sexless tone of thought'. Mr. R. B. Hughes writes in the same strain, though he does not appear to have made up his mind definitely.

"The fact that so much of the teaching is entrusted to women may lead to a lack of virility and strength in the training. There is a very outspoken criticism in the report of the school superintendent for Detroit. 'Is it not possible that the increasing number of incorrigibles may bear some relation to this sentimentality? I know that I am terribly heterodox in suggesting that a good sound thrashing occasionally would be of more benefit to a capricious spunky youngster than all the goody-goody talks so correctly advocated. We are getting too many Mamas' pets and Lord Fontleroyes, and I fear our system has a tendency to perpetuate it. Give us more good hearty moral discipline, more Sandfords and Mertons and Tom Browns.'"

We do not know if the Sandford and the Merton of the story were administered 'a good sound thrashing occasionally'. Mr. Hughes, who quotes with approval the above remarks, tells us later on in his book (*Schools at Home and Abroad*) that the self-respect of the American pupil is preserved and his self-resource cultivated. "He leaves school ready to begin the real education of life, i.e., self-training, and naturally alert, ambitious and confident, he develops into the pushful, resourceful American citizen of to-day." This, inspite

of the 'lack of virility and strength in the training.' The United States educational authorities, however, do not seem to have been frightened by this 'feminine air coming over the boys', more and more women teachers get employment every day in the State schools there. Thus while in 1870-71, 41 per cent of the teachers in these schools (both elementary and advanced) were men, the percentage was gradually reduced to 20.7 in 1910-11. It was an American Dr Henry Bernard—the first United States Commissioner of Education—who wrote as early as 1854,

'Our experience has shown not only the capacity of woman, but her superiority to the male sex, in the whole work of domestic and primary instruction not only as principal teachers of infant and the lowest class of elementary schools but as assistants in schools of every grade in which girls are taught and as principal teachers with special assistance in certain studies in the country schools generally. Their more gentle and refined manners put more stronger instinctive love for the society of children and greater tact in their management their talent for conversational teaching and quickness in apprehending the difficulties which embarrass a young mind and their powers when properly developed, and sustained by enlightened public sentiments, of governing even the most wild and stubborn dispositions by mild and moral influences—are now generally recognised by our most experienced educators. Let this great fact be once practically and generally recognised in the administration of public schools in Europe and let provision be made for the training of female teachers on a thorough and liberal scale, as is now done for young men and a change will pass over the whole face of society.'

Let us quote two more testimonies from Sonnenschein's *Cyclopaedia of Education* (1892)

"Twenty years ago in the report published by the Commissioners Mr Fitch said, 'of two persons, a man and a woman, who have an equally accurate acquaintance with a given subject, it may be fairly assumed that the woman is likely to be the better teacher. All the natural gifts which go so far to make a good teacher, she possesses in a high degree. In sympathy with learners in the imaginative faculty which enables her to see what is going on in their minds in the tact which sizes upon the happiest way to remove a difficulty or to present a truth, in insight, in character, in patience, and in kindness, she is likely to excel him. A larger proportion of women than men may be said to have been born teachers and to be specially gifted with the art of communicating what they know.' So also Mr James Bryce 'Women seem to have more patience as teachers more quickness in seeing whether the pupil understands, more skill in adapting the explanations to the peculiarities of the pupil's mind and certainly a wiser discernment of his or her character. They are quite as clear in exposition as men are, and when well trained quite as capable of making their teaching philosophical.' These words were written at a time when women had seldom an

accurate acquaintance with anything when High Schools and Women's Colleges were unknown.'

It appears from the *Cyclopaedia* that the superiority of woman over man as a teacher of children was being gradually recognised in Europe and America by the year 1892.

The introduction of the Kindergarten system furnished another field for the work of women as teachers.

'In the kindergarten the two sexes are taught together up to the age of 7, and exclusively by women. On this point Froebel himself is most explicit. The results are satisfactory' (R. E. Hughes)

In the early nineteen hundreds, of the trained teachers in England 34 per cent were male. For America the percentage was slightly less, viz, 31. In Germany, however, only 13 per cent were female. Of the whole teaching staff of the English school, however, 75 per cent were female.

'In England as in America the rapidly growing preponderance of the female teacher is mainly due to economic reasons, but in Germany this is not so much so. Curiously enough or perhaps obviously enough, where education is mostly advanced in the States there the female teacher thrives best.

E.G., in Chicago only 6.6 per cent of total teachers are male.

In New York State of City teachers 8 per cent are male and of the State teachers 21 per cent are male.

And of the Normal School pupils the female form —

93 per cent in Massachusetts
98 per cent in Connecticut,
100 per cent in New Hampshire,
The American male teacher will soon be as extinct as the bison. At present his habitat is mainly the blackwoods and morasses of the Southern States' (Schools at Home and Abroad by R. E. Hughes, 1901).

To-day in Great Britain men are being called out to the front and women are taking their places as teachers. The following figures for Scotland are interesting. Though the number of men under training is reduced considerably, the increasing number of women students too has lately received a slight check. "This is probably due to a large extent to the many new openings for the employment of women resulting from war conditions."

Number under training as teachers in Scotland.

	Number in training		
	Men	Women	Total
1913-1914	508	2,062	2,570
1914-1915	377	2,277	2,654
1915-1916	188	2,284	2,472
1916-1917	50	2,121	2,171

Mr. Frank Roscoe writes as follows in the pages of *Indian Education* (June 1918) about the work of women who have been substituted as teachers for men in England

'Many women teachers are engaged in schools for boys and their work is found to be extremely good, especially in modern languages, music and physical drill. This last may be thought strange until it is remembered that the training of teachers of physical drill has been efficiently carried out only in Colleges for Women. The men have relied on the services of the superannuated soldier with the result that no scientific system of drill has been known in most schools for boys until quite recently.'

II

So far as India is concerned, however, the day is yet far off, when we shall have to consider the advisability or otherwise of entrusting to women teachers the education of boys. The supply of qualified teachers presents a very great difficulty in educationally backward countries, much more so in the case of Indian women, who on account of social restrictions, cannot, in most cases, be expected to lead independent self-reliant lives.

The same has been the case with China. There too "the need of trained teachers is well-nigh desperate," and the people have to take up trained teachers even when they lay down arbitrary conditions. Miss Paddock, National Secretary to the Young Women's Christian Association of China, in her *Woman's Work in the Far East*, tells of a young graduate of a Mission School, who, when offered a teachership, in a school in the north of Manchuria, said "Yes, I will teach in the school, if I may teach for one hour each day from the Bible." The people were naturally unwilling to permit this, but they could not procure another teacher and had to appoint this lady, permitting her to teach the Gospel according to her desire. Margaret A. Burton says in her book *The Education of Women in China*,

'The Principal of a large Mission School in Nanking told me that even before her girls had graduated they were sought as teachers by those in charge of Government or Gentry schools and were offered what were to them fabulous salaries three times the size of their fathers' earnings. The educators of China, realising this fundamental weakness of their schools, have offered large inducements to train women and are making great efforts to train teachers. Many normal schools have been established in various parts of the Empire. Before the opening of the Government Normal School in Peking it was announced that in order that pro-

perly prepared women may be able to relinquish other occupations and take this training, the Viceroy offers each student ten dollars a month and also promises positions as teachers when the course of study is satisfactorily completed.'

Mr. Findlay Shiras pointed out the other day that the immediate effect of employing a staff exclusively of women teachers in a school was to increase the proportion of girls in the higher classes of the institution. "The problem of Girls' education," therefore, in the words of the *Times of India*, "is thus to a large extent the problem of woman teachers." The paper pleads for a small Committee to investigate the question of how to increase the present utterly inadequate supply of women teachers. "The only Province in which a serious effort has been made to deal with it with reference to the social conditions of the country is Madras, where the Government has provided scholarships for Hindu widows to be trained as teachers."

It is no doubt very difficult to attract pupils for being trained as teachers especially from the Mahomedans and the higher castes of the Hindus. The last Baroda Administration report complained "In the Training College for Women all possible inducements of pay and prospects are held out to draw intelligent women of good social position, as there is a pressing demand for female teachers, but unfortunately not with proportionate success," and the complaint is general. Let us as a typical case take the state of affairs in Bengal as described by Mr. Gokulnath Dhar in the course of an article in the *Educational Review*. A beginning in this direction was made by an association of ladies in Calcutta by maintaining a class for training European and East Indian girls as school mistresses and Zenana teachers. Government came forward to help this class liberally with funds, in order that more mistresses might be found for the increasing number of females—both girls and adults—who had evinced a genuine desire to learn. A normal class for Indian ladies was later on started in the Bethune College which, however, did not attract any pupil for some time and had therefore to be abolished.

'The female teachers available in 1886 were practically confined to the town of Calcutta and the Presidency Burdwan and Orissa Divisions. Very few of these were Hindus or Mahomedans brought up in the village schools, the chief recruiting ground for mistresses being the Missionary schools. It was

not till the year 1902 that signs of improvement were seen in this direction. In the year named the Educational Department was able to secure the services of some female teachers from the orthodox classes of Hindus and Mahomedans but even then there was room enough for the employment of many more such teachers had they been forthcoming. Classes were accordingly opened in the Bethune Collegiate School and the Brahmo Bal ka Sskhalaya for training mistresses and grants to Misses on a hool were augmented on the condition that no efforts would be spared to increase the output of such teachers. For the supply of additional female teachers for girls schools and Zenana Classes at home classes were sanctioned by Government in 1904 for the training of school masters wives and Hindu and Mahomedan widows.

Bengal, the most advanced province in India, appears in this respect to have lagged behind the sister Presidencies. Thus while in the year 1915 16 671 women were being trained as mistresses in Bombay and 669 in Madras, in Bengal the number was only 178 and it is to be remarked that out of these teachers under training 16 were Eurasians and 122 Indian Christians. One main reason why Bengal lags behind is the custom of *purdah*.

The classification of mistresses under training in India according to their castes is very instructive.

Caste	Mistresses under training in 1915 16	Strength of the communities per thousand of the population
Europeans	196	124
Indian Christians	1,140	
Hindus	631	
	(Brahmins 266) (Non Brahmins 368)	6,939
Mahomedans	175	2,126
Parsis	9	3
Buddhists	36	342

It will be seen from the figures that the Christians predominate overwhelmingly and supply so many female teachers for the strength of their community that the Hindus may be said to be nowhere in comparison. Among the Hindus themselves, the non Brahmins who are on the whole more backward educationally, supply more teachers than the Brahmins. [The non Brahmin population far outnumbers the Brahmin population.] Among the mistresses under training in 1915-16 51.4 per cent were Indian Christians, 1.2 per cent were Brahmins and 16.6 per cent non Brahmins. Thus for every Hindu mistress there were roughly two Christian

mistresses, while for every Christian in India there are 50 Hindus. This predominance of the Indian Christian community is largely due to the efforts of the Missionaries who try their best to equip the converts for self supporting, useful and independent lives.

The Brahmins are generally far more advanced than the non Brahmins but the non Brahmins supply three female teachers for every two that the Brahmins supply. It is only in Bombay that the non Brahmin mistresses are in a minority, in the United Provinces their number is nearly equal to that of Brahmins while in other Provinces the non Brahmins predominate. Especially in Madras and the Central Provinces the Brahmins are exceedingly backward in this respect. We give below a statement shewing the number of Brahmin and non Brahmin mistresses* under training in the various provinces in 1915 16 —

Province	Brahmins	non Brahmins
Bombay	208	164
Bihar & Orissa	2	11
United Provinces	21	20
Central Provinces	10	38
Bengal	10	22
Madras	2	48
Punjab	13	65
	266	368

Mr G K Devadhar has discussed fully this question of the castes of mistresses under training in India in a Marathi article contributed to the Karve Issue of the *Masik Manoranjan*.

As regards the pay and prospects of the women teachers Mrs R M Gray came to the following conclusions after studying the condition of women teachers at various places in the Bombay Presidency —

(1) In vernacular schools compared to men and to women in other countries their position is good. Their pay is equal to that of men, and in some cases better.

(2) They are certain of work.

(3) Their difficulties are social rather than financial, e.g., married women are often over worked, widows are lonely and sometimes exposed to danger.

(4) A second or third year's certificate is an extremely good investment.

* The writer ought to have shown that the total number of Brahmin women in the country is very much smaller than the total number of non Brahmin women — Ed. M. R.

In conclusion we shall describe a non official effort in this direction. The Poona Beta Sadan is probably the only non official non Christian body in India that maintains a full Training College for Women. The success of this College, which has to day over 70 students on its roll, is due to the energy of Mr G K Devadhar who works as the Honorary General Secretary of the Institution and the timely help given by the Wadya Charities. Government too have recognised the special character of the work and help the institution on the basis of $\frac{2}{3}$ of expenditure. His Excellency the Governor and the Educational authorities in the Presidency have publicly acknowledged the help Government was

receiving by the work of the institution as it could hardly cope with the large demand for trained mistresses without non official help. No fees are charged at this College and a few scholarships are provided. From last year it has begun to send out fully trained mistresses.

As remarked by a writer of the history of female education in India, the problem of trained women teachers presents itself with baffling insistency, and enthusiastic and patriotic workers in the cause of female education will do a great service to the country by promoting such institutions.

K S ADHAR

SYMPATHY vs REPRESSION

THIS is a knotty problem which has puzzled the bureaucracies all the world over, and even now the Government of India is at its wit's end to solve it. We have an instinctive feeling, and instinct as some say is never wrong that love is the master passion, and it never fails to stanch the wounds of insulted truth. Be that as it may this is what we Indians feel and shall feel to the end of time. The verdict of History is in our favour, because from it we learn that wherever repressive measures have been undertaken, they have failed in achieving their ends and have at last alienated those whom they were meant to conciliate. Can anybody, except the Government of India, deny the healing powers of love and sympathy? Some of our friends of the Anglo Indian fraternity might say that excess of sympathy is a sure sign of weakness and if any Government indulged in it, it would court its own speedy downfall. They might also try to bring the matter home to us by maintaining with all the show of truth that excess of love has spoilt many a child made him a weakling and quite unfit for the struggle of life. We would answer these critics by a counter question. Has repression done anything better instead of

making the objects of repression forget their civic duties and responsibilities by crossing the boundaries of social and political decency and commit some of the most heinous crimes that have blackened the page of History. All the murders and revolutions of history would not have taken place if in place of employing the pointed lancet of repression the authors of such repression had applied the healing balm of love and sympathy to the old sores of the body politic. All the great thinkers and prophets of the world died preaching love for our fellow men and yet some of us have the audacity to declaim love as the greatest evil that human flesh is heir to. Let purblind critics of Lord Sydenham's type talk whatever nonsense they like these hysterical vapourings do not affect us in the least. But it is for such die hards that we are compelled to show unmistakably by examining all branches of human activities, that love and sympathy are the greatest and the best correctors of society and that repression and coercion never attain their object.

Let us first of all turn to our domestic world. In a family where love is the dominating factor happiness prevails and children of such family are examples of

good manners and nobility of character, and become good citizens of the world. It is one of the essential virtues of a good and ideal father or say head of a family, that he should be sympathetic towards the aspirations of his children, not indulgent of their evil habits, but not also ruling the family like a petty autocrat, with the rule of rod. He should not be a monarch of all he surveys, and even if children go astray by mixing in bad society, love and sympathy should be used to reclaim them and not repression. The Defence of India Act which is so pithily called the Oppression of India Act with its younger brother the Press Act and others of the same ilk, might be dear to a bureaucracy, but they should never be dear to the head of a family. He should take into consideration that his children of to-day are citizens of tomorrow and if he uses them as chattels or beasts of burden they can never hope to be anything better under a many times professed parental government. The virtues of independence of thought and action, respect for elders and constituted authority, forbearance for the opinions and feelings of others, selflessness and love and sympathy for its fellow beings should be instilled in a child from a very young age. And as example is the best teacher of all, a parent should have all these to become a living example to the impressionable mind of a child. Experience shows, that family happiness and peace have gone to pieces where the head of a family happened to be a little despot. The world is moving at a giddy pace, in the words of Mr Lloyd George—may we are running instead of the usual Darwinian evolutionary walk—and there is a wave of democracy, liberty and freedom passing over the expanse of this world and fossils of the old order of things must swim with the tide, if they are not to be left in the abyss behind. It is always safer to walk the well trodden path instead of cutting a new path for ourselves through the tanglewood of this world. Because persons who can hew new ways are few and far between and the majority of us who are only mediocres can do no better than float with the tide. Giants might be born sometimes, but we who are all no more than 6 feet should not try to lift Mount Atlas on our finger end.

Enter now the larger arena of social and political activities. To what is the

Non Brahmin movement in the Southern Presidency due? To nothing else but the duress vile employed by the priestly class and the superior airs which it gives itself. What is the root cause of the degradation of the present day Indian womanhood? The repressive policy of Indian manhood, a living example of which has been recently furnished by some wiseacres of the Bombay Municipal Corporation who opposed with old world arguments the grant of even partial enfranchisement to the fair sex. The enemies of Indian reform could not have made any capital out of the problem of the depressed classes, if the Dwyatis (the 'twice born') had not adopted baneful coercive mode of treatment towards them. Even Dr Nair, that redoubtable champion of Non Brahmins, would have found no audience for his anti Indian utterances had the Brahmins of the South been able to curb the pride of their superior birth and treated sympathetically their brethren of the lower orders. And Mr Welby of the European Association would have found his occupation gone.

Has it been of any advantage to Germany to repress the feelings of the people of Alsace Lorraine? Did the Spanish Inquisition with its hideous methods of killing heretics inch by inch succeed in stemming the tide of Protestantism in Europe, St Bartholomew's day notwithstanding? Has not Ireland been a source of weakness instead of strength to England in this devastating and blood curdling war? England's fair name has no blacker stains upon it than its Irish policy. Was not the repressive policy of Lord Curzon followed by more retaliative anarchism and crimes? Is not the recent repressive legislation by the Indian Government before the so called reforms are ushered in, trying the patience of the Indian people and is it not apprehended that such patience might give way under the pressure employed and lead to undesirable agitation of a very great magnitude, and this at a time when both the government and the people should cultivate mutual tolerance. What is the lesson of the sanguinary Russian revolution? Not the perverted lesson which the Anglo Indian journals are never tired of preaching us in season and out of season, but the eternal truth that repression never leads to anything good. Let the voice of humanity answer these questions and

proclaim that love and sympathy always pay and that repression and coercion ever die consumed with their own fire.

Was it, therefore, wise of the Government of India to place on the Statute Book the Rowlatt Bills at this time of the world's day, when liberty and freedom are in the very air the Europeans, Americans plus the Japanese breathe, and when many of the wise heads of all nations are sitting in a conclave at Versailles to build a better world and to promote amity between all and sundry? Is this the first instalment of reforms under the terms of the announcement of August 20th, 1917? It is only in moments such as these that the truth of the saying that from the sublime to the ludicrous it is but a step is vividly realized by us. Are we not to be treated even on the same footing as small nationalities of Europe for the emancipation of which England has fought this successful war so valiantly? The Rowlatt Acts are a unique contribution to the laws of the civilized world, and other Governments if they are at all desirous of the safety and peace of their subjects, could do no better than to follow the lead given by the Government of India and enact such drastic measures. Oh! how one could wish that the energy and ingenuity which are so often misspent on forging new fetters for our liberties were employed to some better purpose for the uplift of the Indian nation.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee said in the third Congress at Madras :

'When Italy was struggling for liberty England stretched forward the right hand of sympathy. When Greece was endeavouring to assert her place among the nationalities of the earth, England was then the foster-mother of freedom, responsive to the call. We are neither Italians nor Greeks. We are British subjects (Hear, hear, and applause) England has taken us into her bosom and claims us as her own.....'

Are our liberties, which are in all conscience not very many, to be curtailed any further, instead of their scope being widened as foreshadowed in the announcement of August 20th, 1917? We have had enough of repression and broken pledges. Let us now have some freedom from repression and greater opportunities of managing our own affairs. The passive resistance movement led by that saintly person Mr. Gandhi is a true index of the temper of the country. The adoption of this extreme constitutional weapon shows clearly, if any signs are yet wanting, that the country has made up its mind not to take this new insult to its self-respect lying down. Unless these obnoxious measures are repealed, all well-wishers of steady progress must despair of a calm atmosphere so necessary to work the constitutional reforms successfully. We appeal to the British instincts of the Government of India and the Secretary of State to repeal the un-English legislation which has been passed in the teeth of solid Indian opposition—both Moderate and Extremist, and change its policy.

MOHANLAL CAPOOR.

INDIANS IN SUMATRA

THE presence of British Indians in the Dutch possession of Sumatra is not so widely known as one hears of Indians in South Africa, Canada, Mauritius, Fiji, Trinidad, Federated Malay States, and elsewhere. This may be partly due to the fact that their number in Sumatra is estimated to be between 4,000 and 5,000 only, which does not stand comparison with their number in the other places mentioned. Also the Dutch Government is absolutely impartial in its treatment of

all people living under its protection, quite irrespective of the country of their origin. The local Government's policy in the case of a set of people who are foreign to it is indeed worth the grateful and sincere thanks of the Indians at home and decidedly more so when they recollect that their fellow-countrymen have not been treated fairly in some British Colonies.

The Indian element in Sumatra is almost wholly resident on the East Coast

of the island, this being nearer to the Straits Settlements than the West Coast and the interior. It must be noted that the Indians in Sumatra have emigrated only from the Straits Settlements and not direct from the Indian shores.

At the end of 1916, the number of Indentured Indian Coolies on the various rubber and tobacco plantations, according to labour returns, was nearly 3,000. The planters on the East Coast do not favour Indian labour any more, which is borne out by the disparity in numbers of the Javanese and Chinese coolies who are more than 100,000 strong on the several plantations. There might be a talk of the Indian Government disallowing its subjects emigrating to a foreign colony. But apart from the accuracy or otherwise of this statement the planters here have come to realise long ago that by recruiting their labour requirements out of India, they would not be called upon in future to face the thorny question of Indenture.

The coolies under contract are mostly Tamils and Telugus of South India. The local Government has appointed Labour Inspectors to look after the welfare of the coolies and instituted several rules and regulations binding the planters to accord suitable living accommodation, medical aid and reasonable wages to their labour force. Thus the Indian coolies get the same treatment from his employer as the Javanese and Chinese labourer.

The system of contract that exists between the employer and his Indian coolie here, is different from the system that is in vogue in British Colonies where Indian labour is utilised. As soon as a coolie enters or is made to enter a plantation, he is paid £10 in advance and it is understood that till the money advanced is paid back, he is not permitted to leave that plantation. The return passage provided for in British Colonies by the planters for coolies after the period of indenture (usually five years), is a thing unknown here, as far as the Indian coolie is concerned. Such return passage is granted to Javanese coolies after a service of three years which constitute the period of their indenture. The rate of wages paid to plantation coolies other than Chinese is an equivalent of 8 to 10 annas per day. Living costs amount to well near 6 to 8 annas daily, thus leaving very little scope for "amassing" for a coolie who is not thrifty. Even a casual

observer of labour conditions prevailing in some of the British Colonies will be struck by the quite unattractive terms set up by the local planting community to their labour force other than the Chinese who have already won a name for their efficiency in work. Even in spite of such poor attractiveness, nearly 3,000 Indian coolies have drifted to this island. This shows how the ignorant coolie is easily fooled by the recruiter who is not famous for his sense of humanity and whose only goal in all his endeavours is the handy 'commission per head'.

The free Indians numbering less than 2,000 are scattered over the plantations on the East Coast and resident in the town of Medan which is the capital of the District of Beneden Deli and the biggest town in Sumatra. They are people from the Punjab, United Provinces, Bengal, and the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. The Indians from the Gangetic Valley take up billets chiefly as watchmen, some of them are also in the Government Police Force. The rest of them, speaking Hindustani or one or other of its dialects, breed cattle and are in fact the only cowherds here. Almost every other domestic calling has its Indian followers. Bombay merchants are not less backward in competing with Chinese merchants in general trade. The Nattukotai Chetty of South India, whom one can quite appropriately call the Indian Jew, finds this newly developing Orient a good field for his money lending business enterprise and much to his advantage, he is left 'the monarch of all he surveys', without any fear of competition in his activity and in a position to dictate terms of usury to his clients.

The Malays of Sumatra belong to the Islamic faith. Along with these Malays, Indians who follow the Koran join in worship. There is a Gurudwara for the Sikhs and also one temple each for the Nattukotai Chetties and other Tamils in Medan. The Mahomedan Mosques are under the control of local Malay Rajas, and the Dutch Government has appointed Pan-chayats among the Sikhs and Tamils to manage their respective temples.

The Foreign Office of the British Government has appointed a Vice Consul to look after British interests on the East Coast. Also the local Dutch Government has an officer called 'Captain of Klings and Bengalese' to supervise the affairs of Indians.

Though resident under a foreign rule, the British Indians of Sumatra are very loyal to the British Raj. The appeal made by the British Red Cross Society and The Order of St John of Jerusalem met with very warm response at the hands of the local Indians. The handsome contributions made by the Punjabees for the Punjab Aeroplane Fund are indeed praiseworthy.

The Dutch Government apparently possesses very scanty knowledge about British India, its peoples, their manners and customs, and above all, their civilisation, though the Netherlands Government is very anxious to get acquainted with them all. The poor Indian labour section, both free and indentured, being the majority of the Indian element here, local officials blindly jump to the conclusion that the whole of India is peopled with the coolie type of men and that their civilisation is in no way higher than what is witnessed here. The best remedy one could suggest in order to alter this confirmed opinion is to quote the words of an Englishman, who is none too free with his commendations, namely Lord Islington —

'The Indians vary in degree of civilisation from aboriginal jungle tribes to such highly cultured poets and philosophers as Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, who was recently awarded the Nobel Prize

The local Government has broadly divided the British Indians resident in Sumatra as "Bengalese" and "Klings". North Indians with their characteristic huge turbans and pitch dark beards are termed "Bengalese", irrespective of their place of origin, no matter whether one might be a Cashmeeree or a Panjabee. Indians other than the so-called "Bengalese" are "Klings". Naturally the Government officer appointed to officiate over the Indians is called "Captain of the Kling and Bengalese". An Indian who is conversant with the English language and who knocks about the town in European costume becomes, in the estimation of the local Government, a Ceylonese and is called in the native Malay language "Orang Ceylon"!

Dear Reader, if you happen to live outside Sumatra and Malay, you are fortunately unaware of the full significance of the term "Kling". 'Ferringhee' addressed to a European, "Infidel" addressed to an educated non-Christian, a Madrassee called "A Native", all these do not create

the same degree of resentment in the person thus accosted as "Kling" creates in an educated Indian living in these Malay-spoken countries. To put it in a nutshell, the detested word "Kling" stands for a national Pariah. In the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States there is noticeable a tendency in at least a section of the official circle and the leading newspapers to refrain from flinging the unsavoury appellation to the sons of the South Indian soil but in this land things go on as they first took shape, and the local educated Indians do not entertain even a ray of hope for a change in the near future.

Perhaps the knowledge of the origin of the word "Kling" may enable you to fully realise the contempt and derision with which the notorious designation is flung on South Indians. When the Straits Settlements were under the control of the East India Company, Malacca was used as a convict settlement by that body of trade administrators. The Indian convicts in Malacca were described to the native population as killing people and hence "Kling". Another version goes on to say that the root of the term is the metallic clink produced from the iron chains with which the convicts were secured. Anyway it indicates to the natives of this country that the Indians out in the East to day have had a direct relation with those convicts.

Are all the loyal subjects of the British Indian Empire (which, by the way, is titled in a British War Publication, meant for the information of Malays, as "Negri Kling") aware that their fellow countrymen in Malaya and Sumatra are called "Klings" meaning "Murderers" though not treated as such? The only consolation we have is in the pious hope that most of those who use the term in question do so unknowingly and unintentionally. It is indeed a freak of fate that the Indian coolies who have, by their good conduct towards their neighbours and employers, been spoken of as a quiet, peace-loving and harmless people, should have such an atrocious nickname. As a matter of fact, it is because the Indians are so peace-loving that they put up with such a treatment. Japanese coolies have been known to have stabbed their employers for being harsh. A Chinese coolie in cold blood recently put a few bullets from a revolver into his

European employer's head when the latter was carrying cash to pay his labour gang. No such crime has yet been reported of an Indian coolie.

As has been said already, the treatment meted out to Indians is as fair as it is for others and the only objectionable thing is the name they are called by and the often implied derision which goes

therewith. Shakespeare's 'what's in a name' may suit well in some cases but the English poet's aphorisms are not always applicable to modern day contentions.

Medan,
Sumatra East Coast
31st August, 1917

A Sumatra British
Indian

PUNJABI BALLADS AND SONGS

By BAWA BUDH SINGH

IN the Punjab it is a great pity that the old ballads have never been reduced to writing the chief reason being that the local dialect never received State support. At present the Hindus and Mohamedans are withholding their sympathy from their mother tongue. Under such circumstances how can we expect the hidden treasures of a language to find their due place in the museum of world literature? The Punjabi songs or ballads are as a rule mostly addressed by a woman to her lover or husband. We seldom come across any old ballad or a love song addressed by a man to his lady love. This is the strain in which Punjabi songs are written and this style is somewhat general in India. The prevalence of this style is not to be misconstrued as showing that the women of the Punjab or the East are more fashionable and desperate lovers than their western sisters. Rather the truth lies the other way about. On a shallow study of the Punjabi poetry one is apt to fall into this mistake like Mr C. Osborne, I.C.S., who stigmatises the Punjab or the Eastern women by saying "Woman in the Punjab is the pursuer, it is she who makes love to man." He got into this wrong conclusion by study of *Hir* and other romantic stories of the Punjab. No doubt a Punjab girl may be a fervent lover, but she is not the pursuer. It is the man who seeks her, and she reciprocates. This is natural. Mr Osborne even goes to the length of suggesting a change in some sections of the Indian Penal Code.

Again in his paper on *Bullah Shah*, he

writes 'There is one curious fact to be noticed about *Bullah Shah's* treatment of love which is not peculiar to *Bullah Shah* but pervades nearly all Punjabi Love Poetry and this is that the lover is always represented as a woman and the beloved as a man.

In order to explain this quaint style in the Punjabi Poetry, I would say that the love of a woman for her lover or husband is the most intense known, when the expression of love had to be depicted in Poetry none could think of a better or purer symbol than the woman's love for her lover. This phase of the expression of love was borrowed from the great "Bhagats - Lovers of God, who in their exhortations to Him, depicted themselves as a lady and adored and praised their God in the form of a husband or sweet heart. In this connection the songs of the Sikh Gurus and ballads of *Hosen* and *Bullah* are to the point, leaving alone the bulk of *Bhasha* poetry. The following extracts illustrate the assertion -

BULLAH - The beloved has stolen my heart away and deserted me. My mother is angry. My father beats me. My brothers taunt me. He played his tablet at my door. I fell in love and my peace of mind is gone.

HUSEN - To whom should I reveal this secret pain of separation? Fructing of long thorns has turned me mad. Pangs of separation always pay attention to me. To whom should I explain this? I am roaming about in the jungles seeking my beloved but he has not appeared as yet. To whom should I tell this?

Royal fire (of separation) is smouldering when ever I rake it open. Ruby tinders present themselves.

Sa th *Hosen* the godly tasker of my love come and see the condition of the humble

The Punjabi songs can be divided into two chief classes (1) short ballads (2) songs. The former generally consist of two or more lines and are in the form of exhortations or emotional outbursts of a woman's heart. They are generally sung in chorus to the accompaniment of some crude musical instrument generally 'Dholak' (a drum). Men have their own ballads which they sing on the occasion of fairs like Baisakhi, but these are mostly vulgar and have not much of beauty about them, although they depict the Jat mind in simple and forcible language. The lengthy songs are generally narrative; they narrate certain stories or incidents of love. Some of these songs are in the form of a dialogue, and occasionally more than two persons are introduced in the conversation. Most of the ballads are sung in adoration of "Ranjha", the idol of love and an ideal sweet heart in the Punjab. Hir adores her cowherd lover in various forms. This love story attained so great a reputation in the Punjab that saints and fakirs also gave it a place in their composition. The great Guru Gobind Singh wrote —

'Go and narrate the story of the worshippers to the beloved friend. Without thee it is painful to be covered with a quilt. I live the life of Nagas, the naked. The goblet is a spear and the cup like a sword without thee. O beloved I always suffer the life-cutting pain of a butcher's knife.'

The dirty hut of my sweet heart (Ranjha) is better for me than the palaces of Kheras (Lit.—to live at Kheras is like living in an oven).

Note.—Kheras was the family into which Hir was married.

The songs are generally tuned to music but not properly versified. Some are written in blank verse while others are with proper rhymes. If much of the extraneous matter adhering to the original body were removed we could possibly form some idea of the meter in which these songs were originally written. This attempt would also fail in many cases. It would be safe to say that the old songs follow no meter.

It is again difficult to decide with certainty the authorship of such ballads. Some seem to have been composed by women, while in others where meter and diction are regular the man's artful hand is clearly visible.

The language of the songs is Punjabi but the Western Punjabi predominates. It is the Western Punjabi which is rich in ballads. All Punjabi romance sticks to

the Chenab—the Eastern boundary of Western Punjab. Its proximity to Lahore, the capital of Punjab, naturally brought the romantic spirit of the song to the central Punjab, but the Eastern Punjab remained barren in this respect. We cannot find any Punjabi poet of repute in the Eastern Punjab. The language of the songs has traces of old Punjabi words—now obsolete, e.g., "Chiri"=letter, "Kant"=husband, and "Dhan"=Woman or wife, etc.

Some old idioms, like 'Phur Chhiukna', to spread a mat, are not in use now.

These songs beautifully depict the customs and the trend of the human mind in those old times. They are grand in their simplicity, whether the song is a love ballad or a marriage ditty.

I give below free translations of some of the songs —

Short ballads which are generally sung in chorus to the accompaniment of a Dholak

(1) O youngman with a red turban the clouds have made the weather pleasant it is time for the lovers to meet.

(2) O my love the pollen has formed on the acacias you live in Rawalpindi how far have your thoughts gone from me.

(3) O my love I will sew your wrapper daily. By a sight of you I shall be long in the world.

(4) O my love you are always talking of going. Go some day my dear what anxiety you have caused me.

Again on the occasion of marriages we hear women singing songs which describe the old customs or usages observed at such ceremonies. At a boy's marriage a popular 'Ghori' song is sung in the form of an exhortation from a sister —

O my brother thy sister has spun this very fine thread for thy turban which enhances thy beauty and thy father got it very carefully woven. Thy sister, O my brother is ready to take over herself all thy misfortunes mayst thou live for ages and go to thy father in law's house with all glory.

The son of a weaver friend of my beloved brother whom he loves much has brought these Jora and Chuni coat and a wrapper. Wear them O my brother wear them.

My dear Mal or Nanda thou lookst like the full moon with a red mark (Tilak) on thy forehead with an umbrella over thy head and a betel leaf in thy mouth wear them O my brother thou wear them and I pay the price.

Similarly the washerman, tailor, etc., are treated in the song.

Again, when the nuptials of a daughter are to be celebrated the women sing —

O daughter why wert thou standing behind the ancestral tree?

I was standing near my papa Saying Papa speak, thy daughter has become of marriageable age and needs a consort

O daughter, what sort of husband thou desirest ? O Papa (I want a husband who may be like a moon amongst the stars and a Krishna amongst the moons (handsome persons) I want a Kanhaiya like husband

The above song has succinctly put forth the emotions of a girl's heart Krishna is still the ideal of love amongst Hindu women

Another popular song "Sohag" is —

A daughter implores her father —

Papa send me into that house where masons build palaces

Papa It will be your great gift and charity and great will be your praises (The house may have) eight rooms and nine windows and into each window I will put my heart. Papa marry me into that family, where jats milk the she-buffaloes I may keep milk of one to be turned into curds and churn that of the other that my hands be full of butter Papa do so it will be your great gift and charity to me and it will enhance your praises

Papa send me into that family where my mother in law has got good many sons one may be betrothed and another married and so on and I may witness happy ceremonies frequently

Papa marry me into that family where the mother in law is a kind and prominent figure and father in law is a chief I may sit on a low ladies chair in front of my mother in law and she would never show a wrinkle on her forehead (be always pleased) and so on

These songs show what women think the best choice of a family into which to give their girls These songs are probably the composition of women themselves

Again in their lighter strain the women sing several songs or ballads called "Sithni", which are mostly meant to tease one another, and sometimes these are couched in bad language A few have historical significance First lines of one of them, are —

'Oh pass the few moments as best as you can because the kingdom of the Raja (Maharaja Ranjit Singh) is liked by the Fenaghi (the British)

This was probably composed about the time of the first Sikh War when the British had commenced to interfere too much in the affairs of the Sikh monarchy

Again, on occasion of marriage, etc., when the women of the two families (those belonging to the boy's family and others of the girl's) meet at a common ceremony, they generally have a singing duel It is a sort of competition between two parties and the songs are in the form of "Dohas", each party repeats one "Doha" at a time and the other party replies with another It is a very lively competition

Without going into details of these marriage songs, which, to be fully explained, would require a volume to them selves, I return to the popular love lore Excepting the ceremonial songs all others are nothing else if not love songs and some of them are full of beauty, pathos and the emotion of a woman's heart In a song a woman complains of her lover saying —

'The handsome lover has white teeth and black eyebrows and his features are beautiful beyond description O wearer of a turban do not go turning your back towards me I am looking at thee at every step Oh save me The offended lover does not turn round and I listen to my bewailings I sit on a low chair wet the clothes with tears which flow like rain from my eyes I have spent myself up in pacifying him—but the displeased lover does not heed my entreaties'

Again the following song is put in the mouth of 'Sohni' while she was getting drowned in the Chenab, in her wild attempt to see her sweet heart Mahiwal —

O caretaker of the she buffaloes O love intoxicated Fakir thy Sohni is dying by drowning On the yonder bank stands my sweet heart and lover, while I am being drowned by the waves If this life is gone let it be sacrificed over my lover but let my love for him remain untarnished If God is not pleased to allow my raft 'Katcha Gharra' (unburnt pitcher) to reach the bank of safety (where my lover stands)

How genuine her love! Sohni cares more for love than life The full significance of this ballad can only be appreciated by those who know the story of Sohni Mahiwal Sohni used to visit her lover Mahiwal across the river, crossing it over a raft made of burnt pitchers, but one night she found that her pitchers had been replaced by ("kacha") unburnt ones by some enemy She knew perfectly well that the mud pitcher would dissolve in no time in the strong current of the Chenab but still in order to keep her word with her lover on the other bank, she began to swim the river over the mud pitcher and as a natural result was drowned The ballad is in the form of a drowning wail

Similarly in another song the following lines occur —

(1) O Khawia pray do not drown me while I am going to see my sweetheart do what you like on my return journey

Let me reach my goal so that I may not prove false to my words.

(2) Drown O Khawia (River) drown what can you drown but this flesh and bones This (Jiva) soul will go straight to its goal where love and friendship ripen

How sublime the ideal At first Sohni

prays to Khawja Khizar, the proverbial god of rivers, but at once sees her mistake and thinks she was proving untrue to "Love" by such entreaties for life, and boldly asserts—let the river drown the flesh and bones, but Sohni will still meet her lover. Here love passes the material bounds and soars to much higher regions.

In another song Sohni is made to say —

O fish and turtles of the water, you may cut and eat all my flesh but pray, do not touch the eyes, as I have still left the longing to see my lover.

Similarly there are several ballads—forming the bulk of Punjabi songs describing the love of Hir and Ranjha. I quote one or two below —

On the bough of a mango tree speaks a parrot O my sweet heart it has got red beak and black eyes Ranjha, thou art loved by all women O my love after all Ranjha is the son of unfriendly parents

Come on O Mian Ranjha let us build a house, and we may make therein a window

With what to adorn this window? O my sweet heart, we adorn it with love affection and friendship

Let us go and do agriculture, sow some land and make common fields

What should we sow in these fields, O love I we sow Japhel' Loung and Nuts

Loung and Nuts are to be consumed by lovers while Japhel" is to be sold to merchants

The above is a song with incoherent and unanimated ideas, put together

Again in a song Hir is made to say —

O my maids—the eyes of Ranjha have ruined me I bandage firmly the wounds caused by love Ranjha is wearing his five-coloured turban while Hir has got her hair freshly dressed

Ranjha has come after a long time and I was tired of making offerings

If I have saved my face from Ranjha my sweet heart, I shall be thrown into hell

Love is being sold in the Bazars of Jhang of Sials at eight Mashas and nine Rattis

The last line is pitched at a very low strain,

Again Hir pathetically appeals to Ranjha as follows —

O dear Ranjha do not turn away offended I am thy servant at all times

I always sit in your expectation, come on O my lover, embrace me come into my courtyard O Lord do not think of separation from me. I am thy servant at all moments

My friends have got their hair freshly plaited, they have adorned themselves in various ways but I thy servant am present (without any adornment).

I have become mad in thy search none else can I find thy equal although thou canst have thousands like myself as thy maid servants

O Ranjha I wish I could go to thy house and my sufferings in tears; and thou wouldst — graciously forgive my shortcomings

How beautifully does the above song depict a feminine heart deeply in love. Hir effaced her own self and adored her lover and lord Ranjha as all in all

Reverting to songs sung by women, we find some beautiful specimens, expressing the ebullition and enthusiasm of a woman's heart and the regard a Punjabi woman has for her husband, the centre of her love, as the following songs will show —

Take to thy wings, O black starling, and take a long long flight! Go and tell my husband, 'Thou hast forgotten thy bride and cheated her. Is it O my husband, that I have become old or that thou hast forgotten me?'

No! My Beauty, neither hast thou become old, nor have I forgotten thee

Quite so! (then) hast thou neither sent any letter nor any word about thy welfare?

My darling, to what messenger could I entrust my letters or word about welfare?

Is it that thou hast got no paper to write upon and no reed to make your pen?

If I were thee I would make the piece of my heart a writing paper and cut my fingers into pens. The black powder of my eyes moistened with my tears would form the adequate ink

In the evening I study the letters; go and leave me alone my sister in law (husband's sister)

O Bhabo (brother's wife) my brother is thy husband do not be so cruel to me

Shadow go down I am studying my husband's letter, with eyes full of tears

Some more songs of Lahndi tracts—taken from Wilson's collections, are given below

Rise O moon and make it light I have passed the night in counting the stars

The moon poor thing has just risen

My dears, the moon, poor thing, has just risen

The boys have seized the high hillocks and the girls the low ones

My dears the girls have seized the low ones

The boys are playing village hockey and the girls are playing dance in ring

My dears the girls are playing dance in ring

Among them all is my little hero with his coloured club

My dears, with his coloured club —

Among them all is my little sister in law (brother's wife) with her hair in nine plaits

In nine plaits my dears her hair in nine plaits

Bring scales and weigh her hair, her hair weighs 45 seers

My dears, her hair weighs 45 seers

What a practical way of expressing the luxuriance of hair! Poets to take note. The little girl retorts

45 seers my dears her hair weighs 45 seers

I will throw into the oven, one that weighed my hair

Another song —

Fingers covered with rings the little finger coloured yellow

My offended sweetheart will not make peace,
though I have employed a med ator
Though forbidden, he will not listen the stupid
thing will not obey

If our houses are side by side and our fields adjoin
each other,

If my sweetheart's house be close by I shall be
able to live on having talk with him

Though forbidden he will not listen the stupid
thing will not listen

With wildness in his eyes he puts a low ladies
chair (Pihra) down and sits besides me

Though forbidden he will not listen

Women as a rule are very jealous of the
mistresses of their husbands and they
would take revenge by fair means or foul
The higher placed a lady is the greater
her desire for revenge The following songs
describe this side of feminine nature A
Raja has fallen in love with a 'Jatti,' a
peasant girl, while the Rani resents it
The song is in the form of a dialogue

Raja. O dear Jatti we grieved with flowers you
should not give up visiting your lover

Jatti O Raja what way should I come and how
go back? All the doors are watched by sentinels

Raja O Jatti my guards are under thy
command do not give up visiting thy lover

O Jatti I have planted a garden for thy sake
come on the excuse of plucking flowers

Jatti. O Raja how can I come and how can I
go, when the public will be suspicious and speak ill
of me

Raja O Jatti, I have not heeded public opinion
and their bad words I have received on my eyes

I have got a tank made for thee O Jatti, come
on the excuse of bathing

Jatti Your Rani has got a new set of large
bracelets for the fore arm while poor Jatti has got
small bracelets

O Raja your Rani has got made large ear rings
(Wala) while I have got only poor small ear rings
(Dandi)

O Raja, your Rani lives in palaces and poor
Jatti in huts

O Raja what does your Rani wear? I also want
to see the Rani.

Raja O Jatti my Rani wears beautiful clothes
a large gown for the waist and fine cloth for head
wear

Rani. O Raja what does your Jatti wear? I
want to see the Jatti

Raja. O Rani my Jatti's dress is very becoming
a 'Jungi' loose cloth round the waist and a heavy
cloth for the headwear

Rani. O Raja I have invited your Jatti to dinner
and Jatti will come to dine with us

Poet O Raja your Rani has made sweetmeat
cakes and poisoned them

When the Jatti ate a plate full of them her colour
changed into green and eyes became red

Raja. O Rani you have been very cruel you have
murdered my Jatti Raja will now turn a Fakir

O my people go and inform the brothers of my
Jatti.

Enquire whether Jatti is to be cremated or
buried

O people do neither bury the Jatti nor cremate
her, because both will disfigure her face

Saw the Sandal wood and make the funeral pyre
and set it on fire with the flame of 'Loang' Jatti
was thus cremated

Such songs seem to be based on some
historical facts, but the origin cannot be
traced In the foregoing song, the Raja
is a weak character, while the Rani has
played her part with strength and revenge
on the poor Jatti

In another song, a Raja is in love
with a flower girl and the Rani resents it
The song proceeds —

In whose courtyard there is the lemon tree and
good lemon tree in these days? and in whose court
yard is the blooming chamba?

In the courtyard of the Rani is the lemon tree
and in the courtyard of the flower girl the blooming
Chamba How far has grown the Lemon of the
Raja and how much the blooming chamba—I
sacrifice myself over thee Oh tell me?

The lemon tree of Raja has grown to a small
extent while the blooming chamba has grown its
branches about a foot in length

Who snatches the lemon fruit and who plucks the
flowers from the Chamba?

The Rani sucks the juice of the lemon, while the
flower girl wears the flowers

The Rani says I arrange the sandalwood bathing
board and over it place a golden pitcher full of
water Come O dear Raja let us bathe together
I sacrifice myself over thee

Raja I will not bathe at your house O Rani I
will bathe at the house of my flower girl

Rani. O Raja I scar rice over thee I have cooked
white rice in she buffalo's milk Come and let us
eat together

Raja Rice cooked by you O Rani, I will not
taste I will eat at my flower girl's table

Rani. O Raja I sacrifice myself over thee I have
spread a white sheet and placed a white pillow, pray
come we both may sleep together

Raja O Rani on thy bed the mosquitoes trouble
I will sleep in the house of my flower girl

Rani (In despair) Oh come on the clouds of
the month of Sawan and pray the hut of the
flower girl may collapse in rains

The Raja comes wet and drenched in
rain, for the hut of the flower girl has
fallen in rains

Raja Awake arise O Rani open the door
as the hut of the flower girl is fallen

Rani (After opening the door) Here is a broken
charpoy women with old thread come on O Raja
we may sleep on it

In this song the Raja was rather too
strong for the Rani and had his own way
with the flower girl, but the Rani took
the revenge with the offer of a broken
bedstead when Raja returned drenched in
rain from the flower girl's house

There is another class of songs which
describe small romances, e.g. Sobni Mahi
wal, Raja Risalu and Rani Koklan,
stories of Gopichand and Bharat Hari and

so on. These do not go into details, but narrate important points of the story in detached lines, e.g., the following song narrates the story of Raja Risalu and Rani Koklan.

Says Rani. Sometimes it is the mango fruit and sometimes simply bare branches

O my simple Lord, sometimes it is you and my heart (which are together)

Who did weep while going under the "Ber" tree, was it a thief or a Sadhu?

Raja O Rani Koklan, to which side is the path leading to thy palace and where is the staircase?

Rani To the right is the staircase and to the left is the path to my palace

But I throw a rope from my window, O my sweetheart, ascend by that way O my Lord Come up and call me, O my simple sweetheart

I must say that much of the beauty of the ballads and songs is lost to the reader, owing to the translations, which are at the most an expression of the general sense only,

the beauty of style and expression of the vernacular can in no way be conveyed in a mere translation. But still what we have been able to read in the translation, sufficiently goes to prove the assertion that the Punjabi dialect is as rich in its ballads and songs as her sister languages, Hindi, Bengali or Gujrati. The object of this paper is to induce the educated Punjabis to take more interest in their mother tongue.

If one were to write on Punjabi Poetry, I think my Punjabi brethren, to whom Punjabi Poetry and Folklore is a sealed book, would be astonished and would exclaim with amazement "Hallo! Is it our Punjabi that is so rich in poetry?"

I wish some better brains may take up this work, which still needs a good deal of research and study.

NOTES

[PERSONAL.—Owing to repeated attacks of influenza the editor has not been able to write the usual number of pages of editorial notes for this issue.]

Fitness for Civic Freedom.

In all despotically governed countries there are many who lick the feet that kick. A country becomes fit for civic freedom in proportion to the increase in the number of those who, whatever the terrorism exercised or the hopes of gain and honours held out, would not truckle to men in power and lick the feet that kick. Another test of fitness for civic freedom is the increase in the proportion of those who do not associate with or honour sycophants

A Strong Governor of the 16th Century.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE DUKE OF ALVA IN THE NETHERLANDS IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

HIS TYRANNY.

In Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (World's Classics, vol. II), we read:—

"On the whole so finished a picture of a perfect absolute has rarely been presented to

mankind by history, as in Alva's administration of the Netherlands. The tens of thousands in those miserable provinces who fell victims to the gallows, the sword, the stake, the living grave, or to living banishment, have never been counted; for those statistics of barbarity are often effaced from human record. Enough, however, is known, and enough has been recited in the preceding pages. No mode in which human beings have ever caused their fellow creatures to suffer, was omitted from daily practice. Men, women, and children, old and young, nobles and paupers, opulent burghers, hospital patients, lunatics, dead bodies all were indiscriminately made to furnish food for the scaffold and the stake. Men were tortured, beheaded, hanged by the neck and by the legs, burned before slow fires, pinched to death with red-hot tongs, broken upon the wheel, starved, and flayed alive. Their skins, stripped from the living body, were stretched upon drums, to be beaten in the march of their brethren to the gallows. The bodies of many who had died a natural death were exhumed and their festering remains hanged upon the gibbet, on pretext that they had died without receiving the sacrament, but in reality that their property might become the legitimate prey of the treasury. Marriages of long standing were dissolved by order of government, that rich heiresses might be married against their will to foreigners whom they abhorred. Women and children were executed for the crime of assisting their fugitive husbands and parents with a penny in their utmost need, and even for consoling them with a letter in their exile. Such was the regular course of affairs as administered by the Blood Council. The additional barbarities com-

mitted amid the ruin and rack of those blazing and starving cities are almost beyond belief, unborn infants were torn from the living bodies of their mothers, women and children were violated by thousands, and whole populations burned and hacked to pieces by soldiers in every mode which cruelty, in its wanton inhumanity, could devise. The character of the Duke of Alva, so far as the Netherlands are concerned, seems almost like a caricature (pp 490-2) "The history of Alva's administration in the Netherlands is one of those pictures which strike us almost dumb with wonder. Why has the Almighty suffered such crimes to be perpetrated in His sacred name? Was it necessary that many generations should wade through this blood in order to acquire for their descendants the blessings of civil and religious freedom?" (p 418)

THE USUAL JUSTIFICATION OF TYRANNY

The Duke of Alva justified his tyranny in the usual manner of tyrants

"Nothing, he maintained [in his letter to the King at Madrid], could be more senseless than the idea of pardon and clemency. This had been sufficiently proved by recent events. It was easy for people at a distance to talk about gentleness, but those upon the spot knew better. Gentleness had produced nothing so far, violence alone could succeed in future" (p 458)

THE RESULT

Motley tells us what the result was

"The King's representative had formally proclaimed the extermination of man, woman and child in every city which opposed his authority, but the promulgation and practice of such a system had an opposite effect to the one intended. The hearts of the Hollanders were rather steelled to resistance than awed into submission by the fate of Naarden" (p 420)

ALVA'S CONFESSION OF FAILURE

Though the verdict of history on Alva's career has been that he committed political suicide in a chronic state of insanity brought on by copious draughts of unbounded power, he had lucid intervals during which he perceived that his diabolical tyranny had failed of its object

"Alva had, for a long time, been most impatient to retire from the provinces. 'The hatred which the people bear me' said he, in a letter to Philip 'because of the chastisement which it has been necessary for me to inflict, although with all the moderation in the world makes all my efforts vain. A successor will meet more sympathy and prove more successful' (p 363) — Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Vol. II (The World's Classics).

Commerce and Freedom.

HOW THE DUTCH BECAME FREE.

In the sixteenth century commerce played a great part in indirectly making the Dutch a free people. Motley writes —

"The Flemings above all their other qualities, were a commercial nation. Commerce was the mother of their freedom, so far as they had acquired it, in civil matters. It was struggling to give birth to a larger liberty, to freedom of conscience. There was mutual exchange between the Netherlands and all the world, and ideas were as literally interchanged as goods. Truth was imported as freely as less precious merchandise. The prohibitory measures of a despotic government could not annihilate this intellectual trade, nor could bigotry devise an effective quarantine to exclude the religious pest [Reformation] which lurked in every bale of merchandise, and was waiting on every breeze from East and West. The [religious] edicts of the Emperor [Charles of Spain] had been endured, but not accepted. The horrible persecution under which so many thousands had sunk had produced its inevitable result. Fertilised by all this innocent blood, the soil of the Netherlands became as a watered garden in which liberty, civil and religious, was to flourish perennially. The scaffold had its daily victims but did not make a single convert." [Part II, ch. I] — Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*

Commerce is here to be understood as meaning trade on a large scale, carried on by transportation of merchandise between different countries

"The Joyous Entry"

The constitution of Brabant, known as the 'Joyous Entry', i.e., the terms on which the sovereign was welcomed into the province, which were sworn to by Emperor Charles of Spain in 1535, is thus summarised by Motley —

"First and foremost, the 'joyous entry' provided 'that the price of the land should not elevate the clerical state higher than of old has been customary and by former prices settled, unless by the consent of the other two estates the nobility and the cities.' Again 'the prince can prosecute no one of his subjects nor any foreign resident civilly or criminal, except in the ordinary and open courts of justice in the province where the accused may answer and defend himself with the help of advocates.' Further 'the prince shall appoint no foreigners to office in Brabant.' Lastly 'should the prince, by force or otherwise violate any of these privileges the inhabitants of Brabant after regular protest entered are discharged of their oath of allegiance, and as free, independent and unbound people may conduct themselves exactly as seems to them best.' Such were the leading features of that famous constitution which was so highly esteemed in the Netherlands that mothers came to the province in order to give birth to their children who might thus enjoy, as a birthright the privileges of Brabant." [Part II, ch. II] — Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*

"The Act of Abjuration."

The famous declaration of independence dated 26th July, 1581, technically known as the Act of Abjuration, by which the Dutch Republic was formally established, states in its preamble as follows —

"All mankind know that a Prince is appointed by God to cherish his subjects even as a shepherd to guard his sheep. When, therefore, the Prince

does not fulfil his duty as protector, when he oppresses his subjects, destroys their ancient liberties and treats them as slaves he is to be considered not a prince, but a tyrant. As such the estates of the land may lawfully and reasonably depose him and elect another in his room."—Part VI ch IV, *Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic*

Franchise for Indian Women

As acting secretary to the Women's Indian Association, Mrs Margaret E Cousins has written a very timely, vigorous and cogent circular letter. Says she—

On behalf of the members of the 25 Branches of the Women's Indian Association all of which have signed requisitions in favour of women suffrage I protest vigorously against the decision of the Southborough Committee that the franchise shall not be extended to women because forsooth 'the social conditions of India make it premature'. Is this handful of men better able to judge of these conditions than were the thousands of Indian delegates to the Bombay and Delhi Congresses? These latter were the fathers, husbands, brothers and sons of the women concerned and knowing at first hand their social conditions with full understanding of what the necessary steps to women's voting would be then voted enthusiastically for the removal of the sex disqualification in all the terms of the Reform Scheme as also did the men in many Provincial and District Conferences such as Madras and Bombay. Are the considered opinions of these representative bodies of Indian men and women to be flouted by these few Committee members some of the Englishmen already known to be opposed to the grant of the vote even to their own Englishwomen and who are thus dated as behind the times?

She rightly believes that the committee's decision cannot be final, and gives reasons for her belief.

From the nature of the majority of the members of the Committee it was already so foregone a conclusion that they would oppose the enfranchisement of Indian women that immediately after the Bombay Congress I had written to the suffrage societies of Great Britain and Ireland pointing out that this question must be decided directly by Parliament and that the women voters there must insist on their voices being heard in support of their Indian sisters whose menfolk had so publicly showed their desire for their political freedom. I had had replies from their societies promising such support and we are not a bit downhearted though rightly indignant at the temporary insult offered Indian men and women for it cannot be considered final since it has evidently been based more on personal prejudices than on conformity with the wishes of the people.

If special electorates are given to universities, why should women graduates be disqualified?

With regard to points of detail the Committee propose that there shall be special electorates for universities. Does it propose to use woman's sex as a disqualification of every woman graduate of such universities? If the social conditions have been such as to permit them to attend colleges and pass the same stiff examinations as their brothers these

'social conditions' will not debar them from voting at an election. It is impossible for such unfair and unjust differentiation to remain unchallenged in the British Parliament or to be acquiesced in here. Western women in India will also have something to say to the authorities in England on the matter.

Many women have property and other qualifications like those which would qualify men to be voters. Why should the sex of the former be a disqualification?

There was never a demand that all women should get the franchise—only that where they possessed the other qualifications required from electors such as payment of rates or taxes, residence and property qualifications the fact that they were women—their sex—should not put them outside the pale of responsible citizenship. The number so qualified would be comparably few but they would be valuable assets to the Government of the country and, as Mr Hogg remarked at the outset of the development of Self Government for India it was advisable that sex disqualification should be removed.

Social conditions ought not to be a bar to the enfranchisement of women, on the contrary the franchise would be an incentive to women to change such social conditions as may stand in the way of a proper exercise of their power.

If there were some social conditions which would prevent them from using their vote, which we deny, the very possession of such a right would act as an incentive to women to change their conditions so as to be able to exercise their power.

Take the case of the purdah system

Presumably the purdah system is the excuse on which the denial of enfranchisement is based but our women's societies pointed out to the Committee that Australia had given the precedent of collecting women's votes at their homes by specially appointed officers who in India might be women and so this was not an impassable objection. If this is the 'social condition' that makes enfranchisement 'premature' then as it will take centuries to change it women will have to wait for their vote till then! Also the purdah system applies only to parts of India. Are no women to have a great principle applied to them because of 'the dog in the manger' views of this Committee?

According to the standards set up by the Committee the vast majority of male Indians are not qualified for the vote. But that has not stood in the way of their proposing that a minority should have it. Similarly, it is no argument that because the vast majority of women are not qualified for the franchise, therefore no woman should have the vote.

Their prevailing illiteracy cannot have disqualified Indian women. For,

The Committee does not favour a test of 'literacy', therefore it cannot be the present condition of women's education which forms the barrier. The qualified women would be quite well able to

manage their own affairs (and often those of others)' and all parties reduce themselves to the best interests of the individual

It is only fossils and fanatical misogynists who can consider the sex of women a disqualification. For, women have proved their capacity for all kinds of good and useful work, however strenuous.

In ancient times in village representative committees in India women could be and were members, as was shown some years ago in this *Review* by Sir Sankaran

Nair. As India is going to turn over a new leaf in modern times, she should not acquiesce in so inauspicious a thing as the exclusion of women from the larger life of the nation.

Mrs Cousins concludes her letter by saying —

Protest meetings should and will be held by Women's Societies throughout India and by men also and the Resolutions be sent to the Government of India, the Secretary of State and the British Women's Suffrage Societies so that this decision may be overborne.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE HINDU UNIVERSITY

Rapid Dissolution

THE Hindu University of Benares has taken from the Indian public donations amounting to 72 lacs of Rupees in cash and the capitalised value of annual grants and landed endowments, besides 21 lacs more of subscriptions promised but not yet paid. The Government of India has agreed to give it an aid of one lac of Rupees a year. The fate of such an institution is a matter of national concern. Bad as its present condition undeniably is, judging from the public reports of its internal disorders and the resignation of its eminent Vice Chancellor Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, its future is absolutely hopeless unless radical reforms are effected and men with sole devotion to educational work and academic experience are placed at its head and supported against factious opposition and capricious and reckless demands for changes of policy.

A new University requires for its success three things: money, a learned professoriate, and a devoted and heroic leader. The first is not wanting in this case. As for the second, the Hindu University of Benares has at present so small a staff of teachers that it is intellectually incapable of doing the work of a decent first grade college even not to speak of the higher, more varied and more responsible work of a self-contained self-governing university. We give here a list of the University Professorships that are vacant at Benares, from which the public will be able to judge in how many branches of study this

University cannot do any teaching work of the higher kind —

Ancient Indian History	vacant since	6 Aug 1917
Economics	vacant since	6 Nov 1918
Applied Chemistry	vacant since	1 Apr 1919
English	} none appointed since the foundation of the University	
Philosophy		
Physics		
Organic Chemistry		
Botany		
Zoology		

We learn from the papers that there will soon be a tenth vacancy as Mr Jadunath Sarkar, the University Professor of History, is resigning in disgust so that *only one University Professor will be left, viz Dr Ganesh Prasad (Mathematics)* to run a full-fledged modern University! The Hindu University came into statutory existence on 1st October 1917 since when nearly two years have passed and it can not be argued that it has had no time to complete its staff. In addition to the above vacancies the old C. H. School is without a Headmaster and the newly founded Teachers College without a Principal! The able Registrar, Mr Gurtu, M.A. is also going away.

Such a state of things is not creditable to Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer as the responsible working head of the Hindu University set himself strenuously to remedy the evil. But after exactly one year of office he has resigned the Vice Chancellorship as the situation has been made intolerable to

him and he finds it impossible to promote the interests of the University or even do any kind of useful work in the face of Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya's opposition

Why Vice Chancellor resigned

In his letter of resignation Sir Sivaswamy points out, what every right thinking man will admit, that in an infant University, where much constructive work of a preliminary kind has to be done, the Vice Chancellor, as executive head, should enjoy plenty of initiative and support from the Council. The principles having been settled by the Court (or Council) he should be held responsible for carrying them into practice, without being hampered by the discussion of endless legal subtleties, interference with details, and capricious changes of opinion or policy in every individual case by the members of the Council. Otherwise, the work would come to a standstill, as it actually has done. He writes that the efficient and prompt working of the University and the reform of its abuses would have been very easy for him with Mr Malavya's ready co-operation. As Mr Malavya now collects funds for the University—since Sir Sundar Lal is dead and the Maharaja of Darbhanga has ceased to go out on begging tours,—he quite naturally wields influence over the University Court and Council. Sir Sivaswamy regrets that it has been his misfortune that he has not been able to see several things eye to eye with Mr Malavya and that Mr Malavya's opposition and constant procrastination have made it impossible for the Vice Chancellor to hold his office with any chance of doing good to the country or satisfying his self respect. He, therefore, tenders his resignation, leaving Mr Malavya free to run the University as he pleases. Sir Sivaswamy had made his proposals of reform to Mr Malavya in private as early as January last and the latter had verbally agreed to some of them but he had since then constantly been begging for more time and putting off a final decision. At last, when pressed for a clear ye or nay, Mr Malavya replied by springing on the Vice Chancellor some absolutely new counter proposals which Sir Sivaswamy regarded as futile. Hence no course was left open to him except to resign.

Mr Malavya's manoeuvres

The resignation of Sir Sivaswamy clearly proves that even the Vice Chancellor is powerless against Mr. Malavya who was so long the "Hidden hand", the power behind the throne. If the people who are now working to get Mr Malavya elected as Vice Chancellor succeed, the Hindu University will no doubt be saved from the danger of his wielding power without responsibility, for in future the public will hold him to account as Vice Chancellor for the success or failure of the University. But this course has disadvantages of a serious nature. Mr Malavya, B.A., LL.B., is a charming speaker. But even his admirers have never credited him with scholarship, range of reading, or capacity to understand the scholar's point of view and the needs of scholarship. He has had absolutely no previous experience of the inner working of a respectable University like that of Allahabad, having never sat on its Syndicate, and for only ten years on the Faculty of Law (a technical body). The result of making him Vice Chancellor will be that a mere platform orator, absolutely innocent of academic training and scholarly habits of thought, will be placed in supreme charge of an academic body of the highest conceivable rank.

Mr Malavya is a politician of all Indian position and interests, he must attend to Bombay and Rajputana, Madras and Nagpur as well as to Benares or Allahabad. If we can judge of the future in the light of the past, he will visit Benares for only a few weeks in the year, whereas the work of the Vice Chancellor of the Hindu University in the present state of its growth requires his constant presence on the spot. Sir Sivaswami had spent at Benares exactly half the time since the reopening of the colleges in July 1918, and his stay would have been even longer but for the influenza epidemic which detained him at Madras for a month. On the other hand, Mr Malavya, in January last secured the resignation of a veteran educationist and local resident like Rai Bahadur G. N. Chakravarti from the Pro-Vice Chancellorship by declaring in Court that he objected to the latter's being appointed for three years then accepted the office for himself but attended his duties at Benares for only 29 days out of 105 from January to April 1919, though the

P V C is expected to be a resident officer'

The loss which the Hindu University will suffer from the withdrawal of Sir Sivaswamy can be best understood from the judgment of Mr. Malavya himself (Dr. Ganesh Prasad concurring as supporter). When proposing Sir Sivaswamy for election as Vice Chancellor (March, 1918) Mr. Malavya said, "After having given the matter my most earnest consideration, I came to the conclusion that the *best man whom we could select* as the successor of Sir Sundar Lal was Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar. By his *distinguished ability, experience, character and position*, he seemed to me to be *eminently fitted* to fill the place' (*Minutes*, vol II B p 513). And such a man has found his position at the Hindu University intolerable owing to Mr. Malavya's action'. The inference is obvious.

How the College is being run

So much for the administration. On the academic side matters are in an even more deplorable condition. Paragraphs are frequently inserted in the Allahabad papers that the C H College is growing like the Prophet's gourd,—it had only 510 students in Sep 1917, but 674 a year later. In the 30th March meeting of the Senate, Dr. Ganesh Prasad stated that he had 8 M Sc's of Allahabad and Calcutta on his rolls as students of the D Sc class and that three of them are actually teachers at Calcutta who occasionally visited Benares. Evidently these latter gentlemen took their instruction from the Hindu University by something like the Pelman system of training the memory by correspondence. It is not considered necessary for them to reside at the Hindu University ever in life, in order to qualify for its highest degree!

We have evidence that these "students" were enrolled and the notification inviting them was published without the Vice Chancellor's knowledge or permission. In justification of this measure which cuts away the very roots of a Residential University, Dr. Ganesh Prasad referred to Regulations, chapter 34, para 1. But Regulations chapter 1a, para 1, chapter 26 para 1 and certain other parts make it imperative for students of other Universities to live and study for 2 years at the Benares University before they can take

any of its degrees. Only the passing of the Benares Matric, I Sc and B Sc is excused in the case of students who had passed the equivalent examinations at Allahabad or any other university, but the next two years' study at Benares is always insisted upon even in their case. No Allahabad or Calcutta M Sc is by any of these Regulations exempted from passing the Benares M Sc (which necessitates a two years' previous residence and study there) and permitted to apply for the D Sc degree of Benares without, it may so happen, formal admission to this University, even a single day's residence there and the passing of a single one of its examinations.

The same indecent haste to secure pupils is betrayed by a resolution which Dr. Ganesh Prasad moved and carried through the Senate in spite of opposition (11 to 6) that Government should be requested to pass a transitory regulation to the effect that, notwithstanding the rules to the contrary any graduate who has passed the first part (called *Previous*, of the M A or M Sc examination of the Allahabad University would be eligible for studying and being examined in the second part (called *Final*) of the same course at the Benares University in 1919. Now, the M A course is one compact unit though its teaching is spread over two years and the candidates are examined by compartments. Under the proposed transitory regulation if the Government of India be so ill advised as to sanction it a candidate will keep one term at Allahabad and an other term at Benares and come out with the label of M Sc of the Hindu University! A cheap and quick way for a university to become the mother of a large brood! At a recent meeting of the Syndicate it was stated by the Registrar that a rusticated student of Allahabad had been admitted to the C H C, without the permission of that University.

The undergraduate classes of the Central Hindu College—which is the *only* Arts and Science College under this University,—are in a still worse plight in consequence of this mad race for increasing the number of pupils on the rolls and bringing grist to the financial mill. Quantity is the only thing cared for.

Machine worked by shifts

Admissions have been recklessly made

till the number of pupils in the C H C far exceeds what can be properly accommodated in the existing buildings. The Principal Dr Ganesh Prasad, with the approval of Pandit M M Malavya, has been holding the classes by two shifts from 6 a m to 3 30 p m. Some professors have to work in both shifts, and the Laboratory assistants and office servants have to attend all the time.

To add to the bewilderment of students, teachers and college bearers, and to render the teaching work a farce, Dr Ganesh Prasad regulates the lecture periods most capriciously,—some 'hours' being of only 35 minutes' duration, some forty, some forty eight, &c. And, again the starting point for college work is suddenly changed from time to time often at less than a day's notice to the students and staff and sometimes no notice at all.

Thus, college work was ordered to begin at 6 20 a m in September. In winter it was shifted to an hour later. Since then the beginning of the college day has been repeatedly put back by a few minutes at a time, thus by 10 minutes on 3rd March, 10 minutes more on the 10th, 10 minutes more on the 14th, and twenty minutes more on the 21st of the same month! It is difficult to imagine any place outside a lunatic asylum where regularity and method are so little cared for.

While students are being enrolled with such reckless eagerness and disregard of lecturing arrangements the teaching staff is being depleted as we have shown above.

Unless the Court of the University wakes up to the gravity of the situation and elects such men to the management and Council of the University as have academic experience, sense of duty and strength of character enough to fight for true ideals, a catastrophe cannot be averted. As things stand, the much advertised Hindu University is rushing straight to the brink of a precipice.

The root cause of the evil

(1) The election of non educationists, representatives of "the wisdom of our grandfathers," and men sure to be absentees, as opposed to local men and teachers.

(2) Neither Court nor Senate, has any homogeneity, as the members are a miscellaneous lot, representing different

types and stages of culture and polar diversities of thought. The majority are ignorant of and indifferent to the modern educational ideals, problems and experiments of Europe and cannot be of one mind except after many hours of discussion, and sometimes never at all. The last meeting of the Faculty of Arts lasted for 3½ hours, and yet the only work done by it was to refer back to a sub-committee a scheme for a course of domestic science and to come to no conclusion at all as to an Honours Course.

The result is that all men who value their time, all the European members (except good old Mr Keightley) and all the five representatives of Government have long ceased to attend the Senate or the Faculty, as a hopeless waste of time. For the same reason Dr Ganganath Jha and Mr Chintamani have again and again tendered resignation of their seats on the Council and other bodies.

(3) A passion for raising legal subtleties and making hypercritical objections which tend to "make the law an ass,"—on the part of some voluble speakers who possess local influence. Thus real business is put off till doomsday.

(4) 'Procrastination is writ large on the portals of this University,' as Sir Sivaswamy publicly declared. The majority, partly through constitutional timidity and partly through sheer weariness at hearing endless legal discussions, always vote for postponing decision even on urgent and important matters. Thus, a minimum of work is done, while the volume of the H U Minutes, exceeds that of every other Indian University!

(5) The absence of clear academic ideals. We only hear vague vapoury, clap trap 'popular' dreams on education, which wrangle with one another, so that the university with its prodigious expenditure of time cannot advance one step, but only moves in a circle.

(6) The 'hidden hand' of Mr Malavya, who will not help in the deliberations by residing at Benares, and yet will upset what others have done in his absence. He secured his own election as President of the C H School Board, but the most pressing affairs of the school has to remain undecided because the President would not come to successive meetings, even on days when he had written that he would be present.

(7) The divorce of power from responsibility in Mr Malavya. He will not undertake any definite and public position in the management of the university—even in accepting the P V C ship after jockeying Mr Chakravarti out of it. Mr Malavya declared that he would hold the post temporarily and would try to induce some friend to relieve him of it! And yet as Sir Sivaswamy's letter proves no responsible head of the university can do his duty unless he bows to the will of Mr Malavya and takes his orders from him. You can no more fix any responsibility on the slim and slippery Pandit than catch an eel with your bare hand. To aggravate the evil he is daily changing his opinions and also making glib promises from a hundred platforms which it is not humanly possible to carry out. The result of this attitude is—dead lock waste of time and eternal uncertainty.

Queer choice of men

The quality of a University entirely depends on the scholars and administrators in its service and that of the outside public who can be induced to assist it with their advice and co-operation. Now Benares is a third rate district town with very few men of high modern learning in the ranks of the independent professions. It is rightly known in India as the city of the dead and of the dying. A University at such a place if it is to impart modern learning and carry the modern scientific spirit into the realm of thought is bound to rely almost entirely on its professoriate for its mental guidance and even administrative efficiency. But the policy of those who rule the Hindu University is clearly one of distrust and exclusion towards educationists and preference of absentee lawyers old type Sanskrit Pandits Hindi writers and Urdu poets. At the last

elections to the Court by the donors, Prof V C Nag F I C who is well known to the scientific world for his researches in Chemistry and has had 20 years teaching experience in the U P was rejected in favour of a clerk of the Registrar's office whose only qualification is that he had served for some time in one of Harkishen Lal's insolvent banks! At the last elections to the Executive Council of the University Prof Jadunath Sarkar got in at the very bottom of the poll while the men who secured more votes included a senile octogenarian (Pandit Cheda Lal) and an absentee Engineer of Lahore!

This jealous exclusion of University teachers from the conduct of University affairs often produces results that would have been comic had not the fate of a great educational experiment been jeopardised by it. The supreme governing body of the Hindu University called the Council has 32 members. And yet owing to the exclusion of University teachers and the deliberate election of far off pleader politicians invalids and known absentees many meetings of the Council have failed for want of the legal quorum and many others have been attended by just seven (the minimum legal quorum). Thus the most important works of the University including the expenditure of tens of thousands of rupees have been done with the consent of less than one fourth of the Council. In 1918 33 meetings of the Council were summoned out of which three held on the same days as meetings of the Court also (when many people come from outside) were attended by 10 10 and 10 members only. Of the remaining 30 meetings four failed for want of a quorum nine were attended by the barest minimum of seven only six by 11 to 13 members and none by more than thirteen.

INSIDE VIEW

THE SPRING MAPLES

In my garden
Are a thousand crimson lamps
Burning through the beautiful sacrifice
Of spring

Grey dawn and twilight
Because of them remember the loveliness
Of golden noon
None tendeth them yet do they shine
undimmed

In dew and rain ; beneath them bask
 Blue lizards ; birds of passage
 Tarry to greet their splendour, the

tired heart,

Having them near, knows rest.
 They are the richest gifts of the old Earth
 Among a myriad gifts.

Through morning hours
 The sunbeams dance among them, all

the night

They dream in quietude.

Now in the Evening mist
 A vision rises around their stillness

and glory.

* * * *

In the far uplands cranes are calling
 Their hollow, curling cry.
 Among the ancestral trees beneath green

canopies,

Have wondered a broken company
 Bearing their dying lord,

Pale from the slaughter, not one but is
 - sorely hurt.
 Sad song comes slowly welling from their

hearts.

The sea-roads are held ; the mountains
 have no passes ;
 There is no hope but death.

* * * *

Over their sorrow spread those tender

hands,

Over their last hope years of fallen leaves
 Gathered ; flowers sprang and sweet birds

sang

As all the world were new,
 Now in my garden, set in the city's heart,
 Their life-blood, gleaming with the suns
 Of untold summers,
 Illumineth this hour of solitude
 With silent, beautiful witness
 Of the last agony of loyal souls.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

ERRATUM

In the first line under the heading "Notes", for "Perosnal" read "Personal."

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LETTERS FROM AN ONLOOKER

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[Translation revised by the Author]

ONCE upon a time I had nothing what ever to do—that is to say my chief relations were then with the great world towards which we own no responsibility. Then came a period when I had to set to work to make up for the accumulated arrears of my earlier days—that is to say now my relations were mainly with the work-a-day world which depends upon ourselves for its building up and maintenance. At last my health failed me and I got a few days respite from my work. And here I am at length stretched out on a long easy chair by the second storey window travelled so far all in a day or two—no railway ticket could have brought me this distance.

When I had thrust my universe behind the bars of my office habit I gradually came to plume myself on having become an important personage of usefulness. From such a state of mind it is only a step to the belief that one is indispensable. Of the many means by which Nature exacts work from man this pride is one of the most efficient. Those who work for money work only to the extent of their wages up to a definite point beyond which they would count it a loss to work. So they insist on an off time. But those whose pride impels them to work they have no rest even over time work is not felt as a loss by them.

So busy used I to be under the belief that I was indispensable that I hardly dared to

wink. My doctor now and again would warn me saying Stop take it easy. But I would reply How will things go on if I stop? Just then the wheels of my car broke down and it came to a stop beneath this window. From here I looked out upon the limitless space. There I saw whirling the numberless flashing wheels of the triumphal chariot of time—no dust roused no din not even a scratch left on the roadway. With its progress I could see bound up all progress that we come across in this world. On a sudden I came to myself. I clearly perceived that things could get along without me. There was no sign that those wheels would stop or drag the least bit for lack of any one in particular.

Thus when I stepped from my desk to this window I seemed to pass in a flash from the country of cannot do without me to the country of can-do-without-me. But is this to be admitted so easily as all that? Even if I admit it in words my mind refuses assent. If it be really quite the same whether I go or stay how then did my pride of self find a place in the universe even for a moment? On what could it have taken its stand? Amidst all the plentifulness with which space and time are teeming it was nevertheless not possible to leave out this self of mine. The fact that I am indispensable is proved by the fact that I am.

Egoism is the price paid for the fact of existence. So long as I realise this price within me so long do I steadfastly bear all the pains and penalties of keeping myself

in existence. That is why the Buddhists have it that to destroy egoism is to cut at the root of existence for without the pride of self it ceases to be worth while to exist.

However that may be this price has been furnished from some fund or other—in other words it matters somewhere that I should be and the price paid is the measure of how much it matters. The whole universe—every molecule and atom of it—is assisting this desire that I should be. And it is the glory of this desire which is manifest in my pride of self. By virtue of this glory this infinitesimal I am not lower than any other thing in this Universe in measure or value.

Man has viewed this desire in two different ways. Some have held it to be a whim of Creative Power, some a joyous self-expression of Creative Love. The others I leave aside who call it *Maya* predicting existence of that which is not. And man sets before himself different goals as the object of his life according as he views the fact of his *being* as the revelation of Force or of Love.

The value which our entity receives from Power is quite different in its aspect from that which it receives from Love. The direction in which we are impelled by our pride in the field of power is the opposite of that given by our pride in the field of Love.

Power can be measured. Its volume, its weight, its momentum can all be brought within the purview of mathematics. So it is the endeavour of those who hold power to be supreme to increase in bulk. They would repeatedly multiply numbers—the number of men, the number of coins, the number of appliances. When they strive for success they sacrifice others' wealth, others' rights, others' lives for sacrifice is of the essence of the cult of Power, and the earth is running red with the blood of that sacrifice.

The distinctive feature of Realism is the measurability of its outward expression, which is the same thing as the finiteness of its boundaries. And the disputes, civil and criminal, which have raged in the history of man have mostly been over these same

boundaries. To increase one's own bounds one has necessarily to encroach upon those of others. So because the pride of Power is the pride of quantity, the most powerful telescope when pointed in the direction of Power fails to reveal the shore of peace across the sea of blood.

But when engaged in adding up the quantities of this realistic world, this field of power, we do not find them to be an ever increasing series. In our pursuit of the principle of accumulation we are all of a sudden held up by stumbling upon the principle of Beauty, based on proportionateness, which bars the way. We discover that there is not only outward motion but there are also pauses. And we repeatedly find in history that whenever the blindness of Power has tried to override this rule of rhythm it has committed suicide. That is why man treasures up such savings as

Pride was Lanka's undoing. And that is why man still remembers the story of the toppling over of the tower of Babylon.

So we see that the principle of Power of which the outward expression is bulk is neither the final nor the supreme Truth. It has to stop itself to keep time with the rhythm of the universe. Restraint is the gateway of the Good. The value of the Good is not measured in terms of dimension or multitude. He who has known it with himself feels no shame in rags and tatters. He rolls his crown in the dust and marches out on the open road.

When from the principle of Power we arrive at the principle of Beauty we at once understand that all this while we had been offering incense at the wrong shrine, that Power grows bloated on the blood of its victims only to perish of surfeit, that try as we may by adding to armies and armaments, by increasing the number and variety of naval craft, by heaping up our share of the *loot* of war, arithmetic will never serve to make true that which is untrue, that at the end we shall die crushed under the weight of our multiplication of things.

When the *Rishi* Jaynavallaya, on the eve of his departure, offered to leave his wife Matreya well-established upon an enumer-

ation of what he had gathered together during his life she exclaimed

Yenaham namratayam kimaham tena kuryam !

What am I to do with these, which are not of the immortal spirit ?

Of what avail is it to add and add and add ? No amount of adding up of material things will take us to the perfectness of the immortal spirit. By going on increasing the volume and pitch of sound we can get nothing but a shriek. We can gain music only by restraining the sound and giving it the melody and rhythm of perfection.

In the field of Perfectness the current of man's pride flows in the reverse direction the direction of giving up. Man grows gigantic by the appropriation of everything for himself; he attains harmony by giving himself up. In this harmony is peace—never the outcome of external organisation or of coalition between power and power—the peace which rests on truth and consists in the curbing of greed in the forgiveness of sympathy.

The question which I had raised was 'In which Truth is my entity to realise its fullest value—in Power or in Love ?' If we accept Power as that truth we must also recognise conflict as inevitable and eternal. Many modern European writers have taken a pride in proclaiming such recognition. According to them the Religion of Peace and Love is but a precarious coat of armour within which the weak seek shelter, but for which the laws of nature have but scant respect for it is Power which triumphs in the end. That which the timid preachers of religion ana thematise as unrighteousness—that alone is the sure road which leads man to success.

The opposite school do not wholly deny this. They admit the premises but they say

*Adharmena dhate tabat, tato bhadraṇi pashyati
tatah saptaṇṇa jayati—sammoolastā v naśhyati*

In unrighteousness they prosper in it they find their good though it they defeat their enemies—but they perish at the root.

The pride of prosperity throws man's mind outwards and the misery and insult of destitution draws man's hungering desires likewise outwards. These two

conditions like leave man unashamed to place above all other gods *Shakti* the deity of Power the cruel one whose right hand wields the weapon of wrong and her left the weapon of guile. In the politics of Europe drunk with power we see the worship of this *Shakti*. Hence does its diplomacy slink from the path of publicity yet it has nothing wherewith to hide the nakedness of its lolling tongue—Behold how it slides and slithers at the Peace table!

On the other hand in the days of their political disruption our cowed and down-trodden people through the mouths of their poets sang the praises of this same *Shakti*. The Chandi of Kavikankar and of the Anandamangal the ballad of Mirasa the goddess of the snakes what are they but poems of the triumph of evil ? The burden of their song is the defeat of Shiva the good at the hands of the cruel deceitful criminal *Shakti*.

Today we see the same spirit abroad in our country. In the name of religion some of us are saying that it is cowardly to be afraid of wrong doing others that unrighteousness ceases to be wrong in the case of the powerful. And so we see that those who have attained worldly success and those who have failed to attain it are both singing the same tune. Both fret at righteousness as an obstacle which both would overcome by physical force. But as it happens physical force is not the supreme Power even in this world.

In these terrible days of evil it is my prayer that we may not be frightened by frightfulness nor bow down to it in worship—but ignore it despite it. May ours be that pride of manhood which standing in the midst of the appalling piles of the realistic world can keep its head erect and say *My wealth is not here which can say Chains do not bind me blows do not wound me death does not kill me* which can say *What have I to do with these which are not of the immortal spirit*. Our forefathers have said *Worship Him who is beyond death and beyond fear and thereby attain Peace*. On our heads be their commitment and in that Peace which is beyond death and all fear may we be established.

II

The point about the so-called "Mangal" poems of the old Bengali literature, is their dislodgement of one deity and the placing on his throne of another. To the simple mind it would seem that the question at issue, in a quarrel of this kind, would have been some difference in religious ideals. If a new divinity can furnish something more satisfying to man's sense of Right, that alone can be a valid reason for a change.

But here the fact was exactly the opposite. The male deity who was in possession was fairly harmless. All of a sudden a feminine divinity turned up and demanded to be worshipped in his stead. That is to say, she insisted on thrusting herself in where she had no right. Under what title? Force! By what method? Any that would serve. The methods that were eventually employed are not known as rightful to the ordinary understanding. But those were the methods that ultimately turned out to be victorious. Outrage, fraud and frightfulness were not only successful in capturing the Temple, but also in making the poets dance attendance and sing hosannas at its shrine. In their shame they faltered forth the excuse that they had received divine commandment in a dream! This was the nightmare that once rode our land.

The history of that day is not clearly known, but the picture which we get is somewhat as follows. When Bengali literature raised its head, like a coral reef, out of the still lagoon of its origin, the religion of Buddha in its decay was crumbling into degenerate fragments. And, in the manner of one dream melting into another, Buddha had turned into Shiva. Shiva was a mendicant, an ascetic; he did not conform to the Vedas, he was for all men and sundry. In Kavikankan's poem and in the Annadamangal his quarrel with Dakshin, of the Vedic cult, is treated of at the very outset. Anyhow, this deity of peace and remuneration did not survive.

In Europe also, the modern cult of *Shakti* is it that a god like the meek Jesus, the poor man's Jesus, the pale anæmic Jesus, will not do. What is wanted is a muscular, ravaging god who will acknow-

ledge no barriers, feel no compunctions, and own no shame in the process of proclaiming his worship. From what riotous assembly rises this European cult? From that of victors at their carousals, merry over the spoils of their success, who have cut up the earth into toothsome morsels as a zest for their liquor.

The self same creed was formulated in the gathering of bards at which the Annadamangal was sung. But what were its authors? Those who were starving and in rags, shelterless and honourless,—it was the dream of their hungry, terror-stricken, wearied out condition.

History does not write itself in blank verse,—after every line there comes a rhyme. How perfectly rhymes the end of the line to-day with that of the line which was completed five hundred years ago! With high pomp and festivity does Europe celebrate her *Shakti* worship. Wine has reddened her eyes like unto a hibiscus flower, the sacrificial knife has been sharpened, the victims are bound to the sacrificial posts. Some of her priests are denying Jesus, others would temporise, saying that double-meaning psalms may propitiate both Christ and *Shakti*, who are but the male and female halves of one and the same deity. In short, some of them have got drunk on their thrones, others in their pulpits.

And we also,—we will not have Shiva, the good. We needs must sing the "mangal" of Chandi, the terrible, lauding her as the *summum bonum*. But our chant is dream-conceived, born of unsatisfied hunger, carking fear and unrequited toil. That is the difference between the victor's worship of Chandi, and her glorification by the defeated.

What is the proof that the original cult of Chandi, from beginning to end, was only a dream? Look at what happens to Kalaketu, the hunter, of the story. The whimsical goddess gives him a ring as a boon, and at once his house overflows with gold. This petty hunter then engages in battle with the king of Kalinga, whereupon Hinumun, the monkey who is strength personified, comes all of a sudden to the rescue and cuffs and kicks the Kalinga

forces into a rout. What is this if not the Shakti of dreamland the offspring of hunger and terror? Everything there happens all of a sudden out of connection with the order of the universe. And in the expectation of some such catastrophic good fortune our people began shouting *mother 'mother'* in their chants of the praise of Chandi—the Chandi who knows no distinction between right and wrong and for the furtherance of whose designs truth and untruth serve with equal facility. She cares not how or why she makes the small to be big the poor to be rich the weak to be powerful. No worthiness is required no purging away of inborn poverty. Everything may remain in slothful stagnation just as it is—only with folded hands one must shout *mother mother!*

When the Moghuls and Pathans came upon Bengal in a devastating flood then from an outside view Shakti alone seemed rampant in the eyes of all observers. No moral law, no sign of Shiva, the good was visible. In such a pass if man can stand up and say *I will suffer all but not bend the knee to this awful thing*—then he can win through. In the case of Dharmapati and Chandi the merchants we find up to point the man showing himself and making such stand. Blow upon blow was hurled at them force and guile assailed them from every side but they refused to allow the seat of their worship to be shifted. And then—if fear could cow them grief shatter them losses weaken them if their very backbone had to be broken for it they must and shall bow to her in worship—so vowed Chandi the terrible. Otherwise?—otherwise her prestige was at stake. It was not of the prestige of any mortal ideal that she was thinking but the prestige of her Power. And so she punished and punished and punished.

And at last when the suffering was past bearing the half-dead merchants moved Shiva from his pedestal and bowed their head to Chandi. What was the hurt of the previous sufferings compared with the hurt of this insult to manhood? The fearless deathless soul thus owning allegiance to fear and worshiping death as

its god is greater than itself! That is where the victory of Shakti was most ghastly in its heinousness.

In our latter day dreams we have set to the worship of Europe's divinity—therein is our defeat at her hands seeking completeness. If she insists on hurting us let us suffer—but worship? No! Our worship must be reserved for the God of Right. If she insists on causing us sorrow let her—but defeat us? Never! No hurt can be greater than death. But if she can make us forget that even in death we can be immortal then indeed shall we suffer Death Everlasting.

Mahantam bibhum atmanam matwa dheera na sochati.

Knowing his soul is great and eternal man attains peace and grieves not

III

In our country it is accounted the greatest calamity to have one's courtyard brought under the plough. Because in the courtyard man has made his very own the immense wealth called space. Space is not a rare commodity outside but one does not get it till he can bring it inside and make it his own. The space of the courtyard man has made part of his home. Here the light of the sun is revealed as his own light and here his baby clips his little hands to call to the moon. So if the courtyard be not kept open but be used for sowing crops then is the nest destroyed in which the outside Universe can become man's own universe.

The difference between a really rich man and a poor man is that the former can afford vast open spaces in his home. The furniture with which a rich man encumbers his house may be valuable but the space with which he makes his courtyard big, his garden extensive is of infinitely greater value. The business place of the merchant is crowded with his stock—there he has not the means of keeping spaces vacant there he is miserly and millionaire though he be there he is poor. But in his home that same merchant flouts mere utility by the length and breadth and height of his room—to say nothing of the extensive use of his garden—and gives to space

the place of honour It is here that the merchant is rich

Not only unoccupied space but unoccupied time also is of the highest value The rich man out of his abundance can purchase leisure It is in fact a test of his riches this power to keep follow wide stretches of time which want cannot compel him to plough up

There is yet another place where an open expanse is the most valuable of all—and that is in the mind Thoughts which must be thought from which there is no escape are but worries The thoughts of the poor and the miserable cling to their minds as the ivy to a ruined temple

Pain closes up all openings of the mind Health may be defined as the state in which the physical consciousness lies follow like an open leath Let there be but a touch of gout in the remotest point of the smallest toe and the whole of consciousness is filled with pain leaving not a corner empty So the expanse that the mind desires is not to be had when it is miserable

Just as one cannot live grandly without unoccupied spaces so the mind cannot think grandly without unoccupied leisure—otherwise for it truth becomes petty And like dim light petty truth distorts vision encourages fear and keeps narrow the field of communion between man and man

On coming to this window I have come to realise that as Indians the greatest misfortune for us has been the closing of all windows And thorny weeds have sprung up and overrun all the little follow spaces of leisure which had been left to us

In old India one thing was plentiful—a thing we knew to be invaluable—the broad mental leisure which permitted of the pursuit and realisation of Truth There was a day when India stood in the open above pain and pleasure loss and gain and thence obtained a clear view of the truth by gaining which no other gain seems greater

But that large leisure for meditation is lost to us to-day The Indian now has no day off The stream of his holiday time has dwindled and dwindled till its very fount is dry and the whole of his consciousness is now only full of pain

So as I come to the window there rise

from the courtyard the wailing of the weak with which the length and breadth of our sly from North to South and East to West now resounds Never in all history were the weak so terribly weak as they are to-day

Thanks to science physical force in these times is so utterly so cruelly all powerful The yell of the athlete flung his brawn fills the earth Even the sky once impervious to man's evil passions has now been invaded by man's cruelty And from the bottom of the ocean to the top of the atmosphere blood is spurting from pierced hearts

In this state of things when the difference between the strong and the weak is so immeasurable if we find that this terrible strength is also timorous it becomes important to devote careful thought to the causes of this timidity All the more so because in order to come to a conclusion as to whether the Peace which is being made in Europe is likely to be permanent or not it is necessary to understand the strong man's psychology

When the war was at its height when the fear of possible defeat was not less dominant than the hope of possible victory then in that divided state of mind the aggrieved party charged the aggressor with what they called crimes against international law—the crime of the breaking of treaties the crime of the bombing of non-combatants from the skies the crime of employing forbidden engines of destruction When do men commit crimes? When the claims of some necessity become in their view greater than the claims of Right Thus with the Germans the desirability of victory weighed more than the desirability of right doing When this hurt the opposite party they kept complaining that what Germany was doing was very very wrong indeed What if it was war—were there then no such things as Law and Right? When Germany pitilessly meted out in her conquered provinces unduly severe punishments for comparatively light offences she had always some expediency to plead as justification Nevertheless the opposite party wailed eloquently indignant Was expediency the highest aim of Man has

civilisation then no responsibilities could those who ignore these responsibilities be allowed any more a place amongst civilised communities?

From the standpoint of Right of course these questions admit of but one reply. And as we heard that reply given we thought to ourselves that the fiery ordeal of the war would at last burn away all the sin of this iron age, that the condition of man could not fail of betterment since men's minds were undergoing a change for was it not a truism that change of law or order without change of mentality is futile?

But we made one miscalculation. In our country the longing for renunciation immediately following upon bereavement is looked upon with suspicion. The heart weakened by the wretch of parting is only too prone to self-abnegation. The renunciation of the strong therefore is the only true renunciation. So we should not have put full trust in the words of righteousness issuing from lips trembling at the prospect of possible defeat.

However, this party has won. They are sitting in conclave to decide how the foundations of a world Peace may be made secure. Debates are proceeding proposals and counter proposals the partitioning and parcelling of territories. I am unable to imagine the kind of weapon that will be forged in this factory.

But one thing is becoming clear to me. All the fire of the war has not served to purge this *Kali Yuga* of its sin nor has the psychology of Europe undergone a change. On what rests the throne of the *Kali Yuga*? On Greed—We would have we would keep we would on no account lose the tiniest part of our possessions. So is even the strong est pursued by incessant fear lest now or in some hereafter, however distant any loss should haply befall. Where the very idea of loss is so intolerable of what avail are counsels of law, of righteousness? It takes no time to persuade oneself that wrong is right when it is judged not on its merits not in relation to law but from the standpoint of one's own greed.

In these days of this terrible greed, in cases where the strong stand in fear of the strong both loudly praver in the name of

the Right and strive with might and main that no weak spot be left in their mutual regulations. But where at the same point of time this same greed makes the strong even the least bit afraid of the weak then in the passion of punishment great rents are made in the text of the law and considerations of right find no place.

There is a difference between the fear of the strong and the fear of the weak. The weak are afraid of getting hurt, the strong of obstacles crossing their path. We all know the fear that took possession of the Western world under the name of the Yellow Peril. At the bottom of this was the apprehension felt by an all-devouring greed lest its full satisfaction should somewhere meet with some check.

Where was the possibility of this check? In the possibility of one of the weak rising to be as strong as the strong ones—to become as strong as they—that was the Peril. And to prevent this the weak had to be kept weak. That is the policy which guides Europe's treatment of the rest of mankind. How can Peace prevail in the midst of the chronic apprehension which this policy generates?

Anatole France writes

It does not however appear at first sight that the Yellow Peril at which European economists are terrified is to be compared to the White Peril suspended over Asia. The Chinese do not send to Paris Berlin and St. Petersburg missionaries to teach Christians the Pung Chu and sow disorder in European affairs. A Chinese expeditionary force did not land in Quiberon Bay to demand of the Government of the Republic extra territoriality i.e. the right of trying by a tribunal of mandarins cases pending between Chinese and Europeans. Admiral Togo did not come and bombard Brest Roads with a dozen battleships, for the purpose of improving Japanese trade in France. He did not burn Versailles in the name of a higher civilisation. The army of the Great Powers did not carry away to Tokio and Peking the Louvre paintings and the silver service of the Elisee.

No indeed! Mons. cur Edmond They himself admits that the yellow men are not sufficiently civilised to imitate the whites so faithfully. Nor does he foresee that they will ever rise to so high a moral culture. How could it be possible for them to possess our virtues? They are not Christians. But men enticed to speak consider that the Yellow Peril is none the less to be dreaded for all that: is economic. Japan and China organised by Japan, threaten us, in all the

marlets of Europe with a competition frightful monstrous enormous and deformed, the mere idea of which causes the hair of the economists to stand on end

That is to say, greed will not suffer itself to be checked. He who is down must be kept down, and he who shows signs of rising must be dealt with as a peril

So long as this greed persists, no Peace Conference will have the power to give Peace to the world. Factories can make many things, but I refuse to believe in a factory made peace. The differences between Capital and Labour, Governments and Peoples, are all due to this greed. So our conclusion must be in the words of our old saying

In greed is sin in sin is death

When in these circumstances the strong sit down to adjust their mutual differences they put up dykes on their own side and cut channels on the side of the weak, so that the current of their greed may flow away from their own interests. Amongst themselves they would divide those parts of the world which are soft, into which the teeth may be comfortably fastened, and which, if the rending claws come by any hurt, may afford those claws an easy revenge. But it may emphatically be asserted that this cannot last for ever. They will never remain agreed upon the division of the spoils, contending greeds can never be equally satiated, the leaks of sin can never be stopped, and one day the leaky vessel will founder with all on board

Providence has kept us safe from at least one source of anxiety. Every inch of the way to become physically strong has been barred to us. Even hope which flies over barriers, has had its wings clipped. Only one royal road remains open to us,—the road which leads beyond all sorrow. Let evil assail us from without, but let us not allow it within. When we shall become greater than those who hurt us, then shall our sufferings be glorified. But this road is neither that of fighting, nor of petitioning

*Atha dheera amritam vidit va
Dhruvam adhruvashviba na prarthayante*

Men of tranquil mind, being sure of

Immortal Truth, never seek the eternal in things of the moment

IV

Some part of the earth's water becomes rarefied and ascends to the skies. With the broad movement and the music it acquires in those pure heights it then showers down, back to the water of the earth. Similarly, part of the mind of man rises up out of the world and flies skywards; but this sky-soaring mind attains completeness only when it has returned, time after time, to mingle with the earth-bound mind

There are, however, desert tracts in which the greater part of the year is rainless. That which ascended as vapour does not, there, rain back on the earth. The higher mind cannot commune with the lower. Such regions may manage to get along with artificial canal water, but where for them is the joyous festival of downpour where the music of the mingling of the waters of earth and sky?

So far for mere drought. Then there are the rain of mud, the rain of blood, and such like dire phenomena of which we hear tell. These happen when the purity of the atmosphere is sullied and the air is burdened with dirt. Then it is not the song of the sky which descends in purifying showers, but just the earth's own sins which fall back on it

That is the kind of stormy visitation which has overtaken us to-day. On the sin-laden dust of the earth pours tainted rain from the sky. Our long wait for the cleansing bath in pure water from on high has been repeatedly doomed to disappointment, the mud is soiling our minds and marks of blood are also showing. How long can we keep on wiping this away? Even the pure silence of the empty ear is powerless to clarify the discordant notes of the prayer for peace which is rising from a blood-stained world

Peace? who can truly pray for Peace? Only they who are ready to renounce. Those whose clutching fingers are wriggling, like so many snakes, with the greed of absorption, they want peace,—but by trickery, not by paying its price. The peace they desire is the unchecked opportunity to lick up the cream of the earth

lives are reckoned in their politics. But are these political libertines I cannot help wondering really oblivious of the special psychology which they have so sedulously cultivated and which propagating itself all over the world is spreading bloodshed throughout the path of its progress?

Those who assert that the East and the West are radically different at bottom pollute the very source of intercourse between the two. They keep their conscience pacified by laying down the principle that what is good for one cannot possibly do for the other and with this they would stifle all quibbles and prickings which injustice and cruelty elsewhere evoke. These shibboleths have come into use ever since the West first came into touch with the East. Where physical force makes it so easy to be unjust the obstacle of moral force is thus with equal ease got rid of.

That is why I say that commerce with the weak destroys the moral sense of the strong, the process being the creation of different ideals one for oneself another for others. When one's own school boys get out of hand it is indulgently remarked that boys will be boys. When others' school boys give vent to their excitement they are glared at and dubbed scoundrels. Race feeling rouses a high indignation when it is found in a weaker race but even if ten times more intense in the stronger so many good reasons for its existence are discerned that it is hailed almost with affection. Once more I have to beg hospitality from Anatole France. His mind is clear his imagination vivid and no absurdity can escape his keen sense of humour. He is still telling of the Chinese.

They are polite and ceremonious but are repelled by the cherishing feeble sentiments of affection for Europeans. The grievances we have against them are greatly of the order of those which Mr Du Chail cherished towards his Gorilla. Mr Du Chail while in the forest brought down with his rifle the mother of a Gorilla. In its death the brute was still pressing its young to its bosom. He tore it from its embrace and dragged it with him in a cage across Africa for the purpose of selling it in Europe. Now the young animal grieved just as we for consolation. It was unsociable and actually starved itself to death. I was powerless to save Mr Du Chail to correct its evil nature.

So as I was saying the greatest danger to the strong comes from the weak—so insidiously is their moral sense stolen away that even its loss is not felt. This danger is much greater to-day now that physical force has gained such tremendous resources of strength. There is no obstacle in the way of holding the weak in utter subjection for they have absolutely no hope of ever finding any way out of the net of scientific method with which they are enmeshed. And yet in spite of this enormous disparity of strength between the men in power and the men under them the timorousness which is inseparable from greed keeps the strong in a state of chronic anxiety. And the strong have at length come to the conclusion that the thumb screw must be so tightened that the weak may not dare to make their plaint at the bar of the world nor to offer evidence of their sufferings—not even to set up audible wailings in their own corners.

But those who are thus rendering their autocracy absolutely easy and safe will have to draw upon the capital of their manhood in order to count out the cost. And in their own home shall they rue this continual dissipation of such capital. Even now they are beginning to feel the effects but even yet they are not telling the trouble of casting up their accounts to find out the cause.

So much for what is to be said about the strong. I feel a world of shame in discussing this matter from our side, because though from an outer view it may sound like a homily from the inner side it has too much resemblance to a vocal of helplessness. To tremble and to whine are the two most shameful things for the weak to do. If we cannot prevail against the strong we must prevail against ourselves. Whatever else we may do let us not give way to fear, and if we are not allowed to speak out let us at least refrain from sending forth our voice of lamentation from one shore to the other.

When the fire of misery is burning the greatest loss of all would be to suffer its scorching and not avail of its light. May that light destroy our illusions and enable us to make an effort truly to see. Let us

ask our conscience. Is this hideous overgrown Power really great? Poised on the pinnacle of office men are priding themselves on their loftiness. The laws which they are making and breaking from their artificial eminence are not in conformity with the laws of the universal God. Are, then, these men really so great as they would appear? They can break from the outside but can they add a particle to man's internal wealth? They can sign peace treaties but can they give peace?

It was about 2000 years ago that all powerful Rome in one of its Eastern provinces executed on a cross in company with certain miscreants the simple untending *guru* of a tribe of fishermen. On that day the Roman Governor felt no falling off in his appetite or sleep. From the outside which of them then appeared the greater? And to-day? On that day there was on the one hand the agony, the humiliation, the death by the cross on the other the pomp and festivity in the Governor's palace. And to-day? To whom then shall we bow the head?

Kasmai devaya havisha v dhema

To which god shall we offer oblation?

1

The traffic of human progress has never met with so serious a block as it has to-day. The reason is that the long trains of modern history move by steam power and their tracks which spread all over the world cross and recross in an intricate maze. So whenever the different trains fail to run clear of one another a hideous smash up is inevitable and the whole world trembles at the shock.

Such an accident has now occurred the loss of life and property has been stupendous and on all sides questioning is heard what has happened how did it happen how can it be prevented from happening again?

Do these questions affecting the history of all humanity cast no burden of thought on us? Are we to be content only with carping at others are we not to search out our share of the responsibility?

For as I have suggested before and I repeat definitely here a grave respon-

sibility lies on the weak. It is they who afford hospitality to all the disease germs floating about in the air and nourish them and help them to multiply with their own life. Cowards are the cause of repeated attempts at frightfulness. Those who cringe keep on creating their own insults. Our sensibilities do not extend to where we cannot see. We lightly crush underfoot the insects on the way but if it be a bird fallen across our path we hesitate to tread on it. Our standard of feeling is different for the bird and the ant.

It is thus an important duty for man so to bear himself that he may not fail to be recognised as man—not only in his own interest but because of his responsibilities to others. It is not good that man should trample man underfoot neither for the downtrodden nor for him who treads. The man who belittles himself lowers not only his own value but that of all mankind. Man knows himself as great only where he sees great men—and the truer is such vision of greatness the easier it becomes to be great.

In countries where each individual has value the whole nation grows to greatness by itself. There men put forth their best efforts to live great lives and they fight to the end if obstruction be placed in their way. Such men cannot fail to make themselves evident and in dealing with them others needs must be careful how they behave. In judging such the judge's own sense of justice is not the sole factor but they have within them something that calls forth right judgment.

The characteristic sign of a people progressing in the way of greatness is that the negligibility of any class or individual constantly tends to disappear. More and more do all get the right of demanding their full manhood. So do they busy themselves to assure good food good clothing good housing for all good sanitation and true culture for all.

But what has happened in our country? By our preaching and practice and by our institutions it has been our one concern to keep the greatest number small. We have left no loophole for dispute or argument

as to whether they are really small or not, but have made it a matter of blind faith. And so it has come to pass that those we have charged with smallness are pleading guilty with folded hands, and if attempts are made to raise them in the social scale, it is they who protest most vehemently.

Thus have we made systematic provision for the unresisting acceptance of insult and contumely in every stratum of our society. Those who are kept under, are by far the most numerous,—yet the lowness of their ideas of life causes no pang in the hearts of the upper few. On the contrary, if they try to set up the standard of the upper set, the latter wax wroth.

When these men, habituated to perpetual insult, fail to assert their rights of manhood in sufficiently clear tones,—wherefore the foreigner finds nothing within or without which can make him keep back his contempt,—then, must we not recognise therein the true fruit of our own *Karma*? When the sin which we have codified in our social regulations returns on us at the hands of foreigners, in the field of politics, whence are we to draw the strength for effective protest?

So we base our protests on the sense of justice of those very foreigners—oh the shame, the added insult of such protests! How low do we stoop when we say, in the same breath, that in our own society we shall continue to drag our ideal in the dust, but in your politics you must keep it raised aloft. We shall keep in full force the slavery sections of our social code in all their variety, but you of your greatness must place in our hands the reins of equal sovereignty. Where ours is the power we shall be utterly miserly in the name of Religion, but where the power is yours we shall importune you in that same name of Religion, for unstinted largess. With what face are we to say these things? And what if our prayers be granted? If then we should still be as callous as ever about offering insult to our own countrymen whilst foreigners out of the fulness of their generosity should be showing respect to the insulted ones—would not that be for us the very acme of defeat?

Whatever may be the reason, the burden of wrong and insult lies heavy on us to day. In this condition our sole hope is, that since our opponents are failing to maintain their own in the field of righteousness, we may there rise superior to them. In that event the wrong they do us will not hurt our honour, but rather add to it. Are we even now to persist in our cry, *May you excel us in moral power, so that we may expect more from you than we are prepared to render to ourselves*, in other words, *let us keep ourselves for ever low that you may go on lifting us up to your level*? All responsibility thrown on others, nothing borne by ourselves,—are we forever to hold ourselves in such contempt and others in such high esteem? What defeat can physical force wreak on us compared to such self-inflicted degradation?

Only a short while ago I have heard with my own ears an argument of which the conclusion was that Hindu and Moslem cannot dine under the same roof, even though no prohibited food should have been brought in. Those who have no hesitation in affirming such principle are the first to suspect foreign interference when Hindu and Moslem fall out, and along with such suspicion is an implied moral judgment against the foreigner concerned! The only explanation can be that they hold the foreigner to be more amenable to moral law than they are themselves. According to them, it is right when, in our own social system, we make the barriers between man and man intolerably rigid, but when the foreigner seeks to make use of such barriers for his own purposes, that is wrong. We may keep our own side weak in the name of religion, but the sin comes in when advantage is taken of that weakness by our opponents.

If it be asked why Hindu and Moslem should not dine under the same roof, it is not considered incumbent to make any reply,—so lost are we to all sense of the absurdity and shamefulness of this denial to our conscience of the right of question. We are not to render any explanation in regard to the greater part of our habits and customs, just as the beasts and birds and trees are not. We are not to render

any explanation in regard to our social relations with one another on which the welfare and misery the joy and sorrow of so many so absolutely depend. But in our commerce with the foreigner in the world of politics how glibly have we learnt to ask questions how accustomed we are becoming to require reasonable explanations of all laws and regulations !

In a land where man has kept himself in slavery by thus ignoring the claim of human rights in social relations how can there arise any true demand for self-determination ? All rights in such a land needs must be concessions made by the generosity of others.

So I repeat that where man keeps himself petty he fails to catch the eye his plaint for rights fails to reach the ear. And when such men come into contact with the strong they bring about their downfall by lowering their ideal of the relation between man and man. Such relations with the weak gradually make pride, injustice and cruelty become natural for the strong. The very ease with which they can wreak their will on the weak makes them unconsciously relax their belief in the sanctity of human freedom. So is the weakness of those who have not the power to resist such a potent poison for all humanity. And our social system is but a vast machine for perpetuating such weakness. Its countless forces of unreasoning injunctions drive on the one hand completely hemmed us in and on the other they have cut at the very root of that freedom of conscience which alone could have served to find us a way out. Then again there are the punishments of disproportionate severity

for even the most trivial offences by way of nonconformity. And so under the burden of unthinking stupidity, and the pressure of distracting fear, all sensibility and initiative even in the least of life's affairs is utterly crushed out. And then ? Then only beg and beg and if alms be denied weep and wail !

If alms should have been forthcoming for the asking and our travail should have ceased with the dole then indeed would our abjectness have become hopeless. It is because God will not curse us with the curse of eternal abjectness kept continually pampered by gifts of rights out of others' magnanimity that He is showering upon us sorrow after sorrow.

When the ship's hold is full of water then only does the buffeting of the outside waters become a menace. The inside water is not so visibly threatening its rush not so stupendously apparent—it destroys with its dead weight. So the temptation is strong to cast all blame on the waves outside. But if the good sense does not dawn in time of all hands manning the pumps then sinking is inevitable. However hopeless the task of getting rid of the internal water may now and then appear it is surely more hopeful than trying to bale away the water of the outside seas.

Obstacles and opposition from without there always will be but they become dangers only when there are also obstacles and opposition within. Only if true endeavour should replace beggary will all insult disappear and fruition be ours.

Translated by
SURENDRA NATH TAGORE

WAS THERE A MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE ?

I was shown by the C. I. D. Inspector at Amritsar a telegram from the Punjab Government prohibiting the entrance of Mr. Eardly Norton into the martial law area for the purpose of defending the

accused under trial at Lahore. The Inspector asked me if I knew Mr. Eardly Norton by sight and I told him I did not. He kept the mail train waiting while a thorough search was made from end to

end of the train a second time. This was the earliest information which I received about the refusal to allow any counsel from outside to come to Lahore to assist the prisoners who were being prosecuted on charges which involved the severest sentences under the law. Later on, I sent an urgent telegram to the Government of India stating that this matter was of the most serious consequence, and asking for the order to be rescinded. It appeared to me to be a flagrant denial of British justice for it was clear that the members of the Lahore Bar were in a great measure panic-stricken by the arrests that had taken place, and were refusing to appear. A very poor man, like Mr. Kalnath Roy, would be the last person in the world to wish to incur the very heavy expense of calling up a counsel from Calcutta, if he were able to get efficient counsel on the spot. Many similar telegrams were sent to the Viceroy and after some days a formal reply was received from the Home Office. Mr. Hasan Imam showed me his telegram, which was practically the same as mine, and Mr. J. N. Roy told me he had received a similar one also.

There were two points in the official telegram which appeared to me to be palpably inaccurate. First, it stated that the civil authorities could not interfere with the military. This, I felt sure, was incorrect, because the Government of India had, only a few days earlier, interfered in the matter of the public flogging that had gone on in the open streets of Lahore. Furthermore, it is a well known fact, that the Viceroy of India is Head of the military, as well as of the civil, authorities. One of the sections of an Act of the Constitution states clearly that the Governor General in Council shall direct, superintend and control both the civil and military authorities. The telegram also stated that the Government of India had ascertained that the prisoner under trial had obtained the service of efficient counsel. One can acquit the Government of India for accepting the assurance sent to them from Lahore, but it is difficult to acquit the Lahore authorities themselves who sent to the Government of India that news

without full verification. For, in Mr. Kalnath Roy's case, the fact is as clear as day, that he never did have efficient counsel, and that Kunwar Dhuleep Singh,—the Barrister appointed to defend undefended cases,—had to be called in at the last minute lest his case should go undefended. I believe it is true that Kunwar Dhuleep Singh had little more than a few hours in which to get up the whole case. With regard to Mr. Harkishenlal, I have seen with my own eyes the telegrams which his advocate sent, stating definitely that *senior counsel could not be obtained in Lahore*. The same must have been true in other cases also. That Mr. Kalnath Roy suffered grievously in this respect, and was denied a privilege which the greatest criminals possess as a matter of course in every civilised country, cannot, I think, be questioned. The whole course of the prosecution might have been different, if a senior barrister, fully versed in the complicated procedure of such trials, had been acting on his behalf from the first.

One further line of action taken in the course of this trial appears to me scarcely less unfair than the one I have mentioned. I will quote Mr. S. K. Mukerji's own words to show what I mean—

"The prosecution took advantage of the Court Martial procedure and refused to show its hand—and then only at the instance of the Martial Law Commission—till the very end. Indeed it was in the course of the final argument that the Crown Prosecutor indicated the particular passage among the articles under charge which the prosecution considered objectionable and then all that the accused could do was to take his chance and hurriedly interrupt Kunwar Dhuleep Singh in the midst of his argument with a view to giving him instructions and laying his explanations before the Commission."

Now, this was not a civil suit but a criminal trial, where the prosecution represented the King Emperor himself. The Crown Prosecutor represents the Crown. If it is actually true, that the Crown Prosecutor deliberately withheld the leading grounds of the accusation against Mr. Kalnath Roy, in order to confuse the defence and take an unfair advantage, then the matter is of the gravest consequence,—scarcely less serious, as I have said, than the refusal to allow the prisoner to be

represented by a counsel of his own choice Mr Mukerji's statement as to the consequence runs as follows —

'The result of this double hearing was that Mr Kalmath Roy never had anything like an opportunity of having his full set of many passages which are wholly innocent and capable of a satisfactory explanation have been entirely misunderstood by the Commission and incoherencies found where none really existed. On the other hand some important points in Mr Kalmath Roy's favour were not fully explained and some unhappy misapprehensions on the part of the Commission were left uncorrected.

A further point of a different character arises with regard to the form of the trial under which Mr Kalmath Roy was prosecuted. Even accepting for the moment for the sake of argument that the Government were acting well within their powers in proclaiming Martial Law in the Punjab yet the accepted opinion of the most eminent lawyers is that only cases of open violence committed on the spot or cases of open incitement to violence committed on the spot should be tried under Martial Law while complex cases which involve knowledge of intricate details of law and are concerned with the exact meaning of words and definitions of what is or is not legitimate criticism should be taken up by the common courts from whose decision an appeal is always possible and a revision of sentence. It is agreed also that the ground for such procedure under common law is far stronger still if there is present no hindrance of a violent character to the common law courts being opened. In Mr Kalmath Roy's case there is a strong argument that the common law courts should have been used instead of Court Martial. There would have been no difficulty whatever in those law courts being opened in Lahore at the time — no danger from the mob was imminent. Also the case was an extremely complex one — there could hardly be a case where words and phrases counted for more in the question of the guilt or innocence of the accused. Therefore to drag this special case under *Martial Law* and not to allow it to be tried by *Common Law* seems to be unfair both in law and equity.

I have already written very fully to the Press about Mr Kalmath Roy's personal characteristics and antecedents, his services to Government in the most critical time of the war, his public record for great moderation, caution and sanity of judgment, his nature and character which placed him unhesitatingly and unquestioningly from first to last on the side of law and order, his fundamental creed as a constitutionalist and a firm believer in the benefit of the British connexion. All these have been put before the public, and will gain more emphasis still when Mr Kalmath Roy's own statement made in his own defence is in the Press. They add to the presumption that he could be the last person to be a conspirator eager to stir up rebellion among the masses by his pen or an inflammatory politician attempting to do mischief by violent and mischievous writing. He was not that kind of person at all and men of forty or fifty do not change their fundamental habits in a day.

But it is when we come to the actual case itself — the prosecution charge the articles condemned the judgment and the summing up — it is when these are studied carefully that we become more and more amazed and bewildered and begin to wonder if we are really living in the Twentieth Century in a country where British liberty and justice are professed as the only principles of government! The amazing character of this judgment has been shown up by Mr M. K. Gandhi in *Young India*, June 11, 1919, and I will not go into it again but I do wish to say with the utmost deliberation that so far as my own reason, intellect and judgment carry me — as one whose mother tongue is English and who can weigh the value and use of English words — if these issues of the *Tribune* from April 1st to April 13th make the Ldito a criminal then not a single Indian Editor, who seeks to say soberly what he feels to be the truth is safe. If Mr Kalmath Roy a Moderate of Moderates is a criminal then no Indian Moderate who speaks on the public platform is safe. If Mr Kalmath Roy a strict constitutionalist is a criminal then no Indian constitutionalist who claims and uses that

freedom of speech which the British Constitution implies and involves, is safe.

If it is necessary I shall try to show this to the public clearly and concisely, in a written pamphlet. The present article is intended to bring out some points surrounding the trial which appear to me to strengthen the pamphlet either for a retrial, or else for a withdrawal of the sentence. In conclusion I will quote the words of Mr S K Mukerji who is living in Lahore and has visited quite recently Mr Kalmath Roy in jail. He thus gives us the news of his present condition

Notwithstanding the philosophic fortitude with which Mr Kalmath Roy has been bearing up his present affliction notwithstanding his living faith in the beneficence of an all-wise Providence there can be no doubt that a prolongation of the present conditions—especially those pertaining to rigorous imprisonment—is fraught in the case of a person of his delicate health and nervous temperament with great risk and may well give cause for anxiety to his friends. His Honour the Lieut Governor's decision, therefore 'declining to interfere in the order passed by the Martial Law Commission' has been a serious disappointment.

Shrantimketan

C F ANDREWS.

AN INSIDE VIEW OF THE HINDU UNIVERSITY A REPLY

IN the last issue of this journal a gentleman signing himself Inside View has contributed an article entitled The Present Condition of the Hindu University in which facts have been mixed up with half-truths in a manner that makes the whole article to a large extent sensational. An attempt is made here to represent the facts correctly and show a true view of the situation. For the convenience of the readers the same headings will be used as those used by Inside View and the answer to each paragraph in the article in question will be found in the corresponding paragraphs that follow.

"Rapid Dissolution"

Pointing out how the Hindu University so magnificently financed by the public is a matter of national concern the writer says. But is the present condition undeniably is judging from the public reports of its internal disorders and the resignation of its eminent Vice-Chancellor for Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer its future is absolutely hopeless unless radical reforms are effected and men with sole devotion to educational work and academic experience are placed at its head and supported against factious opposition and capricious and reckless demands for changes of policy. The public reports of its so called internal disorders have hitherto only spoken of a number of resignations which have been reiterated by the press over and over again with the effect that the affair has been magnified beyond its actual dimensions. The fact is that out of a total of about a hundred academical officers the number of those who have resigned is only 7, including one Head Master 2 Profes-

sors, 2 Principals, one Pro Vice-Chancellor and one Vice-Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor's tenure of office terminated on the 31st March 1919 but owing to a different interpretation of a proviso of section 9 of Act XVI of 1916 put upon it by the Hon'ble Dr Sapru the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sir Sivaswamy himself the latter continued as Vice-Chancellor. Certain differences between him and the Hon'ble Mr Malaviya precipitated his resignation. Press reports were deliberately made such as to make affairs appear more sensational and important than they actually were. Authoritative contradictions have been published from time to time which show that the present condition of the University is not undeniably bad though the personal eminence of Sir Sivaswamy may give it such a look. Its future therefore is not at all hopeless and radical reforms are not needed. Men with sole devotion to educational work and academic experience are already at its head. In a democratic institution as the University is supposed to be they cannot however be always supported against factious opposition and capricious and reckless demands for changes of policy. Elsewhere they may.

The University has not got enough money for its work though it is nearly a crore. A learned professoriate and a devoted and heroic leader it has. Inside View however, says the Hindu University at present has so small a staff of teachers that it is intellectually incapable of doing the work of a decent first grade College even not to speak of the higher more varied and more responsible work of a self-contained and self-governing University. And then he proceeds to give a list of some

and work has to be done within these limits doing anything beyond which would be illegal. The constitution of this University is quite unlike that of any other Indian University, and Sir Sivaswamy misunderstood the situation when he probably wanted to be an autocratic executive head despite the University laws. No councillor could bind himself to support him much less the Hon ble Pandit Malaviya who is said to have not been able to co operate with Sir Sivaswamy in his autocratic ways, seeing that Sir Sivaswamy could resign if he could not have his way but the Hon ble Pandit cannot as he is morally bound to remain in the University for every pie that he has brought to the University on the credit of his personal services to the country. Perhaps Sir Sivaswamy's proposal to appoint somebody was likely to be rejected by the Council and the Hon ble Mr Malaviya wanted to postpone the proposal to be made in the right time for acceptance but Sir Sivaswamy could not wait any longer. This may be the so-called procrastination which has been imputed to the Hon ble Pandit almost *ad nauseum*. If this is not the case of procrastination so often referred to I do not know of any other as the Hon ble Pandit has attended more meetings than Sir Sivaswamy and the latter was usually the President and ruled the deliberations so the cause of any other kind of procrastination by absence from or mistake in proper guidance to the meeting may be Sir Sivaswamy himself. The writer makes a vague reference to some proposals of reform but as he does not specifically mention the proposals which Sir Sivaswamy made to the Hon ble Pandit in January last and the reason why the Hon ble Pandit procrastinated them away by an inference from the preceding paragraphs of Inside View, one can only suppose that the so-called reform proposals refer only to the case of fresh appointments.

'Mr Malaviya's manoeuvres'

Mr Malaviya is not the hidden hand or the power behind the throne as Inside View describes him. He has not done a single thing on his own initiative till now. Even the Hon ble Mr Malaviya is powerless against the constitution of the University. In the meetings of the Senate he has been often outvoted and ruled out of order by Sir Sivaswamy himself. He never took or wanted any advantage beyond the privilege of an ordinary member. He never cared who voted for and who against his proposals. The resignation of Sir Sivaswamy does not prove that he is powerless against Mr Malaviya though he may be so in respects other than as a Vice-Chancellor. It only proves that law and constitution are stronger than any man including Sir Sivaswamy. Inside View has made an unjust and inaccurate imputation. The Hon ble Mr Malaviya has rejected proposals for his own election as Vice-Chancellor because perhaps he thought it would be

selfish on his part to accept the Vice-Chancellorship at least he said it would mean accession of no new strength to the University. Sir Sivaswamy's appointment will. But innumerable friends and electors wish he should accept it and Inside View only makes the case stronger when he desires the University to be saved from the danger of his wielding power without responsibility if such danger there be. There is none however as he is the Pro Vice-Chancellor already which means in certain respects more responsibility and less power. Inside View however does not apparently wish him to be the Vice-Chancellor as the course according to him has disadvantages of a serious nature. He has freely minimised the Hon ble Pandit's scholarship, scholarly intelligence and range of reading. I cannot enter into tedious comparisons as in academical qualifications the Hon ble Mr Malaviya is in every way equal to Sir Sivaswamy and there may be numberless points in which one may excel the other. Those who have read his note as a member of the Industrial Commission may judge whether or not his knowledge is extensive and intensive whether he has scholarly intelligence or not. It is generally a lawyer who is made Vice-Chancellor in Indian Universities but the Hon ble Pandit is a legislator too and I do not see any of the disqualifications hinted at by Inside View which would make him an unsuitable Vice-Chancellor.

The Hon ble Pandit can be expected to attend to the University affairs more than Sir Sivaswamy in spite of the Pandit's multifarious duties, tours and engagements.

Inside View excuses Sir Sivaswamy for his being detained at Madras for a month owing to influenza but blames the Hon ble Pandit for attending to his duties only 29 days out of 105 at Benares from January to April 1919. But one must not forget that if influenza which was a personal danger and discomfort could prevent Sir Sivaswamy for a month there is no wonder if the Hon ble Pandit could not spend more time at Benares than was absolutely necessary being all the time engaged in discussing the howlatti bills in the Imperial Legislative Council which he reasonably considered a matter of greater urgency and importance to the country.

As to the loss the Hindu University will suffer from the withdrawal of Sir Sivaswamy, opinions may differ both as to the kind and the degree. But there cannot be two opinions on the point that an autocratic ruler is quite out of place in a democratic Sir Sivaswamy's tenure of office terminated on the 31st March 1919 according to many and the question was before the last meeting of the Court when Sir Sivaswamy decided things in his own favour. To say, in the circumstances that Sir Sivaswamy found his position intolerable owing to Mr Malaviya's action is a pure misrepresentation.

'How the College is being run'

Inside View seems to have made much of the ordinary progress report of the College considering the numerical strength of the C H College in previous years the number of students is at present certainly very large. But 683 students do not give sufficient work to a large professorate like the one we have the accommodation at present is also limited. To obviate the latter difficulty the shift system has been advantageously adopted. While complaining that the college was understaffed Inside View showed much solicitude for Teaching work of a higher kind (vide his para 2). One wonders why the writer should grow critical now (in his 9th para) in respect of the work of a higher kind in reference to the so-called D Sc class and begin to quote or more correctly misquote chapter and verse against it. There is a whole chapter (XXXI) for the D Sc in the Benares Regulations which hardly leaves room for any doubt on the point. For the so-called D Sc students residence is not required by the regulations as they at present stand moreover research work in mathematics does not involve daily lectures or or daily consultation with the Professor and can be carried on purely by correspondence also. I take care to point this out as Inside View seems to be innocent of this scholar's point of view. But as a matter of fact as Inside View himself admits the D Sc students of Calcutta do come to Benares to take necessary instructions as often as needed. Inside View need not grudge the privilege.

So far as admission of students is concerned there are rules and regulations laid down for the guidance of the Principal who is however bound to consult the Syndicate in certain cases. Inside View complains of the Principal not having informed or obtained permission of the Vice-Chancellor in enrolling D Sc students. But he forgets that there is neither any necessity nor is there any rule requiring the Principal to consult or inform or take the permission of the Vice-Chancellor. Inside View wants certain Professors to be appointed for higher work which on account of the residence rule can be commenced only after two years residence and the taking of the M A degree in the case of arts subjects. He should have rejoiced that in some science subjects higher work can be started at once in keeping with the rules. The regulations referred to by him apply to other cases than that of the D Sc class as held by the Senate Sub-Committee vide p. 164 Minutes Vol III A. Admission to the M Sc class will involve residence but as the D Sc class is in fact no class no residence can be insisted upon. Research work need not be confined to students in residence and a candidate qualifies by his work to be working anywhere. There is no class or course of instruction prescribed by the regulation.

Inside View complains of a transitory regulation having been moved to meet the case of two students who had passed their previous M Sc before the University was chartered. It is unjust to call it indecent haste to secure pupils. The word transitory makes it plain that the object was to meet special cases for one or two years. Transitory regulations are no innovation other such regulations being still in force.

There is hardly any difference between the M Sc courses of Benares and Allahabad as yet and at least for the first two years of Benares University the candidates who have passed their previous at Allahabad can easily appear at the final at Benares at any rate if two candidates enjoy this privilege the fears of

Inside View that the University will soon become The mother of a large brood are surely ill-conceived. The charge that a rusticated student was admitted is vague. Was he admitted while he was undergoing rustication? Or was he rusticated for life? The Hindu University was recognised only six months ago by the Allahabad University for Inter University relations. There is no reason to doubt that the Principal always took assurances as to character and conduct of each candidate for admission and the present Registrar himself had to certify in one doubtful case—long before the Inter University relations were established in January last on the motion of Doctor Ganesh Prasad himself. Inside View says the Registrar reported to the Syndicate the admission of a student who was rusticated elsewhere but he is conveniently silent on the result of such report. The fact is that the Syndicate did not take any notice of such report as the exact situation was explained to the Syndicate by Dr Ganesh Prasad.

The mad race for Efficiency and Quality in education with which the bureaucracy seems to have fascinated our friend Inside View to such an extent that he seems to have lost his sense of proportion. He says 'The undergraduate classes of the Central Hindu College are in a still worse plight in consequence of this mad race for increasing the number of pupils on the rolls and bringing grist to the financial mill. Quantity is the only thing cared for. The Presidency College of Calcutta for instance is not the only arts and science College of the University of Calcutta yet the number of students in that College is about double that of the C H College but it is not in a worse plight. But what is this plight after all? What was the bad plight? That certain D Sc and M Sc students were admitted? That must be a wretched plight indeed! Are the undergraduates in a worse plight because there is none to teach them? This allegation as has been shown is absurd. In fact low the under graduates are in a worse plight is not clear. The larger the number of students the greater the profit from the fees indeed! It should be

borne in mind that the total income under the head "tuition fees" is yet less than one fourth of the total expenditure and even four times the present number of students will not make up the deficiency, for reasons obvious to every educationist. Is it desirable that the number of admissions should be necessarily limited merely to show that 'grist is not being brought to the mill'? Or, does "Inside View" want that the number of students should be reduced and if Professors increased, so that the latter should have still less work and much more leisure?

"Machine worked by shifts"

'Inside View' seems to be needlessly jealous of the shift system. The institution is growing and it was natural that it should outgrow its present accommodation. Every Indian, including "Inside View",—if he is not a non-Indian—should rejoice that the buildings which were occupied for 5 or 6 hours before are now being used for double the period. Other countries have already been observing this economy and our new University has shown that this method would be beneficial in more ways than one, especially because it is purely residential. The timetable is so nicely regulated and arranged that it suits the convenience of every individual professor. There is a meeting time of both the shifts and some professors find it more convenient to work at the end of the first and at the beginning of the second. Even the menial staff has its work divided. The complaint, so unfounded, is only an invention of the writer, as no student, or menial, or professor has ever complained of it. The system, on the other hand, was warmly appreciated by the colleagues of the principal. Professor Jadunath Sarkar, for instance, wrote to the Principal in reference to the evil of making the same staff work in both the shifts: "The draft timetable drawn up by the principal very happily avoids this evil, and is, therefore, not objectionable from this point of view."

It is utterly untrue to allege that periods are of various durations. The morning periods are of 40 minutes each and the day periods are of 48 minutes each. The starting point of the college work is not changed *from time to time* but *from season to season* with regular notice, and the allegation of "Inside View" is pure untruth. The practice is in close conformity with that followed in many Western Universities. I need hardly say that to show that the change in starting time was "capricious", exaggerated and fancied examples have been given and a whole paragraph wasted over it.

The teaching staff is 'repleted,' as we have shown above and the admission of students should be pushed on to provide sufficient work for the staff. 'Inside View' is wrong when he says that admissions are being recklessly made and the staff is being depleted.

'Inside View' next insinuates that the

members of the Council as at present constituted have academic experience, sense of duty and strength of character enough to fight for true ideals. An examination of the list of members nevertheless will show that there is a considerable number of such members as can be described as having academic experience, sense of duty and strength of character enough to fight for true ideals. The sweeping statement of 'Inside View' is unjustly derogatory to the generality of members of the Council.

"The root cause of the evil"

['Inside View' proceeds to trace "the root cause of the evil" in 7 sections, viz, (1) Election of unsuitable members, (2) Consequent want of homogeneity and prolonged discussions, (3) Legal subtleties, (4) Procrastination, (5) Absence of clear academic ideals, (6) The "hidden hand" and (7) The divorce of power from responsibility in Mr Malaviya. Each section will be taken one by one.]

1 Election of non-educationists cannot be altogether avoided in the Court, which nevertheless contains nearly seventy per cent of educationists. The representatives of "the wisdom of our Grandfathers" are few and far between. The All India character of the University will be said to have been lost if its working bodies are confined to local men. Absentees can never be avoided in practice. What is the state of things even in Calcutta ordinarily? The Council mostly and the Senate and the Syndicate, as also the Faculties, are entirely composed of educationists.

2 Such homogeneity as "Inside View" aims at is not possible in this world. It is inaccurate in the case of the Court and plain untruth in the case of the Senate to say that the majority are ignorant of and indifferent to modern educational ideas, problems and experiments of Europe. As to prolonged discussions, they are not peculiar to the Hindu University. Older Universities have longer discussions. And a new University with something new in it, must necessarily have long deliberations in its earlier years. In the specific instance given, the Course in Domestic Economy had to be framed on national lines, a mere imitation of the European system was not desirable. It was being newly introduced into this country and it is very necessary that fullest consideration should be given to it. The Honours Course in the University has got regulations of its own, the meeting did not want any change at present, but the Vice-Chancellor, who presided, wanted to introduce the Madras B A Honours and to abolish M A Examinations altogether, but as he found the sense of the meeting against these changes he left them undecided for good reasons. There are regulations which guide such deliberations, and if they are followed a single question need not remain undecided. But in the case quoted, the Vice-Chancellor himself favoured indecision. 'Inside

view here seems to have had no scruple against *suppresso veri* and *suggestio falsi*.

2. The five representatives of the Government from the very beginning attended very seldom. Besides these there are two European members only who attend as regularly as many other members do. Mr. Dr. Jha resigned because, as he said, the University was proceeding at such a tremendous speed that he found himself unable to follow in all its movements. This may be contrasted with Sir Sivaram's complaint of Procrastination—a case of polar diversity of views among great scholars. The Hon. Mr. Chintamani was never in the Senate. He is still in the Council.

3. Dissatisfaction with and consequent disregard of the existing regulations of the University on the part of certain members not excluding Sir Sivaram himself have always given rise to endless discussions on legal points. A dispassionate study of the minutes will bear ample testimony to this. The Vice-Chancellor instead of acting as a judge and jurist often advocated violation of such regulations as he thought were unnecessary or cumbersome. But in the University, the Vice-Chancellor cannot override regulations which may be amended or repealed by the Senate by regular constitutional methods.

4. Procrastination was a speciality with Sir Sivaram himself. To take one instance out of many, the meeting to be held on the fourth of May 1919 could have disposed of the items standing over from the meeting held on the 18th of April 1919. When the agenda paper was issued it contained only a few new items. Several members suggested that the items standing over from the previous meeting might be included in a supplementary agenda paper. But the Registrar replied that the items had been omitted by the explicit order of the Vice-Chancellor himself. Inside View has totally misrepresented the truth.

5. The academic ideals have been declared times out of number by the promoters of the University and it is in conformity to these ideals that the regulations have been framed. True there is no such special heading in the laws as 'Academic Ideals'. The University however has not been old enough to be judged whether it is moving only in a circle or is marching forward step by step in the right line.

6. The Hon. Mr. Pandit Malaviya is not a hidden hand. His position in the University has always been clear and plain and in its affairs he can never be accused even by his worst enemies of having adopted political tactics. The idea of the University has been originally his; the movement was started by him and although at the time of the Benares Congress many a political leader vowed to devote the evening of his life to the Pandit's idea it is only the Pandit who has been working incessantly for it as to the fund he is the only worker for their increase. Every

meeting stands in need of his help and advice and every consideration is justly made to make it possible for him to attend. These are inevitable circumstances. He has always been constitutional and has not so far as the records go upset what others ever did in his absence. If the meeting at which he was expected found him unable to attend it it could have done the needful in case of pressing questions and I am sure the Hon. Mr. Malaviya would not have minded it at all. I am sure he never could nor did deprive the meeting of its power of initiative.

Inside View I hope does not mean to say so.

7. If there was truly divorce of power from responsibility in the Hon. Mr. Pandit he would not care to attend so regularly the meetings of the University as he has always done. Many of those who are mere members as he has been till of late have been very indifferent as to attendance. It was his admirable selflessness which not only materialised the idea of a great future University but also made him refuse any definite and public position. His aim in refusing position can be very well inferred from what he said in proposing Sir Sivaram in the meeting of the Court held on the 18th April 1918 (Minutes Vol II B P 315). With reference to his own name having been proposed for election as the Vice-Chancellor he said: "So far as I am concerned my services already are and will remain throughout my life at the disposal of the University. My being elected as Vice-Chancellor will not mean the accession of any new strength to the University. The election of Sir Sivaram will. He was conscious of his multifarious and India wide engagements and agreed to be elected temporary Pro-Vice-Chancellor very reluctantly as the acceptance of an office very much militated against his own principles of selflessness. He cannot be said to have ever sought shy of responsibility. Inside View is guilty of grave injustice to a great nationalist leader, eminent lawyer and legislator when he accuses him of want of the sense of responsibility. As the letter of Sir Sivaram is not before us it cannot be seen how it proves according to

Inside View that no responsible head of the University can do his duty unless he bows to the will of Mr. Malaviya and takes his orders from him. This might refer to a specific case of making certain appointments where the Council would not agree as shown elsewhere. If my surmise is right it is not clear why the Hon. Mr. Pandit is being taken to task for it refers to cases in general. It would be interesting to know if the late Sir Sunderlal, Mr. Pandit Adityaram Bhattacharya and R. B. G. Chakravarti as long as they were in office used to take orders from the Hon. Mr. Pandit. If they did and also discharged their duties properly as is admitted on all hands, the will and the orders of the Hon. Mr. Pandit proved to be agreeable just and acceptable to them. If they did not take orders from him surely it would seem wonderful that they could

do the duties despite their disobedience of the Hon'ble Pandit's orders! And if there was disagreement between them and the Pandit owing to this disobedience they must have suppressed it as they never mentioned their differences while Sir Sivaram did. In the absence of definite evidence it may be argued that at least Pandit Adityaram who retired and Mr Chakravarti who resigned may have done so owing to such differences. From the records however it appears that the reasons why they withdrew are different from those of Sir Sivaram. As to the daily change of opinions on the part of the Hon'ble Pandit again no proof has been given and if he is making humanly impossible promises from a hundred or more platforms I hope he does so before human audiences who can judge well for themselves whether he is serious. It is however inhuman on the part of Inside View to imprecate the speaker without producing any proofs.

"Queer Choice of Men"

Benares is surely the city of the dead and the dying. But it has been a seat of learning for thousands of years perhaps because learning and experience flocked to it at the last stage and passed on from the older to the younger generation as the old man is reborn in the new child. This unique privilege is claimed by this city only in all India though it may be only a third rate district town for commercial and political reasons. It has been a University town for years unnumbered by force of a divine and not human charter as it were Oxford and Cambridge, Göttingen and Jena, Palermo and Padua are even much smaller towns. A University is however in no case confined to the small area it occupies. It is the intellectual metropolis of all the districts, provinces and countries from which its alumni hail. Inside View ought to know that a University *wheresoever it may be* does rely almost entirely on its professoriate for its mental guidance and *sometimes* but *not always* for its administrative efficiency. It is *always* better for the advancement of knowledge that the professors and scholars be kept so far as possible free from the worry of administration. Still the University Court has been from the beginning showing its great faith in the educationists by including them in the administrative bodies. They never preferred absentee lawyers against them so far as the records go. There has been no known Urdu or Hindi poets elected as such in the Court. Poor old type Sanskrit Pandits are too few to mention. Of 187 members at least 115 or roughly 60 per cent will feel insulted if they are not considered educationists. Only 11 or 6 per cent are old type Sanskrit Pandits. Of practising lawyers (of whom *all may not be absentees*) there are 19 at the most or about 10 per cent altogether. So it will be seen that

Inside View is *not correct* when he says that the policy of those who rule the Hindu University is clearly one of distrust and exclusion towards educationists etc. Inside View must remember that he has made an unjustified sweeping remark against the princes, educationists and scholars of India chosen for the work of the University. If Mr Nag was rejected in favour of Mr Mehrotra the University Office Superintendent it only means that the donors preferred him or perhaps the clerk craved better than the professor. If quondam colliers, hawkers, news boys and bookbinders can some day become members of the British Parliament surely our clerks should have better aspirations and should leave professors alone to compete for membership in the University Court! The somnolent octogenarian Pandit Chedra Lal B.A. has been serving the institution for the last 20 years as an honorary worker, he has been all his life in the educational department, has been one of the active members of the governing bodies of the Central Hindu College and is yet taking the same interest in the University. In the governance of the financial affairs of the University I think an honorary worker like him should be preferred to a paid servant of the University.

As to the number of our professors in the court they are surely in a great minority (1) because they cannot *all* be elected (2) because they *need not* form a majority in an administrative general body. From the Council however they are *not* jealously excluded. There are six professors of the Hindu University in the Council. True they form a small minority—about 20 per cent only. But it is *not an academic body*. The quorum is always fixed to make the work possible. The institutions where membership is prying in no sense attendance is *always* indifferent. Moreover the principles and the policy of administration are laid down by the court. The Council is only the executive body thereof not the supreme governing body as Inside View misrepresents it [vide Sec 9 (11) act XVI of 1915].

Why should it be considered as objectionable that expenditure of tens of thousands of rupees is sanctioned by less than *one-fourth* of its members when the Council is so authorised by law and when the Court exercises control over the council? [vide statutes 15, 17 (7), 18 (1) and (2)]. I may be accused of entering into a legal discussion here but as a chartered University we have to abide by the Act, the Statutes and the Regulations and if we are dissatisfied with any part of them we should take steps to get them amended and it is no good blaming one man or another for being too legal, regular or punctilious. Inside View has however shown great solicitude for local educationists to have sole authority in the administration and he ought to have rejoiced that the Council decides important matters.

mostly with a bare quorum consisting of the six professors who are of course local educationists the seventh being the President himself. But then he would have made himself consistent!

Inside view in conclusion is a misnomer

as the writer has disclosed deplorable ignorance of true facts besides other things

Benares City } A SENATOR OF THE BENARES
The 16th June 1919 } HINDU UNIVERSITY

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Rev W E S Holland's Allegation against Mrs Annie Besant

The May number of the *Modern Review* publishes on page 533 an article entitled 'A Menace to Hindu Society' and on the next page (534) a passage from the *Goal of India* by Rev W E S Holland is quoted. The quotation referred to with which I am concerned runs as follows—Mrs Besant loudly trumpets social reform but her Central Hindu College at Benares and the Theosophical Schools at Ernakulam and Madras refuse admission to all out-casts and Panchamas. As against this there is an asterisk marked with the query 'Is this true?' by the Editor of the *Modern Review*. I am in a position to answer the query and to state that the information intended to be conveyed by the passage quoted is incorrect. The Central Hindu College at Benares is part of the Hindu University and is not under the control of Mrs Besant. There is no Theoso-

phical School at Ernakulam. The Madras College is an institution affiliated to the newly founded National University of India and I know that there is no restriction in the matter of the admission of Panchama students to the Madras College as well as the other institutions affiliated to the National University. Thus there are only two of the three institutions referred to in existence and both of them are governed by Boards duly established therefor and are not under the sole control of Mrs Besant. The passage quoted appears to insinuate that Mrs Besant is insincere in her social reform work. My statement above recorded clearly indicates that the aim of the author of the *Goal of India* is one of the many unsuccessful attempts made to discredit Mrs Besant a real and sincere lover of India who has dedicated her life for Her service.

R ANANDA RAO
High Court Vakil Trivandrum

HINDUSTHAN ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

THE objects of the Hindusthan Association of America are to further the interests of Hindusthane students to interpret India to America and America to India.

It is a branch of the World's Hindusthane Students Federation. It has a membership in America of about two hundred nearly all of whom are Indian students in American universities. The present headquarters are in New York and there are Chapters in university towns in America where there are more than four Indian students. Some of these chapters have rented club houses where students can obtain room and board at very reasonable rates. It is non political and non sectarian.

The official organ of the Association is the *Hindusthane Student*.

The work of the Association consists of—

1. **Publicity**—a committee which publishes articles, circulars and booklets of information to students and business men in India concerning commercial and educational facilities in the United States. This committee arranges lectures in America, sells lantern slides pertaining to India, answers inquiries of prospective students from India, and publishes articles in Indian papers about American achievements in art, literature, economics and education.

2. **Granting loans** to students in need

Plans and Needs for the Future

1. To encourage more Indian students to come to America.

2. To carry on a publicity campaign in India for scholarships in American universities for Indian men and women.

3. To establish a platform from which may be heard lectures upon the best thought and achievements of the two nations—India and America. Two American women have pledged \$30 a year each toward a \$2000 travelling lectureship fund upon Indian history, art, literature, architecture, industries, economics, traditions and ideals of India.

4. A membership committee to establish new chapters, Nalanda Clubs, Women's Auxiliaries and study circles.

5. To hold frequent lectures, entertainments and socials.

Honorary Members. The Poet Rabindranath Tagore, Miss Jane Addams, Mrs Sarojini Naidu, Miss Ellen Key, Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, Dr David Starr Jordan, President Stanley Hall, President W H P Faunce, Professor A U Pope and many others.

The Association invites correspondence from students intending to specialise, do research work or to continue their higher studies in America. It takes special pains to supply

THE RIGHT HONORABLE MR FISHER ON EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

By LAJPAT RAI

The capital of a country does not consist in cash or paper but in the brains and bodies of the people who inhabit it.

—The Right Honorable Mr Fisher President of the Board of Education U.K.

RIGHT in the middle of the war the greatest danger to the country and the Empire Mr Fisher, the minister responsible for the control of education in England has been considering and enforcing consideration by the nation and Parliament of the question of national education. In the Preface to a pamphlet called *Educational Reform*, which is a collection of his speeches on the subject delivered in 1917 in and outside Parliament he observes

Obviously education is important. Every body who has a child knows that the future of his child depends upon the way he is brought up. Is he to be competent for the business of life or incompetent a *profitable member of the community* or a parasite. Is he to be prudent or profligate cultured or ignorant brutal or refined social or antisocial a *citizen* or an *anarchist*. The answer to all these questions is to be found partly in descent but far more largely in circumstances which unlike the unalterable traits handed down in blood can be affected for better or for worse by education.

(The italics in this quotation are mine)

After these basic remarks Mr Fisher proceeds to consider if there is any force in the adverse criticism of popular education made by classes interested in keeping the masses down. These latter have often been heard speaking of popular education with contempt. They are prepared to believe that it is good for well-to-do people—for the aristocracy of the human race—but not for the common people whose business is to toil with their hands and produce the things of the world for the use of the former, their natural leaders. They admit that education should be somewhere but deny that it should be everywhere. I wish to prove adds Mr Fisher that it should be every

where and that no State can flourish without a sound popular system of education.

We have to conceive of education as the drawing out of a man all that is best and most useful in him so that it may be employed to the advantage of the community and of himself as a member of it.

We must regard it not as bearing fruit in the science and art of earning a livelihood alone but as yielding the *science and art of living*. It is the means by which the individual citizen may be trained to make the best use of his innate qualities and the means by which the State may be enabled to make the best use of its citizens. Spiritually conceived it is Plato's turning of the soul towards the light materially conceived it is Napoleon's open career to talent. In any case it is of great democratic interest for indeed a wise democratic government is impossible without it.

The remark which follows next shows that it is not in India alone that people are dissatisfied with the education imparted in public schools but that the complaint is directed against the public schools of the British Isles as well. I have heard people say observes Mr Fisher that much of our present education is very poor stuff and that if we drop into a school and listen to the lessons we are apt to find that the *wrong things are being taught by the wrong people in the wrong way*.

But if this be so who is responsible? The culprit is the nation. It cannot be too urgently represented that the future of the children of the people so far as it is affected by education depends upon the number of men and women in the community who can be found to insist upon a high educational standard in their several localities.

Until the people of this country (i.e. Great Britain) come to view education as the most fruitful of all benefits which age can confer upon youth and not as one of those troublesome ailments of childhood which must be got through as quickly as possible it is vain to expect any great improvement in the standard of our National Schools.

Analysing this criticism of popular education a little in detail, he says

"Education is apt to evoke in many minds the idea of a little dull book learning drilled into a reluctant brain by a deadening machine. Such, indeed, it once was, and so in some backward parts of the country (alas! too many!) it may still be, but if we take our present elementary school at its best and consider the general conception of educational policy which animates our present practice the description would be grotesquely unfair. We have made great strides towards a better method and a wider and more catholic view. Books, of course, remain, as they always should, the principal fashioning instrument of the mind but they no longer stand alone. The training of hand, eye, ear, and voice supplement the older and central discipline of literature, opening new windows into the world and quickening the senses to new forms of happy exercise."

Having thus defended the present public school education in England, Mr Fisher then descends to the very palpable nature of the deficiencies which remain to be cured, and which, in the French phrase, "leap to the eyes." Some of these are stated in the following sentence

"It has also been long evident not only that the State contribution was insufficient in amount and that an undue share of the schools were undermanned and the teachers underpaid."

The duty of the State in this respect is stated thus—

"But though the State cannot forbid wage-earning among young people, (who it cannot we don't see), it should and must assign a value to learning as well as to earning. It has a right and a duty to affirm that it believes in education for the masses, and that by education it means not a sham and make-believe, but something substantial, something which will leave a durable mark on mind and character, and that the claim of this education, on the child, is paramount. Then if it be found that the minimum upon which the State insists cannot in all cases be secured without inflicting real hardship, those cases of hardship should be separately met. The State should not allow itself to be diverted from its great object of diffusing knowledge and intelligence among the people, by the fear of being involved in some expenditure based on personal circumstances. It should first devise a course of education, as thorough and effective as the object demands and the available means of instruction furnish, and then, having settled on a plan likely to give to each of its citizens the fullest chance for self-development, it should be prepared to give adequate assistance in special cases."

Mr Fisher then confidently pronounces that the present amount of education obtained by the great majority of the population is "inadequate" to the "present and future needs" of the British nation, and says that "if we ask whether, as a result of all this training in our schools, the great mass of our population is getting out of life as much value as life can give them, having regard to their material circumstances, there can be only one answer" and that answer is "that millions of our countrymen and countrywomen are making very little use of their lives for want of an agency which may direct and educate them and their sense of value during the whole period of youth."

In a word, he adds, "our system is half-hearted." "Meanwhile the conditions of modern industrial life are steadily increasing the dangers of under education. Processes are becoming more mechanical and monotonous, as they become standardized and subdivided, with the natural result that a claim is made for shorter hours and larger leisure" and, I may add, for better skilled knowledge in the use of these processes. The whole argument is then summed up in the following pithy paragraph.

"the province of popular education is to equip the men and women of this country for the tasks of citizenship. All are called upon to live, many are called upon to die, for the community of which they form a part. That they should be rescued from the dumb helplessness of ignorance is, if not a precept of the eternal conscience, at least an elementary part of political prudence, to which the prospective enfranchisement of several million new voters adds a singular emphasis. But the argument does not rest upon grounds of political prudence alone, but upon the right of human beings to be considered as ends in themselves, and to be entitled, so far as our imperfect social arrangements may permit, to know and enjoy all the best that life can offer in the sphere of knowledge, emotion and hope."

In his first speech in the House of Commons, on April 19, 1917, introducing the Education estimates, Mr Fisher expressed his gratification at the "quickened perception of the true place of education in the scheme of public welfare" brought about by the war, resulting "in a very earnest resolve to give to our national system all the improvements of which it is capable."

In making a plea for an additional grant for education after citing the figures relating to the expenditure on education in England (some "£ 16 000 000 are paid out of the taxes, another £ 17,000 000 out of the rates, and perhaps, though it is impossible to make an exact calculation a sum of £7 000 000 out of fees, voluntary contributions and endowments) This makes a total of £ 40 000 000 or 60 crores of rupees in Indian coin.

Mr Fisher says: But when we are considering a form of productive expenditure which is not only an investment but an insurance, that question cannot stand alone. We must ask a supplementary question. We must ask not only whether we can afford to spend the money. He calls the supplementary system more important and more searching. He then goes into the defects of the existing system and machinery of education in England and finally sums up as below:

"What is it that we desire in a broad way for our people? That they should be good citizens, reverent and dutiful, sound in mind and body, skilled in the practice of their several avocations and capable of turning their leisure to a rational use. And what do we see? Our level of physique as a nation is deplorably below the standard which a great people should set before itself. Our common taste in amusement is still in the primitive and uncultured. We have lost and are only now slowly beginning to recapture something of that general taste in music which was long ago a special note of our English civilization. Our aptitude for technological studies is great but only half-developed.

We are only just beginning to realise that the capital of a country does not consist in cash or paper but in the brains and bodies of the people who inhabit it.

He ends with a plea for a change on the additional ground of the universality for economy: *'we should economise in the human capital of the country, our most precious possession which we have too long suffered to run to waste.'*

In his second speech delivered in the same place while introducing a new Education Bill on August 10 1917, Mr Fisher describes some aspects of the movements of opinion which have made a considerable measure of advance in education an absolute necessity.

In the first place attention has been increasingly directed to the close connection between educational and physical efficiency. One of the great dates in our social history is the establishment of the school medical service in 1907. We now know what we should not otherwise have known: how greatly the value of our educational system is impaired by the low physical conditions of a vast number of the children and how imperative is the necessity of raising the general standard of physical health among the children of the poor if a great part of the money spent on our educational system is not to be wasted. Another element is the growing consciousness that there is a lack of scientific relation between the different parts of our educational machinery. Everyone realizes the elementary fact that some children if they are only given opportunity will profit most through modern language and history others by a scientific and technical education and others again are destined by their turn of mind to profit most from an education based largely on the study of classical antiquity. But under our existing system we have no security that in any area of accessibility to adopt a vague but convenient term these various needs and aptitudes will be provided for. There is not even a reasonable probability that the child will get the higher education best adapted to his other needs.

A third feature in the movement of opinion is the increased feeling of social solidarity which has been created by the War which leads people to realize that the boundaries of citizenship are not determined by wealth and that the same logic which leads us to desire an extension of the franchise points also to an extension of education.

Upon this basis Mr Fisher explains the different provisions of the Bill under six heads:

First we desire to improve the administrative organization of education.

Secondly we are anxious to secure for every boy and girl in this country school life up to the age of fourteen which shall be unimpeded by the competing claims of industry.

Thirdly we desire to establish part time day continuation schools which every young person in the country shall be compelled to attend unless he or she is undergoing some suitable form of alternative instruction.

Fourthly we make a series of proposals for the development of the higher forms of elementary education and for the improvement of the physical condition of the children and young persons under instruction.

Fifthly we desire to consolidate the elementary school grants and

Sixthly we wish to make an effective survey

of the whole educational provision in the country and to bring private educational institutions into closer and more convenient relations to the national system."

I do not propose to reproduce his detailed statements and arrangements under each of these heads, but I must give the following extract illustrating what he means by "comprehensive schemes"

"First we want to make it plain that the education given in our public elementary schools is not to be considered an end in itself, but as a stage in the child's education destined to lead to a further stage. Secondly we propose to require local educational authorities under part III of the Education Act of 1902 to make adequate provision either by special classes or by means of central schools, for what may be termed higher elementary education. We desire to meet the objection which is commonly, and not without justice, advanced against so much of the work done in our public elementary schools during the last two years—that the children are marking time, that their education is not bringing them on, and that it does not fit them for their future calling. We desire to change all that, and our Bill provides not only for the introduction of practical instruction at appropriate stages, but for the preparation of children for further education in schools other than elementary, and for their transference at suitable ages to such schools.

"I pass now to a series of proposals which are designed to improve and to strengthen our existing fabric of elementary education so as to secure for every child in the Kingdom a sound physique and a sound groundwork of knowledge before the period when the part-time system begins. We propose to encourage the establishment of nursery schools for children under five years, and we empower the local education authorities to raise the age at which normal instruction in the elementary schools begins to six, as soon as there is an adequate supply of nursery schools for the younger children in the area. We propose to amend the law of school attendance so as to abolish all exemptions between the ages of five and fourteen, and we propose to place further restrictions upon the employment of children during the elementary school period."

He ends his speech by a general summary of the objects of the Bill

"We assume that education is one of the good things of life which should be more widely shared than has heretofore been the case among the children and young persons of the country. We assume that education should be the education of the whole man—spiritually, intellectually, and physically, and that it is not beyond the resources of civilization to devise a scheme of education possessing certain common qualities, but admitting at the same time of large varia-

tion from which the whole youth of the country, male and female, may derive benefit. We assume that the principles upon which well-to-do parents proceed in the education of their families are valid also *mutatis mutandis* for the families of the poor, that the State has need to secure for its juvenile population conditions under which mind, body, and character may be harmoniously developed. We feel also that in the existing circumstances the life of the rising generation can only be protected against the injurious effects of industrial pressure by a further measure of State compulsion. But we argue that the compulsion proposed in this Bill will be no sterilizing restriction of the wholesome liberty, but an essential condition of a larger and more enlightened freedom, which will tend to stimulate civic spirit, to promote general culture and technical knowledge, and to diffuse a steadier judgment and a better informed opinion through the whole body of the community."

The pamphlet "Educational Reform" includes five more speeches delivered by Mr Fisher at Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford, before the Lancashire Teachers' Association in 1917, and before the Training College Association in January, 1918. The principles enunciated in these speeches are the same which I have quoted from the speeches made by him in the House of Commons, but there are some very apt phrases which are calculated to emphasize certain phases of the problem, which might well be collected in one place for facility of future reference. In the speech delivered at Manchester on September 25, 1917, he characterized the Education Bill as a measure "for the diminution of ignorance, unhappiness, misconduct and disease."

"I venture to plead for a state of society in which learning comes first and earning comes second among the obligations of youth, not for one class only, but for all young people. At present the rich learn and the poor earn."

"Education is the eternal debt which maturity owes to youth. Now I do not care whether youth be poor or rich, we owe it education—all the education which it can afford to receive and all the education which we can afford to give."

At Bradford he said

"My point of view is that education is one of the most precious goods of life, and that the more fully and equally it can be distributed the more happy we shall be and the stronger will be our community. And this belief in the value of education has been very much deepened by the

experience of this country during the War. Have you ever reflected ladies and gentlemen upon the astonishing influence which education has exercised over the course of this titanic conflict—how those countries have best succeeded who have equipped themselves with a modern provision of education and how those countries have succeeded least who have been most backward in their provision of popular education? I suppose there has never been a war in which the contending armies have been so well educated or in which the contending armies have owed so much to science and education. And whether you talk to the officers at the front—who will all speak to you of the value which they attach to a well-educated non-commissioned officer or private—or whether you go to the head-quarters staff or whether you go to the great munition factories and sources of military supply, you always have the same answer to the same question. Always you will be told that education is the key note of efficiency.

When I began my survey of national education I was struck—as I suppose everybody is struck—by the fact that there are millions and millions of men and women in this country who are not getting as much out of life as life can afford to give them. There are millions of men and women who derive no profit from books, no pleasure from music or pictures, very little cultivated joy from the ordinary beauties of nature. They pass their life bound down to dull mechanical toil harnessed to iron and steel without a gleam of poetry, without a touch of imagination, without the faintest sense of the glories and splendours of the world in which we live, unable to attach to their ordinary dull task the interest which belongs to a scientific appreciation of the principles upon which that task is founded, unable equally to turn their leisure to any rational or cultivated account. And I ask myself this: Ought we to be content with a state of civilization in which these things are possible and should it not be part of our duty so to provide for posterity that they may have within their reach a happier, more cultivated and wider life?

In conclusion

'This is a people's measure. This Bill is intended not for the well-to-do classes of the community—they already have adequate educational opportunities. This Bill is intended for the laboring classes of the community. It is intended to give to the children of the people of this country an opportunity of developing to the highest possible extent the good that is in them. One of the tragedies of this War lies in the fact that young men are called upon to lay down their lives in support of a policy which has been framed by old men, and I ask you whether the time has not come for some measure of reparation, whether the time has not come when

the old or the elderly men should contrive some measure of policy which will secure to the future generations of this country extended opportunities for educational development. Let us throw our minds into the future. We are sailing in very perilous waters. For the first time in the long history of this country we have encountered the enmity of a people more highly organized, more systematically educated than ourselves, and we should be living in a fool's paradise if we supposed that contrary to all the teaching of history this War would leave behind it no aftermath of bitterness, rancour and competition. Our children and our children's children will be born into a more difficult world, and I think we shall be doing less than our duty to posterity if we do not take steps to arm them for the conflict in which they will be engaged.

In the last speech included in this collection Mr Fisher makes the following observation about the French system:

The aim of the French Elementary School is conceived with clarity and pursued with a degree of force and intelligence which compel admiration. The Elementary School teacher is regarded as a missionary. In particular he is a missionary of the French language. It is his duty to uphold in every little village the purity of that wonderful instrument of human expression to enforce its precise and correct usage and to spread a delicate perception of its beauties as expressed in the masterpieces of national literature. And though it is always hazardous to make generalizations, my experience leads me to believe that the French Elementary School succeeds in this part of its mission even when it is contending with an alien language like Breton far more successfully than is the case with us.

Then again the French Primary Schools are regarded as organs for the spread of the Elementary ideas and principles of Natural Science among the great mass of people, and here again it is my impression that they achieve their mission with signal success.

And lastly the French Elementary School teacher is regarded as a missionary of enlightened patriotism, and for this reason great stress is laid upon the teaching of History in the Normal Schools or Training Colleges of France. Indeed it is clear that the syllabus of historical instruction for these Schools has been drawn up by an historian who knows the weights and measures of the past, for it lays stress upon all the fundamental points of National History and enables the student to obtain a clear perspective of the leading factors which govern and constitute the progress of the nation to which he belongs.

(The italics and capitals in these quotations are everywhere mine.)

THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE

II ITS REORGANIZATION

By ST NIHAL SINGH

FROM the historical outline given in the preceding article,* it is not difficult to deduce the reasons why the British Committee of the Indian National Congress has come into collision with the Congress, nor why it has been in a state of "suspended animation", during the most critical period of Indian history.

First The precise relationship between the Committee and the Congress has never been properly defined. From what Dr Clark said in his interview, and from what I have heard from time to time from various sources, that omission was partly due to the fact that the men who "ran" the Congress were also the men who "ran" the Committee, and partly due to the sense of courtesy innate in Indian character.

Second At the time the Congress voted its annual subsidy to enable the Committee to keep going, the general lines along which that money was to be spent were not indicated, nor was any control, even in cases of emergency, reserved. This was a strange proceeding on the part of men who were agitating that Indians be given control over the national provincial and local purse of India. It was due, I think, partly to the reasons already noted, and partly to shortsightedness and lack of prudence.

Third From the very beginning to this day the *personnel* of the British Committee has been almost altogether non-Indian, and its staff has been wholly non-Indian. Even the (paid) Secretary, who has in his power to make or mar an organization, has been, throughout, a non-Indian. The (paid) editor of the propaganda organ, whether that organ belonged to the Committee in name

or otherwise, has always been a non-Indian.

Fourth The non-Indians who have controlled the Committee have belonged from the very beginning mostly to a single British political party, and, as a consequence, through choice or otherwise, their activities have been largely confined to members of that party. Party spirit is so strong in Britain that, to put it mildly, a Committee presided over by a man with a distinctive party badge, cannot count upon the support of men belonging to other British parties.

To put matters right, the constitution and *personnel* of the Committee needs to be reconstructed altogether.

First The relationship that the Committee is to bear to the Congress must be clearly defined. (a) Is it to be the agent of the Congress charged with the dual task of carrying on Congress propaganda in Britain and of reporting on the Indian situation there, or (b) is it to enjoy a status equal to that of the Congress, to formulate its own policies and plans for carrying on propaganda irrespective of whether or not such policies and plans are in full accord with the Congress policies and plans, and to advise the Congress upon the Indian situation in Britain, or (c) is it to have a status even superior to that of the Congress and be the "neck that moves the head"? The Committee can occupy any of these three positions, but cannot combine even two of them, let alone all three.

Second Upon the determination of the status of the Committee will largely depend its financial responsibilities. But the question must be settled once for all—(a) are Indians to continue to give a *blank* cheque annually to the Committee, or (b) are they to reserve some measure of control

* The British Congress Committee I. A retrospect interview with Dr S. B. Clark of the Committee. *The Modern Review*, May 1919.

over the manner in which the Committee expends the subsidy sent from India?

Third The issues pertaining to the *personnel* of the Committee and its paid servants must be settled—(a) shall the Committee continue to remain overwhelmingly British in agency and its servants and the editor of its propaganda-organ continue to be non Indians or (b) shall the Indian element of the Committee be strengthened and (c) if so to what extent?

Fourth Is the Committee to work among all sections of the British people or is it to confine its activities to members of a certain political party?

Fifth The connection between the British Committee and India must be defined and arrangements for editing that organ must be considered with great care (a) Is that paper to serve as a propaganda organ of the Congress or that of the British Committee or is its editor to determine the general lines he is to follow? In other words who is to shape the general policy of that paper? (b) Who is to see that the policy laid down is properly carried out? What are to be the functions of that paper? Is it merely to carry on propaganda work in Britain or to keep India informed as to what goes on in Britain or is it to fulfil both functions? Can that paper be so edited as to fulfill both functions? Can the affairs of the paper be so managed that the heavy drop in the subscription list of which Dr Clark spoke so frankly will be stopped? Can its appeal be so widened that it may not be necessary heavily to subsidize it? Finally, is that paper to be edited by an experienced journalist and if so is it to be edited by an experienced Indian journalist with special experience of conditions in Britain? Can such an Indian be found? Upon the right solution of all these questions depends in no small measure the success of the Indian propaganda in Britain.

In answering these questions Indians may draw upon the experience of the Irish Nationalists who have had to carry on propaganda similar to ours in Britain. Their methods have been diametrically opposed to ours. Unlike us they did not throw the burden of their agitation in Britain upon the British nor did they place their agents in Britain in a subservient posi-

tion nor make arrangements that would limit their activities to one political party or that would place them in a position where they would be boycotted by members of all but one party. They used the utmost discretion in choosing their British co-workers and allies and preserved their independence.

A reference to the Home Rule for India League will not be out of place here. The *personnel* of that organization is almost all together British and its work is largely confined to Labour. But Mr George Lansbury its Chairman and his colleagues do not look to the Indian National Congress or to any other Indian body to finance them. On the contrary they seek to propagate the Indian Home Rule idea at *British expense*. We cannot have in Britain too many leagues working to advance our cause without imposing an financial burden upon us or committing us in any way.

By a strange irony of fate while the Congress Committee that must have cost Indians several lakhs of rupees has been in a state of suspended animation the League that has not depended upon us for support of any kind has been carrying on a vigorous unceasing and effective Indian propaganda. It has issued a large number of neatly printed books pamphlets and leaflets—setting forth various aspects of the Indian case in simple clear and interesting language. Again and again it has sent out by the thousand circulars to influential bodies like trades unions and to important persons calling attention to grave Indian grievances or combating mischievous anti Indian propaganda. Its energetic and able Secretary Mr John Scurr and others connected with the League notably Mr Joseph Bapista and Mr E. Lakshminarayan have delivered numerous lectures on Indian conditions and aspirations in England Scotland and Wales. Mr Lansbury Major D. Graham Pole and others have striven to marshal the democratic forces in Parliament in support of the reform of the Indian constitution in *consonance with Indian wishes*. In a subsequent article I hope to give an idea of the valuable work that these staunch friends of India have been doing to help us without

asking us to find the capital to finance them

Which of these precedents do Indians wish to follow? That set by the Irish, or the Home Rule League for India, or neither?

The answer to this series of questions will depend upon our political faith and our devotion to the Indian cause. Do we or do we not desire a national agency in Britain? If we do then we must have recourse to measures that will express the Indian will, and will enable us to give faithful, effective and adequate expression to our national aspirations?

I cannot conceive that, at this stage of Indian evolution, Indians would be satisfied with an organisation in London that is not truly national. Anything short of that would not appeal to our imagination, nor would it be adequate to our purpose. It would, moreover, leave room for our political enemies to continue to jeer at us for lacking the intelligence and men to conduct propaganda in Britain to secure self government for India. Above all other considerations the question of national dignity is involved. Shall we be found so wanting in national pride as to continue to trust our national work in Britain to an organization that, in spite of its name, is not national?

For me, at any rate the question has but one answer. We must have a national organisation in Britain to voice Indian aspirations and demands in that country, and to keep India informed of the constantly shifting Indian position there. And I believe that there must be a very large number of my people who feel exactly as I do.

The practical question that we have to consider is therefore, whether (a) the British Committee of the Indian National Congress shall be nationalised, or (b) if an altogether new organisation shall be set up? If I had to choose between the two courses, I for one, would unreservedly vote in favour of the Indianization of the British Committee. My reason for giving preference to that alternative is that the British Committee in spite of its recent disappointing record, is capable of being converted into a living, active, Indian organisation. It would be a

pity to waste such experience as it has acquired.

The reader may well ask at this point whether the men who are in control of the British Committee would permit it to be nationalised. That, I admit, is not an easy question to answer. As Dr Clark hinted in his interview, there are two factions in the Committee—one in favour of reform, the other in favour of *laissez faire*. To put the most favourable interpretation upon what the acting Chairman of the Committee said, the reform party has found it politic to force the pace of the 'stand patters'. I am, however, not at all sure that that party is sufficiently strong to carry the day, when the real struggle comes. I know of one Indian who can speak with some authority about the Committee who is inclined to be pessimistic and of another, equally entitled to speak with authority who takes an optimistic view. I am afraid that the matter must be left at that for time alone can tell whether the optimist or the pessimist is right.

We may well ask, however, whether the nationalisation of the British Committee would mean the elimination from it of the British element? I, for one, do not hesitate to answer that question in the negative. So long as the British members of the Committee are willing to make themselves instruments for furthering Indian nationalism, and for that purpose to work in harmony with Indians, it would be base ingratitude, and a grave political blunder, to get rid of British friends who have done much to help us in our fight for freedom.

Whatever may be said of earlier years, it would be wrong to say that the British Committee cannot be Indianized because there is a paucity of competent Indians in Britain. During recent years the Indian colony in London and other British towns has been steadily increasing as Indians have settled there to follow various professions to engage in business, to spend the evening of their life or to educate their children.

For a decade, to my knowledge, the Pandit Bhagwandin Dubé, Bar at-Law, has been practising at the Privy Council. Every one who has the privilege of knowing him will agree with me that he is an

exceptionally able man, and devoted, to the cause of his Motherland Mr Abdullah bin Yusuf Ali (retired I C S), who some time ago, took chambers in one of the Inns of Court, is another able and patriotic Indian. Only the other day, I met a young Parsi, who told me that he had settled down here to practise law. There are, I believe, other Indian barristers in Britain.

Dozens of Indian doctors alone live in and within a measurable distance of London. Dr Nundy, twin brother of Mr Alfred Nundy, late editor of the *Tribune* (Lahore), resides in Brixton, a London suburb, and has especially intimate knowledge of the Indian immigration problem, which he has studied on the spot in South and East Africa, and in the West Indies. Dr Fram Gotla has acquired a considerable practice round about Victoria Station and I always find him keenly interested in everything that affects India vitally. There is my friend Dr Chowry Muthu of Madras, who, by dint of sheer ability and perseverance has been able to build up, at Wells, in Somersetshire, one of the largest and most modern sanitariums for British tuberculosis patients in the United Kingdom, and who is consumed with the desire to help India. I see him in London quite frequently. Then there is Dr T Ram of Mexborough, Yorkshire, who has acquired a great reputation as a physician and public-spirited citizen, and is at present the health-officer of a British municipality. There are in and near London many young doctors, burning with enthusiasm to advance India.

Several Indians* are engaged in business in London and elsewhere. Among them I may mention Mirza Hashim Isphani, Mr Amik, Mr J B Seth, Mr Nerulkar and Mr Mavlanekar.

The Indian colony in Britain includes many able and patriotic women—Mrs P L Roy, Mrs B Bhola Nauth, Mrs Bonarjee, Miss Dorothy Bonarjee, Mrs Minalini Sen, Mrs Dube and Mrs Minalini Blar.

Not very long ago two young Indians returned to India from Britain, who have already succeeded in establishing themselves in Indian journalism. One of them conducts a periodical in Western India, while the other but recently started a paper in Upper

India. At least one of them would have been only too glad to stay in Britain, if the persons responsible for conducting the "Congress Organ" *India* had approached him, and, I am sure, he would have devoted himself heart and soul to the editing of that paper.

If we are concerned at all about our future and are anxious to safeguard our interests we must immediately face the questions pertaining to the reconstruction of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Matters have been allowed to drift so long, and so many of us have become so addicted to a policy of *laissez faire*, that it will require great effort on our part to work ourselves up to the point of facing the situation. Personal sentiments and national traits alike may prompt us to defer our decision as long as possible. But the time is critical, and if we permit matters to continue to drift we shall irreparably damage our cause. Let us therefore cast all false modesty aside, and determine upon a course of action that will ensure the success of our cause in Britain. I do not counsel haste nor tactlessness, but I do plead with my people to put an end to this policy of indecision.

Indians must possess an efficient and active organ to carry on persistent and intelligent public propaganda in Britain, among all sections of the British people. Such an organisation, in my estimation, should consist largely of Indians, but British friends should not be debarred from it, though care should be taken not to permit the Indian element to become subservient to the British element. Its paid agents should be, as far as possible, Indians with knowledge of Britain. It should maintain a weekly paper edited by a competent Indian journalist, who is willing to undertake the work as his contribution to Indian progress, and not as a "job". In addition to conducting such a paper, the organisation should issue copious literature and arrange for the delivery of lectures in London and the provinces. A press bureau should be attached to that organisation, which should utilise the existing organs of British opinion to combat attacks made by the political enemies of the Indians and to disseminate accurate information about every phase of India. Part

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of the duties of that bureau should be to keep the people in India fully informed of every current of British life—political, commercial, industrial, social, moral and religious—that in any manner affects Indians.

If we are only wise we can arrange matters so that in carrying on such work in the British capital and provinces we can furnish many young Indians with the opportunity of studying conditions in Britain and to gain experience of British public life

which upon their return to India, they can utilize for the good of their Motherland.

In my estimation, the Indian work in Britain depends not so much upon money as upon organisation and patriotism. Much can be done even with the amount that India has been spending from year to year upon the British Congress Committee, if capable Indians are willing to come forward, and are given the opportunity to do their best for their Motherland.

WILLIAM ARCHER'S INDIA AND THE FUTURE

By LALPAT RAI

II

WE will now take up Mr. Archer's book chapter by chapter.

In Chapter I Mr. Archer admits that the Government of the British Viceroy of India is absolutely autocratic in relation to the people of India. (b) that in the Native States ostensibly ruled by Indian princes the word of the British Resident is law in all essential matters. (c) that the great Presidency and Provincial towns are European cities planted on Indian soil where the European community lives in practical segregation from the natives of the country and as a whole care no more for the swarming brown multitudes around it than the dwellers on an island care for the fishes in the circumambient sea. At this stage Mr. Archer disavows any intention of either praising or dispraising the Government thus conducted. For the moment the point to be noted here adds is *its undisguised and systematic foreignness* (The italics are mine). He has had no difficulty in finding that the average British official though honest, hard working, and efficient according to his lights does little to mitigate the crude fact of racial domination and that we have in India three hundred million people whose political life consists in obeying orders given in a foreign accent.

In tracing the two sides of the racial medal in Chapter II Mr. Archer is forced to admit that the Indian races take them all round are not low but very high races. There is no part of India which does not produce a considerable percentage of notably fine men—fine in stature in features in facial angle in physical development. As for the women of India, is not their grace proverbial? Physically then—whenever their circumstances are such as to give them a fair chance of development the peoples of India stand high among the races of

the world. They stand high in stature proportion power dignity delicacy and—judged by the highest standards known to us—they often excel in beauty. Some of the noblest types of manhood I have ever seen were—or rather are—Indians.

This is good so far as it goes but lest it may lead to wrong presumptions in favour of the general fineness of the Indian races Mr. Archer takes pains to point out in the next paragraph that by a fine race he means in the first instance physically fine in which respect the Indian is at no disadvantage as compared with the ruling races of the world. His physique denotes (shall we say?) the highest potentialities of development.

He then institutes a comparison between the black races of Africa and those of India. As against the fundamental inherent ineradicable inferiority of the former he testifies to the fundamental equality with his own race of the latter. In moving among Indians he says what is constantly borne in upon one is a sense of their fundamental equality and a vague wonder as to how they happen to have sunk to a position of *apparent* and to some extent *real* inferiority. We have italicised the words *sunk*, *apparent* and *real* as the idea conveyed in this sentence is much nearer the truth than the one developed later on when he practically denies the development of any civilization in India at any time of its history. This is made even clearer in the next paragraph where he says that the sense of high potentiality is constantly overborne in India by a sense of actual practical palpable low development *more painful than that of the Negro* inasmuch as it is the low development *not of one who has failed to rise but of one who has fallen*. Compare this with the concluding remarks of the chapter where he justifies his constant harping on the words barbarian barbarism barbarous. The potentially noble peoples of India have 'he

says 'by an age-old concatenation of inauspicious circumstances been balked of adequate opportunity of development and arrested in a condition of barbarism.' The italics are mine. Mr Archer would have avoided many mistakes if he had stuck to the former position and not changed his mind to arrive at the latter. The case of the Indian people in this respect is by no means unique. Their fall may profitably be compared with that of the peoples of Greece Italy Egypt Babylon and China. A thousand years hence there may be other falls never home as tragic and pathetic if not more as that of India. I do not even agree with Mr Archer's sweeping condemnation of the Negro race. That is only another instance of racial swagger.

In Chapter III Mr Archer deals with the question of the Unity of India and makes some very sensible observations very different from the ordinary run of Anglo-Indian writers. One rejoices to find at least one writer who has the courage to say that it is not India's disunity but her indisputable unity coupled with her huge and unwieldy size that has been her chief misfortune. In the face of this statement it seems to me a pity that Mr Archer should have been led to make an extremely controversial statement as to the languages of India. Why is there one language in Russia, one language (even though its dialects differ widely) in China and more than two score distinct languages in India? asks he. In this sentence he makes three assumptions: all three unwarranted and not supported by authority. They are by no means obvious.

Later on in his anxiety to throw the whole responsibility of the absence of the idea of a common weal on the system of caste Mr Archer unconsciously cites a piece of evidence which is far from being convincing. He relies upon the supposition that the vernaculars of India possess no single simple word to express the idea of patriotism. It never enters his head that even if true it may be due to the fact that the Indians do not cherish for their country the conception of *fatherland*. It is the love of the *motherland* that their Shastras inculcate and not that of the *fatherland* and in that they are not singular. The worship of the motherland is an obsession with the Indians. The motherland is a divinity with them. It would consequently not be so strange as it appears if the Indian vernaculars had no simple word for *patriotism*. But is it true? Is patriotism a simple word? Caste has been held responsible for many things. Personally I detest caste but that is no reason why it should be held responsible for the so-called absence of national unity. I am afraid the foreign critic of Indian civil life often betrays a deplorable ignorance of actual conditions of life in India when he holds caste responsible for lack of

national unity. In the past caste has never stood in the way of national resistance to foreign foes. The political associations of the present day are made up of all castes and some of the acknowledged leaders therein are of the lowest castes. This is besides the fact that the essence of the caste system is dissolving rapidly. Then how is one to reconcile this criticism with the following statements on p. 49? Hinduism is and will remain a mighty bond of union. There is nothing local or parochial in its spirit. In Mr Archer's eyes caste is Hinduism and Hinduism is caste and he says so in so many words. The very struggle against caste which is now going on in all parts of India is in his judgment the mark of a real indefeasible unity.

THE HINDU MUHAMMADAN QUESTION

On the Hindu Muhammadan question our author has arrived at some very sensible conclusions. Admitting the unifying influence of the living literary tradition of Hinduism to the prevalence of which he gives ungrudging testimony Mr Archer adds that it cannot be supposed that even low-class Muhammadans remain quite outside it. This is a fact which most Anglo-Indian writers ignore, when they talk of the impossibility of Hindu and Muhammadan unity. It speaks well of the thoroughness of Mr Archer's study that he did not fail to observe even in days when the separatist propaganda of ultra-local Muhammadan leaders was at its zenith that the educated Mussalman does not withhold his admiration from the religious philosophic and epic literature of the Hindus. He takes pride in it as the literature of India just as the educated Hindu reckons the Taj and Fatehpur Sikri among the glories not of Muslim but of Indian architecture. The most popular modern Muhammadan poetry the compositions of men of national reputation—Iqbal Akbar Hali Mohini to name only a few—is proud of the great Hindu names of Hindu literature and Hindu culture as of the most revered names among the Muhammadan celebrities of India and elsewhere. Very few foreigners know this as most of this poetry has remained untranslated into any European language. We make no apology for the following quotation from Mr Archer's book bearing on this question. We see as a matter of historic fact that no outside influence is needed to make the two religions pull fairly well together. The horrors of Muslim conquest and the persecutions of Aurungezebe are things of the remote past. Before we established ourselves in India Muhammadan princes ruled over Hindu subjects and Hindu princes over Muhammadan subjects with very tolerable impartiality of rule or misrule. And the same is true in the native states of to-day not merely as a result of British overlordship. At no time

* We think caste is partly responsible for our want of national unity.—Ed. M.R.

† Resistance to foreign foes would have been more effective and national if there had been no caste. M.R.

since the days of Aurangzebe has either religion seriously tried to overpower and cast out the other. The tribes in this quotation are mine. To my knowledge the admission made by Mr Archer stands unique in Anglo-Indian literature and almost completely demolishes the principal plank in the platform of the Anglo-Indian opponents of India's claim to Home Rule. Mr Archer does not believe that the maxim of divide and rule has had any conscious weight in British councils but the Hindus and Muslims maintain themselves hold a different opinion.

NATIVE STATES A SOURCE OF DISUNITY

Mr Archer however admits that in its policy towards the Native States England has in effect though not in outward form adopted the principle of divide and rule. This is the first time I have read this view of the matter a view with which I am in substantial agreement and which to my knowledge has never been put forth by any educated Indian of note.

In her policy of maintaining nearly four score native states under her suzerainty she has not exactly divided but deliberately abstained from unifying. The rulers of these principalities large and small are as a whole genuinely loyal to the Empire and sincerely opposed to any idea of self government. They see in British rule (quite justly) a conservative force and they dread and shrink from the New India unknown, untried and to them unimaginable which is germinating in the brains of political agitators. In a double sense then the native states are bulwarks of the Empire. They not only strengthen it in the present but they make it difficult to conceive the place they are to occupy in any non autocratic organization of the future. There are no Indian

Jacobites or Carlists. It is conceivable no doubt that a United India might choose to call itself an Empire and might enthroned as Emperor one of its princes, But if so it would be by reason of some personal merit or preponderance not of any revival of historic loyalty.

If England had incorporated all the native states with her own immediate dominions she would have enormously facilitated the movement towards national unity. The mingling of moderation and astuteness which prevented her from doing so will probably prolong her rule in India and that very likely to the great ultimate benefit of the country. The chief danger which India has to fear is the premature dissolution of her dependence on Britain. But the obstacle of the native states cannot for ever bar the way to unity. Times change and even maharajas change with them. It was a maharaja who speaking to Mr Price Collier hinted at a federation of states under a central government.

Mr Archer is not quite correct when he says that the rulers of these principalities are sincerely opposed to any idea of self government. The Maharajas of Gwalior, Bikaner, Baroda, Alwar, Patiala and many others have expressly repudiated the charge and have spoken clearly in favour of self government.

Mr Archer's final conclusion in this matter is no less significant. But the obstacles of the native states' says he cannot for ever bar the way to unity. Times change and even maharajas change with them.

In the end he says that although there is indeed much diversity of race and language within her (i.e. India's) bounds but that has not hindered a very marked unity of cult and custom.

NATIONALISM

WAR has given a powerful impetus to the spirit of nationalism which is fast overspreading the country. It is not quite a decade ago that the Hindus and the Mussalmans were declaring the eternal incompatibility of their ideals and interests and today they are loud in asserting the fundamental unity of both. No doubt faint murmurs of protest are rising here and there but they fall on deaf ears. The people at large are not disposed to listen to them. There can hardly be any doubt that after an unbroken career of triumph in Europe nationalism has raised its standard in Asia and is calling upon the

ancient peoples of the East to gather round it and fight to subjection the rival ideals to which they have been hitherto attached. What is going on before our eyes is one of the most romantic struggles in the history of the world, it is a struggle between the spirit of the East and the spirit of the West. The ideals of Greece and Rome after attaining a complete victory in Europe have flung the gauntlet in the face of the ideals of Jerusalem, Mecca and Benares in the very land of their birth.

Cultural conflicts have affinities with biological struggles. There as here the race is to the swift and the battle is to the

strong. Out of the conflict this conception of life will emerge triumphant which gives the freest scope of development to the race makes best for unity of action and facilitates co-operation. In choosing our ideal of life we choose our destiny. Ideas are motor forces. In embracing an idea which is biologically harmful we only embrace our death and conversely by assimilating a biologically useful idea we secure a fresh lease of life. Leaving aside therefore pettiness and race conceits we must carefully consider the pragmatic value of the rival ideals and cast our vote in favour of the one that gives us life and firmly reject the one that only promises us death.

The corner stone of the Greco-Roman ideal of life which is also the ideal of modern Europe is the conception of the State as the supreme object of man's devotion. It is only to this aspect of European culture that I shall confine myself in the present article. The State in democratic countries is synonymous with the nation and devotion to the State has come to mean devotion to the interests of the nation. In future when I speak of the State I shall have in view the nation of which the State is the embodiment in self-governing countries. Let us try to realise the logical implications of the State ideal. Phrases such as 'everything must be subordinated to the interests of the nation', 'my country right or wrong', 'who dies if England lives' are dimmed into one's ears every day. Most of those who use such and analogous phrases do not fully realise their logical bearings. That however has always been so. The masses have always been imperfectly conscious of the forces that have moulded their lives. But these half-understood sayings give expression to the real creed of modern Europe better than the dogmas of Christianity. There are various enunciations of the living faith of Europe which is also perhaps now the only living faith in the world. They form the vocabulary of nationalism. Its basic principle is this: the supreme test of the value of every thing high or low lies in its utility (understood in its broadest sense) to the nation. Every belief, every institution, every custom and every way of life that is detrimental

to the health of the body politic must be ruthlessly destroyed, however sacred or long established it may be, and conversely everything that promises to lead to the development and the strengthening of the nation must be adopted and assimilated, however strange it might seem to the ways of the people and however wicked it may be considered by the orthodox gurus of the race. The old standard was the Bible and the Shastras but the new standard is the well-being of the nation. Everything must prove its utility to the nation before it can be allowed to live. There can be no manner of doubt that judged by this standard many ancient institutions of this country have to be discarded like old garments, many cherished beliefs have to be uprooted and the axe of destruction has to be laid at many a picturesque custom which has endeared the India of the past and of the present to the appreciative foreigner.

In this country the State ideal is a foreign importation. It must establish itself by capturing the reason and enlisting the devotion of the people. To do that it must prove its superiority to the existing ideals as a basis for group action. The conservative East will not forsake its hoary traditions until it is fully convinced that what is offered as a substitute is really better than what it already has. And after all it is only natural that it should be so. Why should men give up ways and habits of thought endeared to them by centuries of association unless it is proved to their satisfaction that they are doing it for something really better? Possession says the lawyer is nine points of law. The upholder of existing ways starts with a multiplicity of advantages which the iconoclast lacks. All the forces of conservatism—race inertia, vested interest and instinctive distrust of innovation—are his powerful allies. The nationalist has only the truth and justice of his cause to uphold him. But the unctuous pharisee will ask: 'wherein lies the truth and justice of your cause?'

The creed of nationalism fixes the well-being of the nation as the touchstone by which to judge of actions and institutions. That this conception of life was unknown to India before she came under European influence needs hardly be proved. The

word nation has no equivalent in any Indian language. An Indian used to be a good Hindoo or a good Mussalman and sometimes even a good Humanitarian but never a good Indian. Herein lies the secret of the tragedy we call Indian History. It is the absence of this spirit of nationalism which accounts for the fact that India has always fallen in easy prey to any adventurous foe who has cared to invade the country. It accounts for the fact that Clive with a mere handful of men won the battle of Plassey against a mighty array of Indians. It supplies the key to the riddle that whereas in Europe thousands and millions of very commonplace men voluntarily sacrificed their very lives in the last (or should I say present) war for the cause of their country in this so-called land of spiritualism men of culture and ability are everyday being weaned from the right path by a judicious use of official appointments and titles. In Europe when the great War came the classes and the masses stood shoulder to shoulder for the defence of their hearths and homes; the Socialist forgot his socialism, the Atheist forgot his enmity to the Church and the Catholic forgot his grievances against the Protestants. This is patriotism, this is nationalism. In this country the orthodox Hindoo and the orthodox Mussalman would not dine together even if they could save their country from eternal damnation by doing so. And here we come upon the principle that has hitherto governed Indian life.

The motive force in Indian life is not loyalty to the flag or the country but to the creed. Those that agree with me in their ideas about God and the hereafter are my kindred and those that entertain different views in these matters are strangers. They have nothing to do with me and I have nothing to do with them. I need concern myself only with those of my countrymen who follow the same religion as I do and as for the rest they are *mlechchhas* and aliens; their sorrows and troubles need not concern me at all. Nationalism says everyone who lives within certain territorial areas is your brother. Dogma says everyone who subscribes to certain articles of faith is your brother. Both ideas have produced their

characteristic fruits. Wherever nationalism has become the predominant faith the tendency has been towards closer union between the individuals living within the group we call the State. On the contrary wherever dogma has become the predominant power the tendency has been to disregard territorial kinship in favour of the kinship of faith. A comparison of the characteristic features of life as they prevail in India and in Europe will show what we mean. Whereas in European countries men under the influence of the spirit of nationalism are everyday trying to bind the component parts of the nation closer and closer together by means of common schools, common clubs, common gymnasia and common habits, in India the spirit of religious sectarianism has been raising narrower and narrower walls to keep the faith pure and to exclude the obnoxious heretic. The inevitable result of this exclusive tendency has been that India is today filled with innumerable sects and creeds whose members consider it pollution to be touched by the shadow of a follower of a different creed. Common action based on territorial loyalty has almost become impossible and the rivalry of cult makes life bitter for those who aspire after a happier future for this unfortunate land.

The tree says the proverbial philosopher should be judged by its fruit. Judged by that test the bankruptcy of creeds is the guiding force in national life is quite apparent. And really there is nothing to be surprised at in this. A cursory glance at history will show that creeds have exercised their greatest influence only in ages of darkness and ignorance. The power of creeds is at its highest when intellectual life is at its lowest level or has not even dawned in the nation. In its primitive stage society is not critical. An extraordinary person comes to be looked upon as a divine or semi-divine being and the laws promulgated by him are looked upon as divine laws any breach of which would be visited by punishment from above. Owing to the absence of the critical spirit authority carries everything before it and brings about uniformity of religious belief. But as soon as the race feels the stirrings of intellectual life the castle of orthodoxy begins

to totter to its foundations. Men compare notes and as human nature is various opinion also increases in diversity. In the exact sciences the subjective element is kept under control by the fruitful process of verification. Theories that are false are demonstrated to be so and are consequently effectively destroyed. But no effective verification is possible in the case of creeds and philosophical ideas. That being the case the subjective element gets full play and the result is what one would naturally expect. The world is filled with innumerable religions and schools of philosophy each claiming to possess the monopoly of truth and denouncing the upholders of rival views as heathens and infidels. The moral stands out clear and unmistakable. Conformity is unattainable in the sphere of religious creeds and philosophy. It has never been attained in the past and there is less chance of attaining it now than ever.

A State or Nation is a corporation or prospective corporation of individuals who have joined together for the attainment of certain common ideals. There can be no corporation without some common object or objects. If a body of men act together it must be to realize something which they all consider worth realizing. A State therefore cannot exist without some common purpose animating its constituent members. That common purpose it is obvious from what has been said before cannot be a religion. It cannot be literature or the fine arts. The number of people who will consider it worth their while to lay down their lives for these elegant pursuits will in any age and country be small. We have to discover an ideal which the average man the proverbial man in the street will consider fit to be served with his very life equally with the philosopher and the idealist. That ideal must also have the further merit that every one in a particular country can subscribe to it without doing violence to his conscience or intellect. Religious creed we have seen fails to supply this latter requisite. Literature and the fine arts cannot satisfy either of the conditions. We are then left with only two ideals that I know of—Nationalism and Internationalism. Can internationalism

supply us with the guiding principle we have been looking for?

Nationalism has for its supreme goal the well being of the nation. Internationalism considers the well being of humanity as its supreme pursuit. Internationalism is nationalism carried to its logical conclusion. A nationalist who is worthy of his name is also an internationalist. The same considerations that lead a man to nationalism must also lead him to internationalism. There is no essential conflict between these two ideals. The former is really a means to the realization of the latter. The question here is really one of expediency, not of principle. Both ideals spring from the same humane principle, the greatest good of the greatest number. The question then arises how to secure this end. Can we achieve it by advocating internationalism in our country or for the matter of that in any country? From what we see of the world it must be confessed that the State of humanity

the Parliament of man as Tennyson put it must remain for a long time only a dream of poets and philosophers. Even supposing for a moment that it materialises into something tangible it must perforce act through national States as its constituent parts. To act effectively men must combine in manageable corporations. The world is too vast for a single State. The only practicable way in which we can serve humanity effectively is by serving our country to the best of our ability. We cannot aspire to legislate for mankind but we can reasonably look forward to a future when we shall be in a position to legislate for our own country. Moreover, we must not lose sight of the fact that the sympathies of the average man are narrow in any country. You can arouse his enthusiasm by appealing to his personal ambition or even to his tribal or national ambition but the talk of humanity leaves him cold. By pursuing internationalism as an immediate goal we run a great risk of achieving nothing by aiming too high. As things stand at present therefore we can serve humanity only through our country. Nationalism must at least form a half way house to internationalism. The ties of nationhood must be strengthened so that



humanity might be benefited. An other cogent reason for accepting this principle is that throughout history nations have shewn a frequent tendency to exploit foreign nations who have come under their sway. The best way to counteract this evil is to strengthen the ties of nationhood in every country so that irresponsible foreign domination may become an impossibility. So nationalism is after all an inseparable concomitant of internationalism.

Is nationalism capable of arousing the necessary devotion and enthusiasm in the mind of the average man? Is it an attainable ideal? It is not necessary to enter into a lengthy *a priori* discussion of this matter, as the facts of history are overwhelmingly in favour of an affirmative view. The States of ancient Greece, the great Empire of Rome, the Italian Republics of the middle ages were all based on the bedrock of nationalism. The modern States of Europe and America illustrate the practical possibility of the ideal today.

Now, the question arises, is nationalism morally superior to religion* as a race ideal? If it is not we cannot expect men to subscribe to it even though it brings about peace and prosperity. Nationalism we have defined as the theory of conduct according to which all actions and institutions are to be judged by their effect on the well being of the nation. A nation consists of individuals. The well being of a nation therefore means the well being of the individuals composing it. The well being of an individual can either be moral or physical or intellectual. As in the individual moral well being is the touchstone by which physical and intellectual well being is tested, so must the value of the material and intellectual progress of a nation be tested by its effect on the moral life and ideal of the race. A man's moral worth is measured by the extent to which he approximates the highest ideal of life conceived by the race. The worth of a nation must also be judged by the same standard. The goal of nationalism should therefore be to raise the nation to the highest pitch of moral development.

Physical and intellectual well being will have to be achieved but only as a means to moral perfection. This is what I understand by nationalism. What is the goal of religion? Religion claims to have discovered the will of God and asks its followers to act in accordance with it. There is however no unanimity among the different religions as to what that will is. Each claims to possess an authentic enunciation of it in its sacred books or in the inspired sayings of its founder. Here we come upon the feature that is distinctive of religion. There is invariably a sacred book or the inspired words of a divine or semi-divine person which forms the criterion for judging of the acceptability of truths and ideas. It is here that the fundamental difference between religion and nationalism lies. Religion inevitably becomes stereotyped. The instinct of self preservation leads it to attack every fresh advance of thought. Religion and science become ranged in opposing camps and either religion loses its hold on the people or the light of science is choked out. Nationalism does not have the rigidity of religion. It does not possess any authoritative book to which science and philosophy must bow. Its supreme standard is human well being. It leaves to the progress of human reason to discover where it lies and how it is to be attained. Both religion and humanitarian nationalism are attempts of the human mind to attain the highest ideal of life and conduct. But whereas in religion that ideal is fixed and rigid, in nationalism it is fluid and progressive. Religion fails to recognise the fact that man is a progressive animal and rigid institutions and ideas can only do him harm. The superiority of nationalism lies in making full allowance for this fact. Another consideration which tells against religion and which ought to be conclusive in a country like India is what I adverted to in the earlier part of this article, viz., unanimity is unattainable in this matter. Every one can love his country and die for it but every one cannot subscribe to the same set of dogmas on a question which is not susceptible of strict proof. Religion divides, while nationalism unites. A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand, says the Hebrew Scripture. A nation in which the

* The writer seems to understand by the word religion only those systems of faith which have scriptures and creeds.—Ed., M. R.

supreme principle of union is religion therefore has small chance of life when it comes into conflict with communities in which the principle of nationality is the controlling motive. What leads to the ruin of a race cannot claim moral superiority to that which leads to their well being and preservation.

Man in the words of the Koran is the noblest creation of God. That principle which leads to the highest development of all his faculties and powers is therefore superior to those which do not bring about such a result. In this matter also nationalism is obviously superior to religion. Religion is always the product of a particular age and frequently also of a particular individual of that age. It is therefore invariably coloured by the idiosyncracies of the age of its birth and of the individual who brought it into being. Its conception of life is the conception of a particular age as seen through the eyes of a gifted individual. Every religion tries to mould its followers according to the pattern conceived by this age or individual or both. This inevitably leads to the stoppage of growth and development according to the needs of each successive age and the demands of the individual bent. Nationalism on the other hand gives the freest scope to the individual and the race to develop in conformity with the demands of the age and individuality.

It is therefore plain that in a modern community religion cannot supply the principle of co-operative action. The case might have been different in primitive times when speculation was less bold and when communities lived in more or less isolated groups but in this age when no country is free from external influence and when the rush of new ideas is everyday upsetting tradition the time has gone by when loyalty to religion could be the watchword of a composite community. Nationalism is now the only possible and also the only desirable bond of united action. The ideal of the State must therefore be the foundation of social activity.

It does not however necessarily follow that Religion will have to be entirely discarded. Religion is after all the most valuable contribution that Asia has made

to world culture. Religion springs from a perennial longing of the human soul. So long as human nature remains what it is religion will have its votaries. Nationalism can have no quarrel with it so long as it does not go beyond its proper sphere. Religion's main task is to supply a theory of the Universe which makes optimism possible and gives to morality that cosmic importance to which it is entitled by its intimate relation with human well being. It is the supreme glory of the Asiatic that he has fulfilled this task more adequately than any one else. He has studied the profoundest problem of the Universe with the deepest insight. Nationalism does not demand of us to throw aside this glorious heritage. Countries in which Nationalism has fully established itself are not by any means devoid of religion. It is when religion confuses the details of life with its underlying principles that it finds itself in conflict with nationalism. Nationalism does not say that Religion as such is false but that religious ideas which are deleterious to the nation are not true. In this Nationalism bases itself on the first principle of all religions. God never wants us to do anything which is really harmful to us. Such a beneficent principle can never be the negation of religion. It will no doubt prove fatal to many superstitions which now pass current as such but that need not cause us any heart burnings.

Nationalism is therefore deeply religious in so far as religion is rational. Furthermore it provides a tangible criterion by which to judge of the value of religious ideas and conceptions. In so doing it goes beyond particular religions and gives us a vantage point from which all religions can be rationally evaluated. In this we are only following the logic of human evolution. The primitive man thinks only of himself. He judges everything by its effect on his own personal happiness. Gradually the tribe comes in for a share of his regard. The time has now come when the tribe should make room for a wider brotherhood and the supreme test of the worth of a religion should be its effect on humanity itself. Nationalism owes its justification to the fact that it is the only convenient group unit through which humanity can be

effectively served. The well being of the nation is the test of the worth of religion because true Nationalism can never go against humanity.

S WAJID ALI

A NEW STANDARD PRICE FOR GOLD

“WHILE the world's need for gold is never greater the production of it is steadily declining and will go down much faster in the coming years unless something is done and done now says Mr Lancelot Ussher in the *Nineteenth Century and After*

The total value of the world's gold production in the year 1917 was £ 87 983 000 as compared with £ 95 725 000 in 1916 and £ 96 915 000 in 1915

While the production of gold is declining the demand for gold must increase with the rise of prices and wages. If the increase in the supply of gold does not keep pace with the growth of the demand the result must be the appreciation of gold or a general fall in the world's price level such as was witnessed during the period 1873—1896

Can anything be done to increase the supply of gold? Mr Ussher's answer is in the affirmative. The production of gold will be stimulated if the governments of the principal gold producing countries acting jointly raise the standard price for gold and agree not to revise the standard again for a hundred years. The standard price for fine gold is about 85s per oz while the market price is 115s per oz or even higher. The new standard says Mr Ussher might be an increase of anything between the standard price and the present market price or even up to as high as double to-day's standard price.

The rise in the standard price for gold would encourage gold mining. Suppose there is a gold mine the annual product of which is worth £ 2 000 000. If the new standard is raised 50 per cent above the old the value of the annual product of the mines would increase by £ 1 000 000. Even if the state appropriated a great part of

the increase in the value the profit to be divided among the shareholders every year after payment of all working expenses would be substantial.

The British Empire produced nearly 64 per cent of the total world's production of gold in 1917. The British Empire has therefore much to gain by a rise in the standard price for gold.

We should create new wealth by the automatic rise in the value of our gold production and obviously the creation of new wealth means increased revenue from taxation.

Further —

The enhanced value of the gold reserves of Great Britain, the United States and our Allies would offset and wipe out hundreds of millions of our war loans and the wealth added to our national income by the increased annual production of our gold fields would be equal to the interest on a very large part of the remaining National Debt.

The rise in the value of gold would increase the wealth of India. India it is believed has £100 000 000 in hoards. Mr Ussher says —

Well even if we added another £50 000 000 or £100 000 000 to the wealth of our peoples there is relief that is all to the Empire and of peace and contentment in India. And then this £100 000 000 or £100 000 000 would be largely spent in buying English goods. So much the better for the men of Manchester. And what would the Chancellor of the Exchequer not give to get an unexpected haul of £100 000 000 in gold?

It thus appears that the British Government by simply raising the standard price for gold can easily pay off a large portion of the War Debt add to the wealth of the Empire and make the people of India happy.

In a country where the coinage of gold is free the value of gold as currency and as bullion must tend to be the same in other

words gold tends to be so distributed between its two uses that the marginal utility of it in both is the same. When this is not the case gold will be converted from one use to the other until its marginal utility when used as currency is equal to the marginal utility of gold bullion. In England for example the mint price of an ounce of gold eleven twelfths fine is £3 17s 10½d or 84s 11½d for an ounce of fine gold. Under normal conditions the market price of an ounce of gold bullion cannot vary far from the purchasing power of that ounce when turned into sovereigns, i.e. the mint price and the market price of gold tend to be equal.

The new standard price for gold—says Mr Ussher might be as high as double to-day's standard price or about 170s for an ounce of fine gold. Now the mint price of gold can be raised by an Act of Parliament but no Act of Parliament can raise the market price of gold to 170s per oz when according to the laws of supply and demand the price is say 110s per oz. If the market price does not rise the difference between the mint price and the market price of gold may be considerable say 55d per oz. Every holder of gold bullion would rush to the mint with every ounce of gold that he possessed gold plate and gold ornaments would be melted down and turned into coin. Would the mints be able to buy all the gold that was offered to them? And secondly would the general tax payer be willing to be taxed so that the holders of gold may sell it to the mint at a price higher than the market price?

Next suppose that the standard price is raised 50 per cent so that the mint price and the market price are equal. But as every one knows the rise in the price of gold during the war was due to exceptional causes connected with the war. The present high price of gold may not last long now that the war is over. The price of gold may also fall on account of increase in supply furnished under the new conditions. Whether there is over production or not the supply of gold is bound to increase when the standard price is raised 50 per cent. If the demand for gold does not increase—and it is probable that it

increases at all it will increase less rapidly than the supply because the rise in its value would check consumption in the arts to some extent—the market price of gold may fall heavily. The fall in the value of gold will turn gold coins into token coins. It may of course be said that the fall in the value of gold would eventually bring about an increase in the number of gold coins which would tend to depress their currency value. The market price of gold would at the same time tend to rise on account of increased demand. But as long as gold is overvalued at the mint the operations of the mint would cause loss to the Government and the country.

Would not the rise in the value of gold raise the prices of all commodities? Mr Ussher's answer is No.

In pre-war days such a rise would perhaps have been reflected in the enhanced price of all commodities but to-day since gold has ceased to be currency and become merely a basis for credit since its volume and value are so small compared with the volume and value of trade and since prices have risen everywhere for reasons other than the abundance of gold (risen in fact in spite of its scarcity) the old argument is no longer sound. Probably it never really was sound though economists planted their faiths to it for want of a better theory.

The old argument however never meant that prices depend upon the amount of gold in circulation. It is precisely because gold has ceased to be currency and become merely a basis for credit that an appreciable increase or decrease in the supply of gold influences prices more than when no credit instruments are used and the connexion between the gold supply and the price level is direct. £1 000 000 of gold in the reserves serves as the basis for credit worth several millions. And if the standard price for gold is doubled so that the value of the existing gold reserves is doubled credit circulation is bound to increase. Prices would inevitably rise. Larger gold reserves mean lower discount rates greater amount of credit money and higher prices.

The rise in the value of gold will add nothing to the wealth of any country except in so far as it leads to increase in the production of gold or other commodities. National wealth consists in goods

and services, when the supply of goods and services increases or decreases national wealth may be said to increase or decrease. A country cannot become rich or prosperous by giving a higher value to gold or any other commodity which it produces, except in so far as the rise in value enables it to obtain a greater quantity of the goods of foreign countries in exchange. The British Empire and the Allies produce 89 per cent of the world's gold output but they also represent the major portion of the human race. Who will buy all their gold at the higher price? Germany and her allies, it is certain, could not buy all.

A country can no more augment its wealth by giving a fictitious value to its gold than by giving a fictitious value to its land. Suppose the value of all land per acre is doubled or quadrupled by an act of State. Would that double or quadruple the wealth of the country? The wealth of some individual members of the community, i.e., the landowners, would increase. In exchange for their land they would be able to secure a greater quantity of the products of various industries. But the rise in the value of land would add nothing to the wealth of the whole community in the form of goods and services.

Our hoards of gold are said to amount to £100,000,000 and Mr Ussher proposes to add another £50,000,000 or £100,000,000 to our hoarded wealth. But if nation

al wealth can be augmented at will by giving a fictitious value to gold why not augment it ten, twenty or hundred times?

It should also be stated that gold is not equally distributed among various classes in India. The rise in the value of gold would enrich those who possess gold. Those who buy it at the higher price would, obviously, not benefit by the rise in its value. Again the rise in the value of gold would increase the purchasing power of the richer classes, which by increasing demand, would tend to raise all prices. A very large section of the community, i.e., the poorer classes, would thus be injured by the rise in the value of gold, firstly because not possessing gold, they would have to pay more for it and secondly because they would have to pay more for all goods when prices rise.

Lastly the rise in the standard price of gold would injure the creditor class. It would mean that everyone who borrowed £100 before the change was made would return, say, £50 under the new conditions. As Mr Ussher says, by raising the standard price for gold debtor governments would wipe out hundreds of millions of their war loans. But that would be a partial repudiation of national debts—whether one nation alters the standard or all the civilized nations of the world do it at the same time.

BRIJ NARAIN

"SHIVAJI" •

THE author of the *Prithviraj* encouraged by its success for it has already attained the dignity of a second edition has come out again with a second epic this time on the life and times of Shivaji. Babu Jogindranath Basu knows well how to choose periods of history which are

land marks in national life epochs crowded with glorious events and pregnant with fateful happenings—true themes for a noble epic. And if in the *Prithviraj* he sang of the downfall of the Aryans of Bharatavarsha scarcely yet beginning to be known as Hindus in the *Shivaji* he sings of their triumphant rejuvenescence under the leadership of a born military genius, who was, moreover according to the author, a marvellous administrator and statesman, sincere patriot, religious devotee, a high-souled champion of the weak and oppressed, a popular hero of romance.

* Shivaji (Historical Epic, in 18 cantos) by Jogindranath Basu. Extra crown 8vo pp. 264. Illustrated. Printed in bold type on thick paper and beautifully bound. Calcutta 1925. Price 2-6-0.

and a bulwark of Hindunism against the advancing mroads of Islam. Difficult as the task was which the poet had set to himself we are glad to find that he has fully risen to the height of the occasion and met with an ample measure of success. His plan is entirely novel and full of risk—his object being to teach history in the garb of poetry, and at the same time to make his composition both genuine history and genuine poetry. The accuracy of the historical portion of the work is tested and certified at every step by numerous footnotes culled from the most approved and up-to-date authorities and the fame of the author as a writer of characterised dignified eloquent full of noble thoughts and sentiments and elevated imagines has been fully sustained by the present work. Epics there are in the Bengali language of a high order but except the *Battle of Plassey* by Nabinchandra Sen none have a political motif. Nabinchandra Sen no doubt excels the author of the *Shivaji* in genuine poetical gift but his history is more sentimental than real though both are equally patriotic the patriotism of Nabinchandra is more fiery and impetuous that of Jogindranath is more sober and discriminating while in appreciation of the true spirit of our ancient culture—its great drawbacks in the past and its rich potentialities in the future of the entire make-up of Hindu civilisation at its best and its worst of the atmosphere of its temples shrines and religious meeting places the unifying principle that has hidden in the diversity of its worship cults and ceremonies the associations that lie enshrined in its sacred literature legends and traditions giving life and harmony to the whole—the author of the *Prithviraj* and the *Shivaji* is superior to his predecessor and by virtue of all these qualities he is destined to occupy a glorious niche in the temple of fame and his epics will be treasured among the richest legacies to our mother tongue. Jogindra Babu has studied his history well and succeeded in assimilating the profound lessons it has to teach. ‘History says Sismondi in his *Italian Republics* has no true importance but as it contains a moral lesson it should be explored not for scenes of carnage but for instructions in the government of man kind. The knowledge of times past is good only as it instructs us to avoid mistakes to imitate virtues to improve by experience.’ It is in this spirit that the poet has dived into the depths of Indian history and the lessons he has learnt from it are eminently sound. In Jogindra Babu historic erudition the gift of poesy and deep love of country which is not afraid to speak unpleasant truths are combined with true political insight and the desire to utilise his rare talents to the best advantage in the service of the country. If a two epics contain the quintessence of the social and political history of the country from the first invasion of the Mahomedans down to the downfall of the Moghul empire in the reign of Aurangzeb we learn more from them than from volumes of dry as-dust

history occupied with unconnected facts and details as they usually are and the lessons inculcated by our author being presented to us in a rich poetical garb the charm of which lingers and is not easily forgotten are likely to be deeply imprinted on the mind and produce a lasting effect.

Great as are the merits of Jogindra Babu's epics as poetical compositions it is their historical value which is likely to prove most abiding. Justice Sir Ashutosh Choudhury of all his reviewers seems to have hit upon the true political bearing of his teachings that by which his books will live in his country's literature and constitute his greatest contribution to the cause of his country. The lesson which he preaches is one which in the first flush of our patriotic enthusiasm in the closing decades of the last century we had no time to learn. Our patriots and national poets of an elder generation had no inclination and perhaps not sufficient material to study the country's history in all its aspects. Political experience was also wanting. Patriotic songs full of the most touching pathos and soul-stirring speeches breathing the noblest appeals to the spirit of liberty were the heritage they bequeathed to us. Meanwhile European scholars like Max Muller and historians like Tod had been exploring the glories of our ancient literature and placing the stirring episodes of our national history before the educated public. In course of time a band of Indian scholars grew up who nobly assisted in the work of popularising the result of the labours of these foreign writers and also made original contributions of their own. The time was thus ripe for the Swadeshi movement to develop in all directions and we began to take a genuine interest in our country's noble past. Vivekananda opened to us the gates of our rich spiritual inheritance and with him and his gifted disciple Sister Nivedita we felt that without pride in its past and confidence in its future no nation can ever be great. The movement was now carried to the other extreme being helped on by the Theosophist propaganda and from hesitating appeals to be considered as deserving of a back seat among the civilised nations of the earth by frequent repetition and self-suggestion we gradually convinced ourselves that the past civilisation of the Hindus was perfect in every respect that we had nothing to learn from the modern nations of the West and that all we had to do was to go back to the past and revive it in its entirety in order to rehabilitate our ancient high status among the world-civilisations.

The barest reflection as well as the most cursory acquaintance with the history of the world would have taught us that such a dream is absolutely incapable of realisation. Our circumstances environments ethical and national characteristics our relationships with the rest of the world the progress of science and of social and political ideas the annihilation of distance due to steam and electricity the political and

religious developments in India itself unknown to our forefathers and a thousand other factors make such a revival unthinkable. Nevertheless, it is a fact that thousands among us, not confined solely to the half-educated or uneducated section of the public, think it to be not only practicable, but eminently desirable. To those of this way of thinking, the lessons which the poet preaches in his two noble epics are invaluable just as in the first he shows how the tragic debacle of the Hindu race culminated in the first battle of Panipat, so in the present poem he expounds the causes of the downfall of the Moghul empire, and also those which led to the rise of the Hindus once more under the orange coloured banner of Chhatrapati Shivaji.

In Canto XI, the political lessons which the poet wants to preach have been expounded through the mouth of the sage Ramdas, the *Guru* of Shivaji. Briefly put, the causes which led to the foundation of the Marhatta kingdom are, according to our poet, as follow: (1) Their power of enduring hardships, while the Moghul soldiers were enervated by luxury, (2) the Moghul army was composed of mercenaries whereas the Marhattas were inspired by patriotism cemented by the bigotry of Aurangzeb, (3) the unity of the Marhatta people, (4) the obliteration of caste distinctions in the civil and military administration of Shivaji, merit being the sole test of fitness, (5) the self-sacrifice and active participation of Marhatta women in the common cause, (6) the religious upheaval among the people, led by Namadev, Tukaram and others, which according to Ranade, modified the old spirit of caste-exclusiveness, and tended 'to raise the nation to a higher level of capacity, both of thought and action', and to 'the spiritual emancipation of the national mind'. The failure of Pratapaditya of Bengal to liberate the country from the Moghul yoke was, according to the poet, due to the fact that the country was not ripe for freedom, and failed to support him. The Hindus succumbed before the Mahomedans when they first invaded India not because Hindus were inferior to Moslems in valour and individual courage, but because they were inferior in the art of warfare and in war materials, in organisation and discipline, and were prone to rely too much on Fate. The Hindus were also inferior in alertness, grit and horsemanship, they were incapable of resisting cavalry charges. The country was parcelled out into a number of petty principalities constantly engaged in mutual dissensions, incapable of presenting a united front to the common enemy. When one was in danger, the others did not even turn back to see how it fared. The consequence was that many kingdoms were annihilated in a single battle. Moreover, the Brahmans and Kshattriyas alone occupied high positions, and all the castes except Kshattriyas were indifferent, and considered the defence of the country as none of their business. The lower classes were hopeless and dispirited, and thought that a change

of masters would not affect them in any way. The whole country was torn by bitter religious animosities between Hindus and Buddhists, and by unjust hatred of the depressed and untouchable communities. In the last canto, on the eve of Shivaji's demise, his *Guru* further explains to him that the Mussalman conquest of India was part of the beneficent divine dispensation to teach the Hindus sunk in unrighteousness, evil customs, caste dissensions and civil strife, the grand democratic Advaitism of the ancient Rishis which recognised no distinction between Brahmans and Chandalas, and held such pride of birth to be utterly unrighteous. The Mahomedans in turn, were to learn the sweetness, love, and toleration of the Hindu character. By and by, the followers of Islam, unable to profit by the wisdom of the Shastras of the Hindus, considered destruction and ruin to be the only path to success, and sunk in dissipation, began to oppress the people and propounded a most sinister doctrine of social distinction between the rulers and the ruled, born of the pride of conquest, which is a hundred times more painful than caste distinctions. All this brought about their ruin at the hands of Shivaji. The political creed of the author is summed up in three lines which have been quoted as the motto of the book—as the key to the denouement of the whole career of the hero. It is the law of Providence that sin will lead to ruin as inevitably as virtue to preservation, if the Hindu sins, he will not escape punishment, if the Moslem sins, he will equally have to suffer the consequences. The author has repeatedly shown how Shivaji, though a strict Hindu, was careful to guard the honour of Mahomedan women and the faith of the followers of the Prophet in his territories, in this manifesting the strictest impartiality and a wise religious toleration so rare in his time. And the poet, citing the instance of Madhava-charya, the brother of the great Vedic commentator Sayana and author of the well known *Panchadasi* and the *Sarva darshana Samgraha* truly called 'Vishvaraya or the forest of learning', who was the abbot of the Sringeri monastery but did not hesitate to emerge from his retirement and take charge of the administration of the kingdom of Vijayanagar in order to save it from ruin, concludes with the advice that the time for renunciation has not come in India either for the householder or the Sannyasin, and that without leading an active life for the good of the country no one can be fit to attain salvation.

Even such a sympathetic writer as Mr. Havell, whose deep insight into Hindu culture and civilisation is evident throughout his recently published *History of Aryan Rule in India*, has had to admit that the Moslem eruption was the nemesis of Hindu incompetence. "A pious Hindu might easily be led to regard the long period of bloodshed and destruction which followed the Muhammadan invasions as an unmitigated disaster to his motherland and to the great civilisation of which Aryavarta was the centre

But the true Hindu philosopher would not have failed to discern the will of Providence even in the blind rage of the Mussalman fanatic behind the apparent ruin of his cause lay a new impulse for the progress of the human race. Brahman culture in the field it had created for itself had reached its apex its creative energy was on the wane. Endless reiteration and hair-splitting dialectics would not carry it to greater heights or widen the circle of its activity. The elaborate ritual was overgrown with superstition and chicanery, demoralising for both the teacher and the pupil. The sword of Islam was the Creator's pruning knife which removed the decaying branches. (Pp 324-25)

It was not within the scope of the poet to trace the causes of the downfall of the Marhatta power. So great had it at one time become that Sir William Hunter in his *Indian Empire* says that the advance of the English power alone saved the Moghul empire from passing to the Hindus. But by and by the high ideals of the founder were forgotten and the Marhatta confederacy degenerated into a mere organisation of plunder, to quote the historian Beeley. Some of the causes of its downfall may be gathered from the article on *The Survival of Hindu Civilisation* in the 1st December number of this Review.

We have heard the argument advanced by educated men of position that a government which is execrated and denounced by the people at large is sure to come to grief as if there is any special virtue in the act of denunciation as such. The argument itself it will be seen is only a variation of the well known maxim *vox populi vox Dei*. There is undoubtedly some truth in the proposition but not because denunciation is in some mysterious way bound to prove effective only if it happens to come from a large number of people. There may be just as well as unjust denunciation and the political instinct of the uneducated masses is not always right and not often they are apt to lay the blame on the wrong shoulders. The justification of the political maxim quoted above lies in the fact that where an administration is execrated by a numerous body of the people affected by it it may be legitimately presumed that there are serious shortcomings in it which are bound to lead it to harm. At the same time those who have recourse to this argument usually fail to see that a large part of their sufferings and even the undesirable character of the administration itself is in a great measure due to their own national defects. To hold otherwise would be to conclude that the Providence which presides over the destinies of nations is a partial authority, causing suffering among peoples who do not deserve it. So long as these national drawbacks are not removed any improvement that may be brought about in the lot of the country can only be fragmentary and shortlived and will not go to the root of the evils it suffers from.

Those evils will only be surely and permanently cured if the nation can get rid of its vices. And if it makes an honest start and sets about in right earnest to purge the body politic of the numerous evils that hamper its progress it will probably be found in the process that the machinery of government against which it complains is being automatically liberalised and adjusted to the new situation created by the country's progress. By this we do not of course intend to suggest that the evils of the administration must not be protested against in a country where the government is not drawn from the people and is in no sense the true representative of their wants and wishes. The need of such agitation with all the constitutional weapons in our armoury is manifest and it is also part of our education in our political rights. But what we do mean to say is that at the same time and in a greater degree our attention should be devoted to setting our own house in order and this we consider to be the more serious and effective part of our national duty. It is natural in the case of nations as of individuals to be somewhat partial to one's own failings and to minimise their capacity for working mischief. But even making due allowance for this natural human weakness we see in our country such an amount of calculated short sightedness touching the great and serious drawbacks of our society as to make us sometimes despair of the future. Instead of trying to remove the impediments to the path of progress we prefer rather to be blind to them and sedulously cultivate our national self-conceit, fondly believing that it is the patriot's part to do so against all odds. But merely to think and wish well of the country is hardly sufficient qualification for the role of the patriot. It may be taken for granted that every man generally speaking thinks and wishes well of his country unless of course he has strong selfish interests to serve by following the opposite course and no man if we think of it deserves special recognition as a patriot for following such a natural bent of the human mind. What is really wanted is that our patriotism, in order to deserve the name should be informed by enlightened principles and issue into strenuous self-sacrificing and humanitarian endeavour. Confining our selves for the present to principles, we find that few among us in the region of politics care to formulate a definite policy for our individual guidance based upon a study of principles. It is for this reason that we find the anomalous and self-contradictory attitude so common among us of preaching liberty and free thought and self-determination in the field of politics while maintaining intact all the shackles which bind our social and religious life. We do not even see the connection between political and social emancipation and foolishly imagine that the one can be achieved without progressing simultaneously in the other direction. If we make a

careful study of our ancient history from all sources we shall find that compared with other contemporary nations India in the prime days of her greatness was remarkably free in thought and action. True our long foreign subjection has in its turn deprived society of the elasticity of movement and the mind of the courage to think for itself which they once possessed just as the lack of this freedom of thought and action has helped to rivet our chains. But the history of the Marhatta revival shows that there is a strong connection between social and political progress and that the one cannot be accomplished without the aid of the other. According to the late Justice Ranade the success achieved by the Marhatta power was due to a general upheaval social religious and political of all classes of the population.

It was not a mere Political Revolution that stirred Maharashtra towards the close of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth century. The Political Revolution was preceded and in fact to some extent caused by a Religious and Social upheaval which moved the entire population. The fact was that like the Protestant Reformation in Europe in the sixteenth century there was a Religious Social and Literary Revival and Reformation in India but notably in the Deccan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This Religious Revival was not Brahminical in its orthodoxy it was heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth and ethical in its preference of a pure heart and of the law of love to all other acquired merits and good works. This Religious Revival was the work also of the people of the masses and not of the classes. The political leaders acted in concert with these religious leaders of the people. The impulse was felt in art, in religion in the growth of vernacular literature in communal freedom of life in increase of self reliance and toleration. (*Rise of the Marhatta Power* chapter I). Those who are so prone to criticise others as we are ought sometimes to see ourselves as others see us and also to try and find out why is it that for centuries we are trodden under the heels of foreigners and what are the reasons

for our national decadence. Only by discovering the causes of our decay and trying earnestly to remedy them can we hope once more to rise from our abject position. This is a task which few among us are inclined to undertake for it is not popular. It is more pleasant to lay the blame on others than to scan our own vices. But however desirous we may be to shut our eyes to the latter others who are placed in authority over us will not forget them and unless and until we largely succeed in overcoming them the God of nations who is absolutely just and impartial will not give us the reward we seek. It is good to cultivate self-confidence nay it is even highly necessary but to do so it is not essential to be blind to our own faults and exaggerate our virtues beyond recognition. The man who is most popular among us is the man who says the pleasantest things of us and also perhaps is loudest in his denunciation of others. This however only betrays our national weakness and this way surely salvation does not lie. The attitude of the boy who chafes at the discipline imposed on him at school and revenges himself by backbiting his teacher at home is not the attitude proper for self respecting men. It is manlier to recognise one's faults to admit them and make an honest effort to get rid of them. That is the attitude which we would sincerely desire our countrymen to cultivate if they want to win the respect of other nations. It is the great distinction of the author of the *Prithwari* and the *Shivaji* that he had the patriotism to see this and take in hand the political education of the nation fed too long on cheap rhetorical outbursts in praise of our incomparable Aryan civilisation—any reader of the several volumes of the learned but pretentious *History of India* (in Bengali) by Babu Durgadas Lahiri will understand the type of vainglorious rhodomontade which goes down with us as genuine history—along the lines indicated above and if he succeeds in rubbing it into our minds that nations by themselves are made that they fall by their own sins and rise by their own virtues he shall have done a great service to the motherland.

May 11 1919

LICHCHAVIS OF VAISALI

WHEN strenuous and sustained research is being made by great students of antiquities in almost all fields of ancient Indian history it is a matter

of regret that no systematic account of the Lichchavis, one of the most ancient and influential republican clans of Northern India has yet appeared. It is due pro-

bably to the fact that though ancient Pali and Sanskrit literatures contain a few references to these people they do not afford adequate materials for constructing an authentic and connected history. The origin of the Lichchavis is still a matter of speculation. Speculation is rife where materials are few.

In the *Buddhist Records of the Western World* Vol II p 70 Beal says

The people of Vaisali were a Northern people allied to the Yue-chi which illustrates Coma Koro's that Tibetan writers derive their first king about 200 B.C. from the Litsabyis or Lichchavis. The Sakya family of Buddha is also said to belong to this tribe. The symbols used by the Chinese for the Yue-chi and for the Vajras are the same. We know that they were regarded as intruders for Ajatasatru King of Magadha was desirous of attacking and rooting out the Vajras and it was he also who strengthened the City of Pataliputra.

Thus Beal's arguments for regarding the Lichchavis of Vaisali as allied to the Yue-chi tribe come to this—

First The first Tibetan king is said to belong to the Litsabyis the Silya clan is also said to belong to the Lichchavis. Because the Tibetans and the Sakyas were Northern people like the Yue-chi therefore the Lichchavis were Yue-chi people. This argument of Beal is obviously fallacious.

Secondly Because the Chinese historians have spelt the words Vajras and Yue-chi in an identical way therefore they are the same people. This also is no sure logic. From a single coincidence it will not be fair to jump at once to the conclusion that both belonged to the same tribe in the total absence of any other evidence to substantiate it.

Thirdly The Lichchavis were intruders. I do not understand how they could be called so. Texts from Buddhist and Jain works show that the Lichchavis were an ancient people and about the 6th century B.C. they were firmly established at Vaisali. Besides this we know that Bimbisara married a daughter of Raja Chetaka of Vaisali for which his son Ajatasatru has often been called Vidhiputta in the Buddhist works. That the Emperor of Magadha took his royal consort from a family of intruders

is most unlikely. Rather does the fact point to the conclusion that the tribe must have been long established at Vaisali before they could be considered worthy of matrimonial connection with the royal family of Magadha.

In the Introduction p xiii to the *Budd Rec. of the West World* Beal continues

After a month and five days Fah an and his party reached Khotan. This country has been identified with Lyul of the Tibetan writers. There is some reason for connecting this land of Lyul with the Lichchavis of Vaisali. The chief prince or ruler of the Lichchavis was called the Great Lion or noble lion. This is probably the explanation of Mahā used by Spence Hardy as the name of the King of the Lichchavis. Khotan would thus be the land of the Lion people (Simhas).

In J R A S (Jan 1882) Beal has tried to establish that the Lichchavis were of Scythian origin. His main reason for this being that the account given in Asvaghosha's Life of Buddha and Mahaparinibbanasutta of the gorgeous chariots and cognizances etc. of the Lichchavis corresponds to the customs of the Northern nations. He also notices that Li of Lichchavis means a lion. There is an Accadian root lig or lih also meaning a lion (Savce Assyrian Grammar).

Beal further observes (*Budd Rec.*, vol II p 67) that the sculpture work found at Sanchi refers to the Lichchavi stupa over Buddha's relics. He is of opinion that these sculptures in every way resemble the account given of the people of Kuechi i.e. the Yue-chi tribe.

To argue that because Liul was the Tibetan name for Khotan and the word Lichchavis begins with li, therefore Khotan must be the land of the Lichchavis or to fix the ethnology of a people merely from their appearance and their magnificent and variegated dresses in the absence of corroboration from any historical record is preposterous. Sanchi was never the land of the Lichchavis and the stupa raised by the Lichchavis over a portion of Buddha's relics must have existed at Vaisali now definitely identified with Basari in the district of Muzaffarpur (V A Smith's Vaisali J R A S 1902 pp 267-88 and Dr Bloch's Excavations at Basari Arch

Sur Ann R 1903 pp 81 122) The fact is that Indian history does not record any reliable evidence of Scythian migration into India before the 1st cent A D and Beal's theory that the Licchavis were Scythian or Yue-chu and that of Mr Hewitt that they were Kolarians (J R A S 1889 p 53 fn) were formed at a time when ancient Indian history was mostly a matter of conjecture

The two modern theories about the origin of the Licchavis are those of Mr V A Smith (Ind Antiq Vol 1903 p 233) Tibetan affinities of the Licchavis and 'The Oxford History of India' p 64 and of Mahamahopadhyay Dr Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan (Persian affinities of the Licchavis Ind Antiq 1908 p 78)

Mr Vincent Smith's theory that the Licchavis were a Tibeto-Tibetan tribe which settled in the plains during pre-historic times is based on the following three main arguments —

First Tradition says that Salva Licchavis were the progenitors of the Tibetan Kings

Second Similarity between the customs of the Tibetans and those of the Licchavis in matters sepulchral

Third Similarity in judicial procedure

Now with regard to the first Mr Roel hult distinguished for his Tibetan lore has pointed out (the Life of Buddha p 203) that legends of this kind have little historical value and Mr Vincent Smith himself has admitted it in connection with this theory

With regard to his second argument the author says that the prevalence of the practice of exposure of the dead in Tibet is well known and the ancient inhabitants of Vaisali disposed of their dead sometimes by exposure sometimes by cremation and sometimes by burial Now let us see whether this custom of disposing of the dead was peculiar to the people of Vaisali or it was commonly prevalent among the ancient people of India According to Buddhist custom the dead bodies of ordinary people were not cremated but deposited at a public place

Sivallika or amakavastana was the place where as a rule the bodies or the remains of the poor were either buried or left to be destroyed

by birds or beasts or decomposed by the process of natural decay (Rhas Davids *Buddhist India* p 80)

In support of my contention the following passages may be quoted —

Theragatha verse 393—

Kullo went to a cemetery and saw the dead body of a woman untended by anybody and all covered over with worms biting it

Mahasilava Jataka (Vol I pp 264)—

Seize them all tie their hands tightly behind their backs and away with them to the cemetery There dig holes and bury them alive to the neck so that they may not be able to move hand or foot

Same Jataka (p 265)—

Now it chanced that a corpse had been exposed in that part of the cemetery which lay between the respective domains of two ogres

Again in Mahasutasoma Jataka (Vol 5 p 458)—

In eleven nights he went to a cemetery where dead bodies were exposed and taking some flesh from the thigh of a man etc

When Fahien came to India he saw at Rajgir in 400 A D an enclosure for the dead called Smasanam where dead bodies were thrown (Legge's Fahien's Travels p 84)

It was thus a general custom traces of which are still to be found among the Hindus All the three modes of disposing of the dead according to Vaisali custom are still to be found among the Hindus of the present day According to the *Smriti* some bodies are to be thrown away some buried and others cremated Among the Parsis also we notice the custom of the exposure of the dead Mr Vincent Smith would like us to believe that Fahien's reference to Smasanam at Rajagriha was an indication of the fact that the Licchavi custom extended far beyond their country and survived in Magadha about 400 A D Even if we were to admit that the custom extended to the people of Magadha it might be said that in a similar way the custom made its way to Tibet

With regard to the judicial procedure in Tibet and Vaisali the author observes that it offers a still more striking parallel Atthakatha on the Mahaparambhava Sutta the commentary ascribed to Buddhaghosha gives the following account of the

judicial system of Vaisali.—There are eight stages (1) Arrest and production of prisoner before the rulers (2) Enquiry by the Vinichhiva Mahamatta if innocent released if guilty sent to (3) Wakhanka (persons learned in law and custom) if innocent released if guilty sent to (4) Sattadhara for further enquiry then the same process the next court is (5) Attakulaka (the eight castes or tribes) the same process next (6) Senapati or chief minister who hands him over to (7) Uparaja or vicegerent who makes him over to the (8) Raja who is bound to follow fixed written rules in awarding the penalty according to Pavenupttikam (the book of precedents or usages)

The criminal procedure in Tibet is given by the late Sarat Chandra Das C I E as follows (J A S B 1895 p 5) The stages are —

(1) The accused person is arrested and sent to the lock up (2) he is watched treated kindly and mildly interrogated (3) he is subjected to a mild but minute interrogation called Jamti and his answers are noted down (4) he is examined more strictly and whipped at intervals this is called Tshan-di (5) if he makes any kind of confession true or false he is subjected to further prolonged examination on repeated whippings and cruel tortures of various kinds (6) if the case is serious and the government becomes a party he is taken to the Dalai Lama's court (7) this court suggests to the gyalshab (regent) which is the highest court in the country that one of the three punishments mentioned in the decision may be approved of (8) the sentence may be mitigated commuted or revised by the Dala Lama only. The Regent has no power to do more than select one of the 3 punishments suggested by the court of ministers

Mr Vincent Smith perceives a very close resemblance between this procedure and the ancient judicial system of Vaisali but to me the similarity appears to be more imaginary than real. We find that the two main essentials of the Lichchavi system of judicial procedure and which are purely republican in character are first that there should not be the least punishment before the guilt is proved and second the prisoner is to be set free if held innocent by any of the eight tribunals. None of these is present in the Tibetan procedure where the criminal is whipped at intervals and is subjected to repeated

whippings and cruel torture. Nor does it appear that there is a regular gradation of courts in Tibet where the subordinate officers merely examine the accused but never constitute a tribunal.

It is probable that both the Lichchavis and the Tibetans had a common origin. But there is no reason to call the Lichchavis a Tibetan tribe. On the contrary it may be supposed that the Lichchavis who had a strong republican system of government at Vaisali in the 6th and 5th cen B C might have proceeded north to Nepal where they established a monarchical government in the 1st cen A D and founded an era in 111 A D (Sylvain Lévi Le Nepal 14 n 153). Jayadeva I the first historical king of Nepal belonged to the Lichchavi tribe and reigned from A D 330-50 A D (Fleet's Corpus Ins Ind Vol III p 135). Hreuntsang who visited India about the middle of the 7th cen A D found a Lichchavi Kshatriya reigning in Nepal. According to the Tibetan records the earliest kings of Tibet belonged to the Litsa bya race and their first king came from a foreign country. These point to the conclusion that there was probably some connection of these Lichchavis with the Lichchavis of Vaisali but the exact connection has not yet been definitely determined.

Dr Vidyabhusana in his article on The Persian affinities of the Lichchavis (Ind Antiq 1908 p 78) has tried to establish that the Lichchavis were a Persian tribe whose original home was Nisibis a port of Persia off Herat. He says that during Darius's invasion in 515 B C some of the Persian subjects of Nisibis emigrated to India and the Panjab being the home of orthodox Brahmans settled in Magadha largely inhabited by Vratyas (outcast people). He presumes that his view is corroborated by Sloka 22 Chap X of Mahabharata which runs thus —

महो पश्य वराणस्य राजा सिद्धिं वीर्यम् ।
नरकं वरुण्य व पश्येद्विचित्रं वरं च ॥

(Seven classes of Vratya Kshatriyas
122 वरं पश्य सिद्धिं नरकं वरुण्यं च वरं वीर्यम्)
Dr Vidyabhusana is of opinion that the

"term 'Nichchiv' is the Indian form of the Persian word 'Nisibis', and the Pali word 'Lichchavis' or 'Lichchivis' is a softened form of 'Nisibis' or 'Nisibis'." According to him they were not firmly established at Vaisali in the 5th cen B C as Maha parimbhanna Sutta, chap I, says that their expulsion was attempted by Ajatasatru.

Now the colonisation of Magadha by the people of Nisibis is neither supported by tradition nor by history and it is most improbable that a people could have settled at Vaisali, so far off from Persia, without leaving any trace behind them in the vast region intervening. Nisibis was founded sometime during the reign of Cyrus, who ruled from 559-530 B C and there is no sufficient reason to believe that a people should have left their original home in Nisibis, only a few years after its foundation and at a time when it was fast getting into importance. Manu's Nichchiv is not derived from 'Nisibis' but it is merely a corrupted form of the word 'Lichchavi'. The existence of various forms of the word 'Lichchavi' was first detected by Lassen and admitted by other European scholars, such as, Bühler and Sylvain Lévi, the latter drawing our attention to the terms 'Lichchavi' 'Lichchiv' 'Lichchakhi' (acc to Jam books) and 'Nichchiv' (acc to Manu). In Dr Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions we meet with numerous titles, such as 'Lichchavi dauhitra' 'Lichchavi kula ketubha,' 'Lichchavi kulavandakara' 'Lichchavi kula ketuh' and 'Lichchavavah', but all these begin with 'Li' and never with 'Ni'. The general form is 'Lichchavi' 'Lichchiv', which is found in the Bhitari Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta and in the spurious Gaya grant of Samudragupta, the form 'Lichchakhi' of the Jains, and 'Nichchiv' of Manu Samhita, are all variants of the same name.

I do not understand how Ajatasatru's attempt to exterminate the Lichchavis of Vaisali can indicate that they were a newly settled people. We know 'Virudhaka' or 'Virudhava' of Kosala exterminated the Sakas of Kapilvastu and that Ajatasatru conquered Kosala. Are we to suppose therefore, that both Kosala and the Sakas territories were new settle-

ments? It has already been observed that the marriage of a Lichchavi girl with Raju Bimbisara could not possibly have taken place if the people had not been old settlers of Vaisali. It may also be of interest here to note that Rhys Davids, in his *Buddhist India*, p. 259, refers to the power of the Lichchavis as far back as the 7th cen B C when they successfully withstood the attempt of mighty Mahakosala to extend his suzerainty over them.

There being no conclusive evidence of the foreign origin of the Lichchavis, it is natural for us to assume that they were an indigenous people. The facts that Manu calls them Vratvas or degraded Kshatriyas for non observance of the ten principal Hindu Samskaras, and that Vaisali was the stronghold of the two non brahmanical religions, Buddhism and Jainism, lead us to believe that these people joined the reactionary movement against Brahmanism which set about in the 6th cen B C and whose great exponents were Gautama Buddha and Mahavira.

According to Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, p. 25), the Vajjians consisted of eight confederate clans, of whom the Lichchavis of Vaisali and the Videhans of Mithila were the most important. Vaisali was the headquarters of this powerful confederacy and its name might have been derived from the word 'Bisal', meaning 'extensive', or from the name of the King Bisal, whose fort has been identified and the place excavated by Dr Bloch. His excavations have revealed three distinct strata of brick structures, the uppermost belonging to the Muhammadan period the second to the epoch of the Imperial Guptas and the third to some more remote date, probably the time of Buddha. At the very dawn of Indian history we catch a glimpse of Vaisali as a splendid city, the capital of the proud and lordly Lichchavis, which they probably occupied after subduing the original inhabitants of the place, as, Prof Bhandarkar has pointed out, the name विजिनदेश (conquered place) indicates. Ancient Vaisali enjoyed a striking prosperity and was encompassed by a triple wall, each wall

being a league off from the next. There were three gates with watch towers (Ekapanna Jataka, vol I, p 504,—"Tasmin hi kale vesalinagaram gavutagavutantare (lit trans—at a distance of a cow's call) tihī pakarehi parikkhittam tisu thanesa gopuratta,—lakayuttam parama sobhag gappattam" Again in the Lomahamsa Jataka vol I, 389, we find the following passage—"Vesaliyam tinnam pakaranam antare vicaranto", etc.) According to Jain traditions Vaisali was made up of three distinct parts—Vaisali proper, Kundagama, Vanagama (the birth place of Vardhamana Mahavira, probably identified with the modern village of Banua), besides the Kollaga suburb, now Kollua. A Smith's article on 'Vaisali' J R A S 1902, p 267) "It was the only great city in all the territories of the free clans who formed so important a factor in the social and political life of the 6th cent A D (Rhys Davids's Budd Ind, p 40)

The Lichchavis were Kshatriyas. They sent a messenger to the Mallas of Kusi nagar to claim Buddha's relic on the ground that they like the Blessed One belonged to the Kshatriya caste. Though they belonged to the soldier caste, they did not neglect agriculture and commerce. In the Atthakatha on Mahaparnibbanasutta we find the minister Vassakara in the council of Ajatasatru saying "Let the Vajjians go on with their agricultural and commercial concerns". During the reign of the Gupta kings Vaisali became a famous trade and business centre. Clay seals of Ghatotkacha Gupta bearing the words 'Sri Ghatotkacha guptasya' and of Dhruvadevi bearing the words 'Maharajadhiraja Sri Chandragupta patni Maharaja Sri Gobindagupta mati Mahadevi Sri Dhruvadevi' have been excavated at Basrah along with about 700 other clay seals, mostly of merchants and bankers (Dr Bloch's Excavations at Basrah Arch S Ann R 1903—4, p 107, pl xli). The Lichchavis have been called by Manu a degraded caste, but on the contrary, their contemporary people regarded them as high born and most respectable. In the Suttapitaka Jataka, Vol II, it is said that a barber's son wishing to marry a Lichchavi girl his

father reproached him, as she was a high-born lady, and so the match was impossible.

The city of Vaisali was a centre of education. Cullakalinga Jataka, Vol 3 p 1 says "The Jain Sacchaka lived on in the same place at Vaisali, studying the lore of the Lichchavis," and in the same Jataka we also find that they were all learned and given to arguments and disputations. It also tells us that a male and a female Jain disputant of Vaisali were married and their daughters became great logicians, whom Sariputra defeated in arguments with great difficulty and converted into Buddhism. Angutta Nikaya (BK III) also records a learned discussion of a very high order between two Lichchavi princes and we find its corroboration in Dhammapada also, which says that Buddha had a very high spiritual conversation with the Lichchavis. For holding religious and philosophical discussions, the Lichchavis erected the Kutagara hall (gabled pavilion) where Buddha gave many discourses to the people.

In matters of law and justice people were guided by a book called Pawenīputtakam, a book of precedents or usages. It seems that other kingdoms also at that time followed their own code of legal precedents. In Tundla Jataka, Vol 3, p 292, we find the following passage—

After the death of Brahmadatta king of Benares Bodhisattva caused a book of precedents to be written and said "By observing this book you should settle suits."

About the morals of the Lichchavis very little is definitely known. In the Mahaparnibbana-sutta we find Ambapali, the wealthiest courtesan of Vaisali, paying respects to Buddha and inviting him to a meal before the Lichchavis could approach him. The Lichchavis offered her a large sum of money for cancelling her invitation in their favour, but she would not agree to it even for all Vaisali. Ambapali must have been an accomplished person and it seems from the wealth and mental accomplishment of these courtesans that they acquired a great influence in this period. Turnour remarks (I A S B, Vol vii, p 992) that "there appears also to have been an office conferred by the rulers of the Vajji on a female

designated the Nagarasobham thananta van which literally signifies the chief ship of the beauties of the town.

Considerable light has been thrown on the constitution and practices of the Licchavis by the memorable words of Gautama Buddha with regard to them when Ajatasatru sent a minister to him for his advice. In Mahaparinibbana sutta chapters 4 and 5 we find Buddha saying

So long as the Vajjians hold full and frequent assemblies so long as they live in unity and concord so long as they act according to their ancient institutions without enacting anything new or abrogating anything already established so long as they honour their elders so long as no women or girls belonging to their class are detained among them by force or abduction so long as they honour the Vajjan shrines and observe their ancient religious rites so long as they support and protect the Arhats—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper.)

The words ubhinna sammuta sammuta patibhuta (full and frequent assemblies) bear out the fact that these people had a republican system of government. Tradition in the Jatakas says that there were 7707 Licchavi kings of Vaisali each having his own Viceroy, General and Treasurer. In Kautilya's Arthashastra Bk XI chap 1 p 455 the Licchavis have been called राजमहोदधिनि (haviṃśa the profession of kings)—विश्वविज्ज उज्जिष पन्न मद्रक्ष कुक्षर कुक्षरावादायै राजमहोदधिनि a number of other clans being वापामहोदधिनि (haviṃśa the profession of arms and industries). The Licchavi kings were called ganarajans (republican heads) being the chiefs of different kulas or small clans each having a definite jurisdiction and their 'abhisheka' or coronation took place after consecration with the water of a sacred tank at Vaisali. The wife of Braddhali the commander-in-chief of Kosala when pregnant said to her husband 'My Lord I desire to go to the tank in the city of Vaisali bathe in it and drink its sacred water which is used by kings for ceremonial sprinkling at their coronation' (Buddhacarita Jatala vol 1 p 118). The full assembly of these ganarajans was the highest authority in the state and decided all matters of common concern.

The Licchavis were noted for their

devoted attachment to Gautama Buddha and his religion. Buddha, in his turn had also a special liking for these people. Hearing of Buddha's stay at Ambapali's grove the Licchavis of Vaisali dressed in magnificent attire started in carriages to invite Buddha. Buddha seeing them approaching from a distance said to his brethren 'O brethren let those of the brethren who have never seen the Tavatimsa gods gaze upon this company of the Licchavis behold the company of the Licchavis even as a company of the Tavatimsa gods' (M P S Chap 2 para 17). The Licchavis built a large number of Buddhist temples at Vaisali which was a favourite place of Buddha. Buddha said (S B E vol XI p 24) 'How delightful a spot Ananda is Vaisali the Udena chetiya the Gotamika chetiya the Sattimbaka chetiya the Bahupatthi chetiya the Sarandada chetiya and the Chapala chetiya'. Buddha said to Ananda that when he was at Sarandada temple he himself taught the Licchavis those conditions of welfare which if they observed they would prosper. The Licchavis were much aggrieved at the death of Buddha which event it is said brought about their full conversion and they destroyed for ever all their books of heresy to show their firm adherence to the truth. In (Asvaghosh's Life of Buddha Eng Trans p 276) They demanded and obtained from the Mallas of Kusinagara half portion of Buddha's body as a relic over which they erected a dagaba (mound) at Vaisali. Buddhist accounts say that when Ananda was going to Vaisali to leave his body there King Ajatasatru followed him to the bank of the Ganges and requested him not to depart and the Licchavis on the other bank came to welcome him. In order to displease neither party he, in the very middle of the river consumed his body in the course of his samadhi and the relics of his body were scattered on both banks of the river and the Licchavis erected a mound over their share. But about a hundred years after the Parinirvana of Buddha some bhikkhus became lax in their observance of the Buddhist disciplinary rules and references are found in the Cullavagga of Vinayapitaka

and in Mahavamsa which indicate that they did not strictly follow the regulations of the Buddhist Church. It was they who were responsible for the first schism in the Buddhist Church known as the Mahasanghi heresy when they declared ten indulgences as permissible and began to practise them. The result was that a large number of Licchavi priests were degraded by way of punishment.

Vaisali was also a stronghold of the Jains. Vardhamana Mahavira the founder of the Jain sect was a noble of Vaisali a member of the Vatri clan of Kshatriyas who dwelt in the suburb of Kollagra. He also was highly respected as a religious teacher. The Kalpasutra tells us that on his death there was a grand illumination at Vaisali and its neighbourhood representing the illumination of Soul due to his teachings. But the relation between the two religions Buddhism and Jainism was far from cordial. The following account is given in Mahavagga Chap VI Sec 31.

Shr the General in Chief of the Licchavis a disciple of Angulimala Sect was sitting in an assembly of the Town Hall of the Licchavis. He spoke of his intention to denigrate Nataputta (identified with Mahavira by Prof. Buhler and Jacobi) who told him why should you Siba who believe in Karivavadi (result of actions) go to visit the Samana Gautama who denies the result of actions? But after attending another assembly the man went to Buddha and became converted. Then the Merhithas spread a rumour that the General had killed a great ox and that Buddha knowing it took the meat.

Raja Bimbisara of Magadha strengthened his position by marrying in the two powerful families of Northern India the royal family of Kosala and the Licchavis of Vaisali. The name of the Licchavi maiden the second queen of Bimbisara was according to the Jains Chellana the daughter of Chetaka a King of Vaisali but according to the Tibetan Dulva, her name was Vasabi the niece of Gopala (Rockhill's 'Life of Buddha' p 63). Her son Ajatasatru on his accession to the throne planned the conquest of the territory of his maternal grandfather. In the Niravali Sutra it is related that King Chetaka when threatened by Kanika the Ajatasatru with war called together the eighteen confederate kings of Kashi and Kosala the

Licchavis and Mallakas to decide whether they should satisfy Kanika's demands or go to war with him. Ajatasatru built a fort at Patliputra and completed the conquest of Vaisali in 3 years. We find in the Mahaparinibbana sutta Chap 4 that he bent on conquering the Vajjians sent his minister Vassakara to Buddha who was residing in Gridhrakuta hill at Ryagriha to know his predilections in this matter. Understanding that they could not be conquered till they violated the conditions of welfare the minister came back and informed his master that the people could not be overcome in battle if he did not resort to diplomacy and break up their union. The Atthakatha gives the following interesting details about the conquest of Vaisali —

In order to dissolve the alliance of the Vajjians the king and his minister hit upon a plan. The minister in the Council of Ajatasatru said, Let the Vajjians go on with their agricultural and commercial work and quit the council. Thereupon the king shall say,

What does the Brahman mean by intending our discussions regarding the Vajjians? The minister will send some tribute to the Vajjians and the king will bring a charge against the minister and cut off all his hair. Then as he is the person by whom the ramparts and defences of the King's Capital were constructed and as he knows the strong and the weak the high and the low parts of the King's fortifications he will tell the Vajjians that he will be able to remove any obstacles the king can lay. When this will be accepted by the Vajjians the king will say, Let them come.

The minister departed for Vaisali. Some did not want to receive him others received him on the ground that he was so treated because he had advocated the right cause and he having been the Judicial Minister there became so also at Vaisali. Then he denounced them in the following manner. He once asked a Licchavi prince mysteriously, Do people plot against another prince who was there asked him what he said and did not believe the answer given and so they quarrelled with each other. Another time the minister asked a Licchavi prince privately in the presence of another, With what curry did you eat your rice? This also in a similar manner brought about a dissension between the two. On another occasion he said to a Licchavi, Are you a coward? to another, Are you a beggar? for he said that others had been calling them so. Thus in course of years the Licchavis were entirely disunited. Then he requested the king to attack Vaisali and he accordingly advanced with a large army. The defence of Vaisali was sounded but the people

disregarded the call saying, "Let the rich and the valiant assemble we are beggars and cowards." The Viryans again and again beat the tocsin but every time without effect. Thus they were easily conquered by Ajatasatru."

There is mention of a Lichchavi king and statesman, Sisunaga or Sūsunaga, by name, in the Mahabansa, the Atthakatha and the Malankaravatthu. The last mentioned work says that he abandoned Rajagriha and made Vaisali the capital of his empire. It is difficult to say how far the accounts about him are historically true.

After Ajatasatru's conquest of Vaisali, nothing is known definitely about the Lichchavis of Vaisali till the reign of Chandragupta I when they suddenly came into prominence. Chandragupta married a Lichchavi princess, Kumara Devi about 308 A.D., and it appears that they were very influential at this time and their power probably extended over the imperial city of Pataliputra. From the fact that Chandragupta subsequently assumed the lofty title of Maharajadhiraja, that he struck gold coins in his own name and those of his queen and the Lichchavis and that the title 'Lichchavi-dauhitrasya' became a permanent epithet for Samudragupta throughout his inscriptions, and also from the pride which he took in the alliance with the Lichchavis, it can be safely concluded that this union greatly contributed to the growth of the political influence of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Six gold coins of Chandragupta I, all bearing the image of the king and his

Lichchavi queen, have been found and preserved, one, in the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the five others in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. On the obverse side of one of these coins, we find the king wearing a tight coat, facing the queen. His right hand is raised offering her a flower or jewel, his left arm rests on a spear. On the margin of the coin on the queen's side is the legend 'Kumara Devi and under the king's left arm is written vertically 'Chandra Gupta' in Brahmi characters. On the reverse side is a goddess seated with legs down on a couchant lion which lies on a lotus. She holds a noose (pasu) in her right hand and the cornucopia in her left. On the right hand side there is the legend 'Lichchavaya'. From this it appears that these were struck by the joint authority of Chandragupta and the Lichchavis (V.A. Smith's "Catalogue of coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta," p. 95).

What subsequently happened to these people, is wrapped in obscurity.

Thus, though it is possible for us to build up a history, however fragmentary, of the Lichchavis of Vaisali, from the very scanty materials available, they hardly cover their entire political career. As late as about the middle of the 7th cent. A.D. we find the Chinese traveller Hsient Sang recording Vaisali in ruins, with a sparse population, without any of its ancient glory and grandeur.

HEM CHANDRA RAI CHAUDHURI

WAR WORK OF INDIANS IN BRITAIN

By MRS ST Nihal Singh

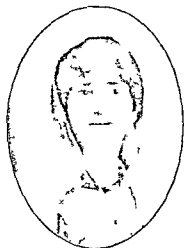
AFTER more than four years of devoted service in behalf of India's fighting men the Eastern League, composed of Indian ladies residing in Britain and their British friends, demobilized the other day. The interest that they took in Indians on active service in France and Flanders and other theatres of war, and in Indian

prisoners in the hands of the Germans and Turks, and the work that they did to insure their comfort and to alleviate their sufferings deserve gratefully to be remembered.

The Eastern League was formed in October, 1914, shortly after the news came that Indians were on their way to fight on

by the foe in France and Flanders India continues to be at the head of the overseas units of the Empire in respect of military effort

So long as there were any Indian soldiers in hospital in Britain Indian ladies the wives of Indians who themselves were not Indian and their British friends paid them frequent visits taking with them warm clothing and delicacies made with their own



Mrs. Minakshi Sen

hands Mrs. M. Gupta who only recently returned to India was particularly active in this work of mercy. She was in Bournemouth at the time the first contingent of wounded Indian soldiers was taken to the military hospitals at Netley and Brookenhurst both near Bournemouth and began at once to make regular visits to them taking along with her delicacies made with her own hands and other articles that the suffering heroes specially asked her to supply them. As soon as it became known that she was unofficially mothering the wounded Indians money and articles required were showered upon her by her friends and acquaintances to give to the men from India as an expression of British gratitude for what they had done for the Empire. For many weeks Mrs. Gupta continued to perform this gentle service and came to be looked upon as the mother of all the wounded soldiers at these two hospitals.

Another Indian lady who did a great deal personally to make life bearable to In-

dian fighters was Mrs. Minakshi Sen daughter in law of Keshub Chunder Sen. She made sweets and cooked Indian food not only for the wounded soldiers but also for the soldiers and officers who were allowed to visit London on leave and entertained many of them at her own home.

Mrs. Prakash Singh wife of Sardar Bhashahr Singh of Patiala was in England at that time and she and her husband and other Sikhs who resided at the Bhupendra Dharmshala at 79 Sinclair Road West Kensington visited Netley and Brookenhurst and took along with them delicacies for the Indian patients there and welcomed those who visited the Dharmshala. I remember that on the occasion of the birthday of Guru Gobind Singh shortly after the war began a large party of Sikh soldiers were brought to London given an Indian feast at the Bhupendra Dharmshala by Mr. Charles and the Lady Cecelia Roberts and then taken to Caxton Hall to take part in the meeting that had been organized in



Lt. Col. Kanta Prasad I.M.S. (Retired)

honour of the day—and also of them. The food served at that banquet was prepared by Mrs. Prakash Singh her husband and her brothers Satyram and Vikram Singh Sardars Sant Singh Chhachhi Sampuran Singh Teja Singh Saroop Singh and Gurmukh Singh and Thakur Jeesaysingh Seesodra who remained up the greater part

Service, had not yet been sent to India to relieve a younger man for active service though Lt Col Bawa Jivan Singh Lt Col (now Col) Bhol Nath, and Major (now Lt Col) C K Bhakle, on leave in Britain had gone, almost immediately after the outbreak of war to report for duty in India



Mr Shiva Darshal Lal Agarwal Bar at Law

Lt Col Baker like officers of the old army, had had no experience of working with young volunteers who, in their enthusiasm for freedom's cause, had for the time being, put aside their private work to render aid to the Empire menaced by an aggressive Power. As can be easily imagined every now and again there was a clash between his ideas of military discipline and the Committee's conception of its powers and privileges. At one time matters drifted to such a pass that a high official of the India Office had to call, late in the evening, upon Mr Gandhi who was living ill at No 60 Talbot Road. As both possessed great gifts of tact and commonsense, they arrived at an amicable understanding.

Hardly had the organization of the Corps been completed and training begun when its services were urgently required to render medical relief to Indians who had been wounded on the Continent. The first Indian contingent, it may be remembered reached France on September 26 1914, and

the German superiority in artillery, and other causes, combined to make the Indian casualty list extremely heavy.

Much of the work of caring for the Indian wounded fell upon the Indian young men who had volunteered unconditionally. Some of them served on the hospital ships that conveyed the wounded from France to hospitals in Britain. Others acted as doctors and orderlies in the Netley hospital a wing of which was set apart for their care and later at the hospitals and nursing homes established at Brockenhurst Brighton and Milford on sea.

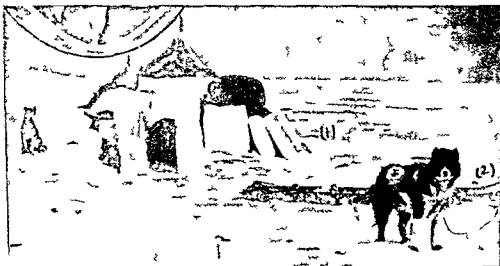
How nobly the Indian community in the United Kingdom rose to the occasion! Lt Col Kanta Prasad with his long and honourable record and Mr M A Turkhud, ex Vice Principal of the Raj Kumar College (Kathawar) flung their dignity to the four winds and went to Netley to serve as orderlies. They soon found themselves however in an awkward position, and had to retire.



Lady King

So great was the need for nurses and orderlies in those early days of the war that on November 4, 1914, the Indian Volunteer Corps issued an urgent appeal for more orderlies. Several young Indians responded.

The conscientious care and devotion to duty with which Indians engaged in relieving the distress of sick and wounded Indian



snow house and Dog sled

to carry supplies of food and clothing with him. He can live off the land and the sea and at the same time carry on his explor-

tions, his surveying and his other scientific observations.

Stefinsson is tall, young, with well knit frame. His keen but sympathetic eyes and open expression invite confidence. Though a striking world figure, he is extremely simple, modest and democratic in his ways. By parentage he is an Icelandic, by birth a Canadian and by choice and residence an American.

Stefinsson was cradled in hardships. When he entered the University of North Dakota he had only about one hundred and fifty rupees in his pocket, but like other enterprising American students he earned money as he secured an education. Strange to say the future Arctic explorer was expelled from the University because he was considered a very independent, strong-headed fellow. When I heard that story in North Dakota a short time ago I was not a bit surprised. Great men in all climes and in all ages have been considered rebels, and it is they who will live in history the longest. It is gratifying, however, to note that Stefinsson found a more congenial atmosphere in the State University of Iowa where he graduated some sixteen years ago.

This Canadian American made his first venture into the Arctic in 1906, but he became known to the Western Hemisphere by his discovery of the white Eskimos.



Dr. Stefinsson and Dr. Sullivan

of Victoria Island in 1910. These blonde Eskimos are supposed to be the descendants of Scandinavian colonists of Greenland. During his last expedition (1913-1918) which was fitted out by the Canadian government Stefansson broke all ties with civilization and buried himself in frozen wastes. Seasoned explorers of the Arctic shook their heads with misgiving when no word was heard from Stefansson after a year had passed. I heard him tell the other day how he and his party of two were able to exist for so long a period.

His story is indeed startling. Great explorers such as Peary, Nansen and Amundsen believed it impossible to live in the extreme northern latitudes unless ample provisions were carried to sustain life. Contrary to this belief Stefansson started out with two companions only, two sleds, a team of six dogs, and little or no supplies of fuel and food. The result of this amazing expedition has been to revolutionize the theory of polar exploration. At no time during the long months of isolation from the base of supplies did these three men run short of food. Ordinarily, said Stefansson, our party ate two square meals a day, but when we were storm-bound we ate as many as half a dozen. In the Arctic there are plentiful seals and polar bears and musk oxen. The meat of the Arctic animals furnished food, the skin of the fur animals clothing, while the blubber was used for cooking, heating and lighting purposes. Once when the party could kill no game or catch no fish, it had to live for several days on seal oil soaked up in tea leaves or ptarmigan feathers or in caribou hair to give it substance.

The life of Stefansson a Viking descendant reads like the Norse saga tales, but it is not my present purpose to recount his various hazardous exploits on the ice to tell how he traveled on dog sleds lived in snow houses dressed in skins ate largely raw meat encountered frequent blinding snow storms with the temperature sixty degrees below zero or discovered many new lands in the polar region. His achievements in the Arctic circle have been amply

recognized by the scientific bodies of the world. These achievements have entitled him to rank with Captain Roald Amundsen, Sir Ernest Shackleton, Admiral Robert E. Peary and Captain Scott as one of the greatest explorers of our generation. What interests me most just now is his view on the effects which the Western civilization has on the Eskimos, the native inhabitants of Arctic coasts.

The Arctic tribes, according to Dr Stefansson, have always dwindled with swiftness when they have come into contact with Western civilization and adopted its customs. With civilization, said he, the Eskimos change their nomadic mode of life and in emulation of the white man settle down in houses and live in one place. This is fatal to them. As nomads there is some limit on the unsanitary conditions of their dwellings, but whenever they settle down permanently conditions become unspeakable and tuberculosis is one of the inevitable results. And those who escape consumption die of measles and small pox.

These people should be protected, said the explorer, from our Western food, clothes, houses and diseases. Our civilization cannot offer benefits in excess of evils to this race. In fact, our civilization with all its blessings means decay. This is indeed very interesting as it comes from a man who is not only a famous explorer and an ethnologist, but a former theological student in the Harvard Divinity School.

Commenting upon the opposition of Dr Stefansson to the spread of the Christian faith, the *Detroit Free Press* particularized.

In the past missionaries in many places have too much insisted upon changes in harmless customs. In preaching Christianity they have often preached with it the necessity for adopting their national or family ideas of comfort and housing. Civilization is not one of the essential Christian virtues, and the road to salvation can be traveled in a snow hut as well as in a wooden house. In spite of our boasted altruism and high morality and humanitarianism there is a great deal of heartlessness in our attitude toward weaker peoples and we have no reason to assume that the white Eskimo will meet a happier

fate than the rubber gatherers of Central Africa and South America'

"Have the Eskimos any morals?" I asked Dr Stefansson

"Certainly they have. Eskimos are cheerful, self-reliant, and admirable companions. They are people among whom you may possibly have enemies and among whom you are sure to make friends—people very much like you and me, but with the social virtues developed rather more highly than they have been among our own white people. In a difficult struggle for existence under hard natural conditions they have acquired the ability to live together in peace and good will. Of course, their points of view are sometimes apt to be different from our own. Take this matter of dress. It is the Eskimo custom for men and women, whenever they enter their super-heated dwellings to take off their coats and sit naked to the waist. The fact that the human form is essentially vile and must be kept from sight is not known to the primitive Eskimo."

Many of the Eskimos are now converted to Christianity, but their tendency is to develop a Christianity all their own. And curiously enough, these Eskimos do not believe that the White Christianity is in any way superior to their own Eskimo Christianity. Fundamentally the Eskimos consider themselves better men than we are. In the matter of Christianity they concede that we introduced it but they do not concede that we know more about it than they do, just as many Christians concede that Christianity spread from Rome but do not concede that Rome is now and was the highest authority in religious matters."

"A striking way in which this shows itself," continued Stefansson "is in the belief in special revelations which come directly to the Eskimos and the belief in the birth of the Saviour among them. Both in Alaska and in Greenland there have been, since the coming of Christianity, many cases of immaculate Conception and the birth of herded savours of the race. In some cases the thing has been nipped in the bud through the fact that the child born

happened to be a female which was not according to the predictions."

In his discussion Stefansson relied less upon theory than upon facts. The weight of some of the evidence which he cited in support of his views was almost crushing, as for example, this story from his own experience:

On one occasion a community of Christianized Eskimos, who had been taught to refrain from work on Sunday, went to the missionary and requested him to ask God to see to it that the whales came on week days only, and not on Sundays. To the Eskimos this was not at all a strange request to make, because they remembered that some of the shamans, medicine men had been powerful enough to bring on whales when they wanted to. Thereupon when the missionary explained that it was beyond his power to control the movements of whales the Eskimos became dissatisfied with his teachings compared him to a weak inefficient shaman, and wrote to the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, in New York, to have him dismissed. "We don't want this sort of missionary, who cannot control the winds and tides, and help us in whaling," was the gist of their complaint. The native opposition to the missionary was so strong that he was promptly recalled by the Board of Home Missions!

"Aren't the Eskimos superstitious?"

Stefansson looked at me for a second and then said after a deliberate thought:

Let us first of all define a superstitious person. A man is usually superstitious when he does not believe just exactly as we do. Is n't that so? Granted that from our own point of view, which may not always be infallible, the Eskimos are superstitious, yet the remedies we provide through the missionaries for the cure of Eskimo superstitions are far worse than the disease itself.

The world renowned traveler and scientist is firm in his belief that the native religion of a country is better than a foreign Mohammedanism of Arabia, Confucianism of China, Shintoism of Japan, Hinduism of India, Christianity of Europe and America, Shamanism of Greenland and

Alaska, are each adapted to local needs, each suited to the peculiar environment and understanding of the different peoples of these countries. Indeed, the followers of various religions have little to gain by proselytising one another.

According to Dr Stefansson the Western civilization has not improved the Eskimos in any material way and the Christianized

Eskimos are no better men than their non-Christian forefathers. Now, if that be the deliberate judgment of highly trained scientific mind on the influence of Christianity among semi-savage tribes of the Arctic zone, what will be its verdict on the propagation of Christian creed in Hindustan, the home of a very ancient and in many respects a glorious civilization?

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Scope for Social Service in India.

In contributing in the May number of *East and West* (Simla) rather a long article under the above heading Mr Anjananandan Gaur commences with observing that

There is probably no other country in the world where social service on a large scale is a matter of such a vital concern as in India. The miseries of the Indian masses due to their extreme poverty, the successive outbreaks of epidemic diseases, a wholesale illiteracy and superstition, bad sanitation and unhealthy surroundings of Indian villages, a general state of indebtedness in which the village folk live, an absence of industries and want of employment and other distresses call for social service and work of uplifting and an organised attempt for the amelioration of conditions of Indian life.

Continuing Mr Gaur writes —

Statistics are not required to prove the poverty of the agricultural population. An occasional visit to rural areas will suffice to reveal the extremely wretched conditions in which the villagers live and move and have their being. The towns and cities enjoy a growing trade but the villages and a fair percentage of the population are always on the verge of starvation. The Rev J. T. Sunderland says 'The cause of Indian fineness is the extreme poverty of the Indian people—a poverty so severe that it keeps a majority of all on the very verge of suffering, even in years of plenty, and prevents them from laying up anything to tide them over years of scarcity. This is the history of hundreds of thousands and millions of the Indian people' (1908).

The writer then rightly and thoughtfully observes —

Whatever department of useful human activity be taken into consideration the fact of India's pressing necessity for rendering in that line social services on a vast scale remains predominant and indisputable. The field for catholic work and generous co-operation is limitless. Patient and strenuous will be the work

and extensive and magnificent the organisation to cope with it. The existing Seva Samitis and other benevolent societies though few in number are doing excellent work and merit encouragement and praise. We have to inculcate in many the spirit of love of humanity and persuade them to contribute in one shape or another to the success of a propaganda absolutely free from denominational colour, benefiting all, irrespective of caste and creed.

Indian Culture.

The Hon Mr Justice T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar concludes a well written article, in criticism of Sir John Woodroffe's recently published book—*Is India Civilised?* in the April number of the *Indian Review* of Madras under the above caption with the following well balanced words

Although I admire the spirit of absolute fairness with which Sir John Woodroffe has approached the task I think India would be more grateful to him if in addition to championing our ancient civilisation, he had advocated a spirit of greater robustness and self-reliance among us in fighting the battle of life. As regards cultural superiority no man whose vision is not clouded can honestly say that from an intellectual and moral standpoint we are not among the highest. Put from the point of view of the necessity of coping with the problem of everyday life and of meeting on equal terms persons of different faiths and of different cultures, it must be confessed that unless there is a great infusion of a spirit of adventure and of aggressiveness which have characterised other nations we are sure to be left very much behind in the race. India in civilisation is defective in this respect, and I think the remark made by an Indian leader to which Sir John Woodroffe takes exception is not altogether beside the point. That gentleman said 'I wish we were set'. If that leader had qualified his remarks by saying 'provided we do not lose sight of the high

ideal of life which is embodied in the teachings of our sages, his remarks would have been perfectly in point. The Essays of this learned Judge should serve as an eye-opener to persons who, without any knowledge of Indian life and condition, have presumed to criticise our character and morality. It should serve also as an eye-opener to many an Indian who has no conception of the great lesson, which are capable of enabling India to influence world thought although in material prosperity it has lagged behind many of them. This volume of Essays should be studied carefully by every Indian who aspires to lead the people and to mould the aspirations of his countrymen.

A Lesson from China.

The Hon Justice Sir John Woodroffe, in the course of an article in the April number of the *Indian Review*, quotes the following passages from Mr A E Graham's recently published volume called "Pencil Speakings from Peking"

"And because they [the Chinese] built on the only foundation that never gives way, spiritual rectitude, their race persisted as a living entity through all the disintegrating influence of political disasters, foreign conquests and periodic lassitude for more than twenty centuries. It is only to-day that the Chinese mind is troubled wavering, beginning to wonder whether the old tree whose roots plunge into so immeasurable a past whose branches have given shelter and nourishment to such countless generations, should not be cut down to make room for the plants and the weeds imported from abroad. And some of the weeds are of a particularly rank species, like the conceit of the Americanized students who seriously mistake their little wicks of foreign taught knowledge for a great light by which the destinies of a whole empire should be regulated. When one hears a specimen of Republican Young China in creaky yellow boots illfitting tweed, and an intolercable cap, impudently whistling and cracking a dirty riding crop in the Temple of Kung fu tsze, the very hall where Emperors used to worship wisdom in the purity of early dawn one begins to fear that the death knell has rung even to Chinese vitality."

"She succeeded. She had trained her patriotism into a force that transmuted internal jealousies into joyful rivalries, sluggishness into energy, fear of personal loss or danger into a passion for self sacrifice. Such a spirit is invincible. No Power or combination of Powers can in the long run subjugate a people determined not to be conquered, resolved to forego all happiness except the supreme one of independence, to suffer all losses except that of loyalty to its own ideals."

Then follows a fine passage

"But patriotism is a subtle quality. Its tap-root is pride, which needs to be fed by the self reliance flowing from consciousness of actual or from faith in potential greatness. It is neither from the present, nor from the immediate future that the Chinese can derive this indispensable assurance. Therefore they must turn to the past. And the glories of their past are so great they should prove an undying incentive

for patriotic effort, a certain promise of the glories of a future it depends on the men of to-day not to render impossible of fulfilment. Of foreign enlightenment they must take only that which really is enlightenment, not a craving for novelty, an illusory gain in monetary profit, a mere change from one superstition to another."

Sir John Woodroffe concludes with the following remarks of his own —

Men who are running here and there after every 'new thing, clothing themselves unawares with garments which are already out of mode to those who are learning the new (and yet in some respects how ancient) moral fashions. This is not a counsel to rest to-day just where we were yesterday. This is never possible and sometimes not desirable. It is a counsel not to throw away what is good with that which calls for supersession, and above all not to lose that independent self which alone can assimilate what is of worth in others. Mr Grantham has felt the necessity of saying this as regards China. Much of what he says will find its application in this country [India] to-day."

What the World Wants To-day.

The *Ceylon Economist* (of Jaffna) for April 1919 opens with an article under the above caption in the course of which the writer very rightly observes

The World of Today wants the ready man, the man who by study and training has kept himself prepared and efficient. Nothing can stop the man who is equipped for the race of life with knowledge and earnestness, and will power, and an unswerving resolution of ways to do right. It is not enough that a man should have knowledge, character is even more than intellect. Mistakes arising from defective intelligence will generally admit of being rectified, those which are due to defects of character are more often irremediable. All through life, that is true. A man must keep abreast of the advancing tide of knowledge, and must peer into the future with a sound appreciation of the past imagination and experience, industry and concentration, patience and judgment must come together in the successful life. I put with them all, and above them all must come the finer things—the things that make the difference between the men who leave the world no better than they found it, and the men whose spirits haunt for ever the eternal shores of Time."

Then the writer proceeds

The World no more requires the man who lives and feeds on the glorious past of his race and trades on it. A hundred years ago a little boy was playing in a London square. He was nobody in particular, and had no gates open to him that were not open to other boys such as he. But he grew up fired with a great ambition, and he stood for Parliament against a man who boasted of his family, and his estates, and his ancestors, and said very little of himself. He stood on his ancestors' feet. It was said of him, and when his rival rose to speak from the hustings the shout was "What do you stand on?" "I stand on my head," he said, and his head made him fit for the better of Great

Britain The stars in their courses fight for the man who puts his head and his heart into the thing he does

Continuing the writer observes -

The World of Today laughs at the man who sits bemoaning his sad fate The great men of the world were not all born in purple It was a clerk who invented the shorthand It was a bicycle maker of Ohio that first made a flying machine It was a school master that first made a telephone It was the brain of a paper boy that supplied the world with electricity The Railway and the Telegraph are both inventions of common men The men who have carved their way to immortality whose names will live for ever on the Roll of Fame, had not the same opportunities as we have They lived when knowledge was difficult to get, before books had scattered ideas everywhere for everybody to pick up, before trains and ships and telegraphs and newspapers had opened every corner of the world to the man with something to sell But they heard the call of Duty and answered it

The writer continues further in a thoughtful and practical mood and says

The World of Today has fame and fortune for all who are not blind to see The World of Today brings you all the treasures of the past, all the product of all the opportunities that men have ever had and used Yours is the accumulated genius of the centuries The World of Today in giving you an opportunity greater than that of any man in the past makes no impossible claim The World of Today asks that you shall understand the world in which you live and your work in it It asks that if you are driving a railway train you shall look up at the signals, if you are a clerk you shall not make mistakes in your letters if you are a secretary, you shall not forget a dozen things a day if you are a journalist, your facts shall not be wrong It asks that, if you are a workman fixing a bell, you shall fix a bell that shall ring if you are putting on a lock you shall put on a lock that will work if you are making a window, you shall make a frame that will not rattle in the wind It asks that if you are an architect you shall know the value of sunshine and soft water if you are a railway porter you shall know when the next train is due if you are a builder you shall know the best streets to live in It asks that, if you are entrusted with a mission or a message you shall carry out your trust entirely and well without bungling it at the beginning or confusing it at the end It asks that whatever and wherever and wherever you are, you shall do nothing by halves You shall be as much ashamed of bad work as of bad temper and bad language

We wish our readers, especially those young among them, to read, mark and inwardly digest every word in the above extracts, for they are, indeed, of immense value to one and all

The Future of the Indian Trade.

In the May number of *The Hindustan Review*, of Allahabad, Mr M M Ananta Row writes -

It is rather an irony of fate that India at present does not commercially and industrially stand on the same level with the most advanced Commercial and Industrial nations of the world Even such a free country as England with her advocates of Free Trade and Protection finds it very difficult to compete with foreign countries in the International Trade Relations for those foreign countries with selfish interests are safely guarding themselves by heavy protective tariff walls and to the disadvantage of England she has to mainly depend upon others for her food stuffs her very means of existence What can we say of India whose commercial policy is shaped more or less by not her own people with fiscal autonomy but by a Parliament meeting for its deliberations six thousand miles away?

After detailing the circumstances which have brought about this state of things in Indian trade the writer proceeds

Such a position which India at present finds herself in can be aptly compared to an unruly horse over which a rider unable at present to control the horse is sitting, and the reins of which are held by a powerful jockey who is moving at a safe distance from the horse at the same time whipping it and curbing it with tight reins It is now for India to see whether she could take the reins in her own hands and without the aid of the jockey she can ride on the horse with the aid of the whip in her hand and spurs if necessary to boot It is in the determination of this that the future of India in Trade lies for only when India can succeed in marshalling her commercial and industrial resources by an employment of indigenous capital and labour and if the supply of the latter is not sufficient, by sending Agents abroad for labour recruitment by asking the help of Government to give her protection for reviving her old decayed industries and pioneering new ones and turning her commerce to her material and pecuniary advantage by training Indians as experts in the various branches of industries by giving them training at home and abroad if necessary by the development of her scientific methods to the highest extent and the adoption of the most up-to-date methods in manufactures and above all by being self-sufficient and self-contained in her nature by the manufacture of machinery which would be sufficient to transform the whole of her raw material into finished products in the country itself and by a judicious display of the commercial relation in exporting the excess of the requirements of the country and importing the wanting in the same at the same time keeping the balance of trade in her favour, and by seeing that not even a pie goes out of the country on account of commerce or industry that she would be said to have really attained Fiscal Autonomy

It were time that our people gave serious attention to matters relating to trade, commerce and industry There is no other way for raising the country to the scale of a civilised nation

India and Free Trade

In the same issue of *The Hindustan*

Reizen, Mr S A Pande, M A, LL B, writes an interesting article under the above caption which is well worth the serious consideration of our countrymen. The writer says —

Free trade has been the policy of the Government of India for all practical purposes since long inspite of the intense demand for protection on the part of those who are entitled to a considerable attention.

Mr Pande concludes his thoughtful article with the following observations

The Government also should be more actively sympathetic than it has been hitherto it should note that in the long run the interests of the people and the interests of the Government are identical. Free trade has not been a blessing as is given out. It is not true that the introduction of Protection would perpetuate the inefficiency of Indian industries. As a matter of fact they have never been inefficient.

I let the people press the point of protection on the attention of Government but if it proves disinclined to hear, let the people themselves do all that lies in their power to establish various industries in different parts of India and then work independently of Government. We want industrial leaders badly. The present writer will write separately on that subject. The present writer has a belief that much can be done by the people themselves if they work in union. The writer thinks the real protection to the Indian industries can be granted by the people themselves for is it not possible for people to purchase wherever possible Indian made goods in place of foreign commodities? I think Government will never grant protection then why depend on it? People must do what is in their power to do. These are the lessons of Self Government. Will the readers therefore make it a point to organize bodies to encourage the Indian industries by purchasing only Indian goods whenever possible?

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Depths of Ignorance

The New Statesman (of London) writes

IGNORANCE is at times an amusing quality. One got a certain pleasure the other day from finding in one of the afternoon papers a paragraph headed, 'Was at the Black Hole of Calcutta' which announced that a Sergeant Roberts who died last week at Addis-town assisted to fetch out the victims from the Black Hole at Calcutta'. One positively rejoiced the following morning when a leading daily paper added a pinch of corroborative detail to the story and declared that the gallant soldier was in his seventeenth year at the time of his famous rescue exploit. It is not that the blunder is an unusual one. At least three Englishmen out of four we fancy have a hazy notion that the tragedy of the Black Hole was one of the incidents of the Indian Mutiny. When the jubilee (as the *Daily Telegraph* called it) of the Indian Mutiny was celebrated a few years ago an English peer made a speech in which he took it for granted that the incident of the Black Hole was only fifty years old instead of happening as it did in 1756. Thus we think gives a fair enough measure of the general ignorance of the facts of history. Every schoolboy knows said Macaulay in his most famous sentence who imprisoned Montezuma and who strangled Atahualpa? Every schoolboy is any examiner can tell you knows nothing of the sort. The schoolboy who had even heard of Atahualpa would be regarded with awe by his friends and relations as one predestined to a great career. The ordinary schoolboy thinks himself lucky if he can remember something about Alfred and the Saxon and Harold and the arrow and whether it was Henry VIII who had six wives or Henry VI who had

eight. His taste in historical events is simple. All he asks is to be quite sure of such things as that the Battle of Hastings and Warren Hastings did not occur in the same century.

Where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise!

Barbers

The following extracts are from the *Saturday Review* —

When we talked of Wigs the other day, we said we might find something to say of barbers. And we have as you will see

Barber from barba a bread. What a title for the man who chiefly lives by shaving! Adam says tradition wore a beard. The kings of Persia plaited theirs with golden thread and the Winged Bulls of Assyria are but types of those kings. The Chinese are a shaven people the Egyptians were the same. But the Mahometans are bearded and Saladin's son, Turkish historians tell us, wept for fear when he saw the shaven envoys of the Crusaders. The world is, and always has been, divided into shavers and bearded. Pliny razors oyster shell razors in prehistoric tombs, thank of them shudder and acknowledge the omnipotence of the great goddess Vanity.

The greatest benefactor of barbers in the world's history is Alexander. He who shaved himself to preserve his youth shaved his army to prevent the enemy seizing the beards. He set a fashion which was followed by every Greek fed beard wagger in his empire. Pliny's professors profess on alone excepted

last Lord Beaconsfield speaking nearly half a century ago has left on record these memorable words: "No Minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any and every opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our Colonial Empire and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness in this land."

Continuing the writer observes —

If the Empire is to remain an Empire there must be a system of common defense and joint control of foreign policy. These were the views enunciated by the late Mr. Forster when he founded the Imperial Federation League with Lord Rosebery as his chief lieutenant as far back as 1884. So convinced was Mr. Forster of the necessity of Empire federation that he went so far as to say that if no such organization were brought into being self-government would end in separation. Happily that view has not materialized. But the fact remains that if we fail to get closer together we run the risk of drifting further apart. Federation has been the natural result of free institutions in Canada, Australia and South Africa. It rests with the present generation to extend the principle of federal unity throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire.

He continues —

As regards organization for common defense, considerable advance has been made since Mr. Forster's time. Following on the inquiry by Royal Commission into the defense of British possessions and commerce abroad came the Colonial Conference of 1887 when representatives from the outer portions of the Empire were invited for the first time to discuss matters of imperial defense with the statesmen of the Motherland. At that date the available force of active militia in the Dominion of Canada together with the permanent corps amounted to 37,000 men; the total armed strength in the Australasian colonies was 34,000 men; while in the Cape and Natal the trained forces numbered 5,500 and 1,500 respectively. Comparing the position then with the numbers of overseas troops engaged in the present war we get an insight into the true inwardness of the late Lord Knutsford's observation that in each case there was a large reserve that could be drawn upon in case of need. The great Imperial Army in the field to-day offers a splendid contradiction to the sentiment expressed by the late Mr. Bright at Birmingham in 1885 that the idea is ludicrous that the British Empire should form one country, one interest, one undivided interest for the purposes of defense. And at the same time provides a vivid confirmation of Joseph Chamberlain's historic declaration that the English democracy will stand shoulder to shoulder throughout the world to maintain the honor and integrity of the British Empire.

The writer concludes —

But after all these are details. The essential fact to bear in mind is that by continuing the Imperial War Cabinet with its changed significance after the war is over we shall secure an Imperial Executive in which all parts of the Empire have an equal voice and an equal vote, a body actuated by one purpose alone, the recognition and the fullest recognition, of the vital principle of Empire.

This is all very good. What strikes us most, however, in this connection is that there is not a single line in this long article of nine closely printed pages referring to India and its people, as if the assistance rendered by this country during the war count for nothing—not to speak of our having any voice in the administration of our own affairs even if not those of the Empire of which India forms such an important and conspicuous a part.

"The Good-Fellow."

The following extract is from the *Saturday Review* of London.

There is no good equivalent in English for the French phrase "The Sham Good Fellow" suggests somehow a fraudulent member of an Ancient Order besides the word fellow had a bad and has still a dubious meaning.

Worth makes the man and want of it the fellow shows that in Pope's time fellow meant a scoundrel. Now *Le Faux Bonhomme* (the sham good fellow) is by no means a scoundrel; he is merely a man with a loud laugh, a warm manner and a cold heart. He is very popular; that is to say, has hundreds of acquaintances and no friends. With a sleepless vigilance over his own advancement in life he interests himself hugely in the affairs of other people provided they can be of use to him. In his unguarded moments he says: "I have no use for So-and-So, but quickly repents on reflecting that nearly every man or woman may help or hurt him. So that the faux bonhomme has at least one good quality: he is not a backbiter; on the contrary, he finds indiscriminate praise which costs him nothing often brings him a dinner and may get him an office. For the world of the governing class is quite a small whispering gallery round which praise and abuse echo quickly—a fact which men with sarcastic tongues never will remember. The business of other people becomes the business of the faux bonhomme in order that he may talk to them about it. If you are a company director, he will read the report and congratulate you on the dividend. If you are a member of Parliament, he will tell you that in these days of claptrap yours is the only sensible speech he has read."

These are the harmless some would say the pleasant operations of the faux bonhomme. But he has some horrid tricks. He practises an odious familiarity of address. After a few months or even weeks (if you are very important) acquaintance, he calls you by your Christian name which he has learned from 'Who's Who?' or Kelly. He calls everybody George

or Harry or even by some pet name like 'Pinger'.

Good fellows such as these also abound in this country more or less in all communities.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

1 **INDIA'S WAR FINANCE AND POST WAR PROBLEMS** by **J. G. Kale, M.A. Professor of History and Economics Fergusson College Poona**

Mr Kale's books are always timely. Here for instance is a useful little publication of some 150 pages epitomising the financial operations of the Government of India during the war. The ultimate effects of many of these measures especially those affecting the country's currency policy, cannot yet be foreseen and as a rule Mr Kale contents himself with a statement and exposition of the various financial makeshifts which the Government of India found itself called upon to adopt in this country and in England, to tide over the difficult years of the war and the problems of reconstruction arising out of the cessation of hostilities. It is only on rare occasions as in reviewing Sir William Meyer's financial administration that he allows himself the liberty to criticise Government's financial policy. The sacrifices made by India in the cause of the Empire during the critical days of the war receive the author's hearty approval but like other patriotic Indians he is pained to see those sacrifices often made light of by the enemies of Indian freedom. A full description of the great extent and comprehensive character of these sacrifices will be found in Chapters II, III and IV of the book. The pecuniary contributions of India do not naturally bear comparison with the sacrifices made by England in the same direction. It is obvious that a country which can raise by taxation alone a revenue of more than £1000 mil in a single year without doing any injury to her future resources is in an incomparably better position to make such sacrifices than a country which is put to the greatest straits to raise a revenue of only £100 mil a year and that from a population approximately six times the number.

One of the most interesting and at the same time troublesome experiences connected with war time finance in India has been the unusual rise in the value of silver—a rise quite unique in

the history of the white metal in recent times—which has had the unexpected effect of converting the rupee at a single stroke from a token into a standard coin. This result had not been foreseen by the people responsible for the establishment of gold-exchange standard in India and it has come as a great shock to the Government, leading to the practical breakdown of the system. Whether the ultimate solution of the difficulty will be found in an extensive circulation of gold coins and notes (thus reverting temporarily to a kind of bimetalism) in a permanent raising of the exchange value of the rupee or in a reduction of its standard weight and fineness (as has been suggested by some impractical people) or simply by letting things alone cannot be said until the Currency Commission which has been recently appointed to advise the Secretary of State in this matter has submitted its recommendations.

The get up of the book is attractive and the style easy. A certain amount of repetition is unavoidable in the treatment of such a subject.

2 **THE STATE AND THE CHILD**, by **H. Clarke**
Hall The New Commonwealth Books Series
No. 4 Publishers Messrs Headley Bros
Ltd London Price 2s net

What is the riddle of the child's mind? Does the working of the mental processes in the child follow the same general lines as in adult men and women whose rational faculties are fully developed? It must be said to the credit of the humanitarian and reforming tendencies of the modern age that it has tried to find a solution to these puzzling questions and base the care and training of the child upon the knowledge thus attained. Since the day, early in the 19th century when at the instance of Sir Robert Peel the First Factory Act was passed by the British Parliament for the amelioration of the condition of child labour in factories, people's interest in the welfare of the child has never flagged and today he is universally recognised amongst civilised nations as the most valuable asset of the state whose care and upbringing should be the state's first consid-

Even the delinquent child may under proper guidance develop into a useful and law-abiding citizen of the state. The book under review investigates the inner workings of the mind of the juvenile delinquent and discusses the effectiveness of the different kinds of measures—punitive, preventive and corrective—that are commonly relied on to turn him from his evil course. The problem bristles with difficulties as children probably differ even more among themselves in their outlook upon life than do grown-up people and no uniform motives of action can be evolved. But the author's long experience as a magistrate in a juvenile court and the close and continuous attention he has given to the subject fits him to undertake such a study and the result is an eminently humane and practical hand-book which will be helpful not only to magistrates of juvenile courts and to people engaged or interested in child welfare work but also to parents wishing to obtain an intimate insight into the life of their children.

THE AIMS OF LABOUR by the Rt Hon Arthur Henderson M.P. Publishers Messrs Hendler Bros Ltd Price 1s net

This little book of some 100 pages from the pen of one of the ablest leaders of the British Labour Party was published early last year (when the author was still a member of the British Cabinet) to kindle people's interest in the aims and ideals of the Party and to convince its supporters of the need of reorganising it on a broader basis if it was to meet the changed requirements of the time. If Labour is to take its part in creating the new order of society, says the author, it must address itself to the task of transforming its political organisation from a federation of societies into a national popular party rooted in the life of the democracy and deriving its principles and its policy from the new political consciousness. Under the old conditions he continues, the appeal of the party was limited. It has seemed to be though it never actually was a class party like any other. It was regarded as the party of the manual wage-earners seeking remedies for their own material grievances. This misapprehension on we are told rested upon a too narrow conception of Labour. The Labour Party is really the party of the producers whose labour of hand and brain provides the necessities of life for all and dignity and elevate human existence. Therefore there is nothing to prevent the progress of all classes and other brain workers from joining the party.

The Labour Party's plans for the reconstruction of society under full democratic control at the termination of the war are set forth in considerable detail. These embrace the economic as well as other spheres of life and their general aim is to guarantee freedom, security and equality to all. In the Draft Report on Reconstruction (Appendix II) drawn up by a sub-committee of the Labour Executive the

whole programme is arranged under four broad headings called figuratively the Four Pillars of the House. These are—

(a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum (of Subsistence, Leisure, Health, Education etc.),

(b) The Democratic Control of Industry,

(c) The Revolution in National Finance (the system of taxation being so regulated that it will yield all the necessary revenue to the Government without encroaching on the prescribed National Minimum Standard of Life of any family whatsoever) and

(d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

The Labour Party's policy towards India and other parts of the British Empire and towards foreign countries has a peculiar interest today and the following excerpts on the subject are taken from the published Draft Report of the Party. First as regards the government of different parts of the Empire the Labour Party is in favour of the gradual extension of full self-government everywhere. With regard to that great Commonwealth of all races, all colours, all religions and all degrees of civilisation that we call the British Empire, says the Report, the Labour Party stands for its maintenance and its progressive development on the lines of Local Autonomy and Home Rule All Round.

The fullest respect for the rights of each people whatever its colour to all the Democratic Self Government of which it is capable and to the proceeds of its own toil upon the resources of its own territorial home and the closest possible co-operation among all the various members of what has become essentially not an Empire in the old sense but a British Alliance. The Labour Party has no sympathy with the existing schemes of Imperial Federation. We have no sympathy with the projects of 'Imperial Federation' in so far as these imply the subjection to a common Imperial Legislature wielding coercive power (including dangerous facilities for coercive Imperial taxation and for enforced military service) either of the existing Self-Governing Dominions whose autonomy would be thereby invaded or of the United Kingdom whose freedom of Democratic Self-development would be thereby hampered or of India and the Colonial Dependencies which would thereby run the risk of being further exploited for the benefit of a White Empire. But it believes in the participation of the different parts of the Empire in the formulation of a common policy in matters affecting the interests of all. What we look for, says the Report, besides a constant progress in Democratic Self Government of every part of the British Alliance and especially in India is a continuous participation of the Ministers of the Dominions of India and eventually of other Dependencies in the most confidential deliberations of the Cabinet, so far as Foreign Policy and Imperial Affairs are concerned, and the annual assembly of an Imperial Council.

representing all constituents of the British Empire, and all parties in their Local Legislatures which should discuss all matters of common interest but only in order to make recommendations for the simultaneous consideration of the various autonomous local legislatures of what should increasingly take the constitutional form of an Alliance of Free Nations.

The Labour Party's policy towards foreign countries is also actuated by quite disinterested motives. Without desiring in any way to prejudice the power, prestige or freedom of action of other nations it would like to see all countries of the world join together in a League of Nations whose decisions would be equally binding upon all. This is what the Report says. As regards our relations to foreign countries we disavow and disclaim any desire or intention to dispossess or to impoverish any other State or Nation. We seek no increase of territory. We disclaim all idea of economic war. We ourselves object to all Protective Tariffs but we hold that each nation must be left free to do what it thinks best for its own economic development without thought of injuring others. We would put an end to the old entanglements and mystifications of Secret Diplomacy and the formation of Leagues against Leagues. We stand for the immediate establishment actually as a part of the Treaty of Peace with which the present war will end of a Universal League or Society of Nations, a Supernational authority with an International High Court to try all justifiable issues between nations, an International Legislature to enact such common laws as can be mutually agreed upon, and an International Council of Mediation to endeavour to settle without ultimate conflict even those disputes which are not justiciable. We would have all the nations of the world most solemnly undertake and promise to make a common cause against anyone of them that broke away from this fundamental agreement.

Though the vision of these great ideals seems to have been partly lost sight of in the first flush of victory over a powerful and overbearing enemy it is not perhaps too quixotic to hope that in some not very remote future they will fully assert themselves and the time will come when to quote the beautiful lines of the poet with which the book begins

These things shall be 'a loftier race
Than ere the world hath known shall rise
With flame of freedom in their souls
And light of knowledge in their eyes

They shall be gentle, brave and strong
To spill no drop of blood but dare
All that may plant man's lordship firm
On earth and fire and sea and air

'Nation with nation, hand with hand
In armed shall live as comrades free
In every heart and brain shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity

New arts shall bloom of loftier mould
And mightier music fill the skies
And every life shall be as long
When all the earth is Paradise

P. BANERJEE

M. K. GANDHI as *Indian Patriot* 11 South Africa by Joseph J. Dole Bapt. Minister Johannesburg. First Indian Edition Published by G. A. Natesan and Co. Madras Pp. 104 Price 1/-

Mr Gandhi whether one sees or not eye to eye with him everything he does or says is unquestionably an extraordinary man and an unalloyed patriot of a high order and a book recording his doings and sayings cannot but therefore be of high interest to the readers of our public events.

ESSAYS by T. Lakshmin Pillai B.A. Printed at the Sridhara Printing House Trivandrum 1918 Pp. 330-1/-

This well printed book contains 17 essays on diverse subjects all of them more or less interesting to the general reader.

SWEET ARE THE USES OF ADVERSITY by V. S. Adva. Published by Solles & Co. Madras

This is a small brochure of 68 pages but all the same it is written in a fascinating style and manner.

THE SECRET OF LOVE AND LIFE—Published by the Victoria Press Maulmein Pp. 64

This pamphlet contains a discrete and nice collection of sayings and writings of eminent men—sages and saints, writers and authors—on the subjects indicated by its name.

MEMORANDUM ON A UNIVERSITY FOR BRODA—by P. Seshadri Professor Hindi University of Benares Pp. 67

There is already a University in Mysore and it is but meet that it should be in contemplation to found one in Broda, another of our progressive Indian States. It is only reasonable and therefore highly desirable that an Indian State under such an enlightened administration as that of the Gaekwad containing an area of some 8,000 square miles and a population of more than 2,000,000 with a revenue exceeding a couple of crores of rupees per annum and a higher percentage of literacy among its people than even that obtaining among the population of British India should possess in all respects a fully equipped University of its own so that in all matters of essential progress of its people it may rightly be considered as self-contained. On what lines this proposed University should be established and how should its affairs be conducted are set forth in detail in this brochure. After dwelling on the various points that are essential in conducting the affairs of a truly efficient University, Mr. Seshadri, while laying stress on the social side of University life says

'If University life is to be real and play an active part in the development of the

numerous social and cultural qualities, that go to make up the character of the perfect gentleman, there must be energetic and organised attention paid to all the numerous details calculated to foster them in the college. In the average Indian college to-day, the activity that there may be in the direction of students' societies and kindred matters, is often spasmodic, depending for its initiation and existence on a particular set of students—very small in number—and collapsing with their departure, to need later revival under a similar fortuitous concurrence of circumstances. Such a state of things must be put an end to in the proposed University scheme, by providing for a University Union with meeting, recreation and reading rooms and allowing the concern to be managed by the students themselves incidentally affording them elementary lessons in self government which will stand them in good stead, when entering on the more serious responsibilities of life. Discussing this aspect of University life, the Right Hon'ble Mr A J Balfour went so far as to say, 'For my own part there is nothing of which I am more clearly convinced than that no University can be described as properly equipped which merely consists of an adequate professoriate, adequate lecture rooms, and adequate scientific apparatus which only satisfy the needs, exacting though they are of modern education. Something more than that is required if that University is to do all that it is capable of doing for the education of the young men of this country, and that something is provided by the Union. I know, speaking from my own experience, it is our contemporaries who make our most useful critics, it is even our contemporaries who make our most instructive teachers and a University life which consists only of the relation between the teachers and the taught, between professors and students is but half a University life. The other half consists of the intercourse between the students themselves the day-to-day common life, the day-to-day interchanging of ideas, of friendships, of commentary upon men and things, and of the great problems which the opening world naturally suggests to the young. Some of the words in the latter part of the extract would seem to suggest a slight exaggeration of the advantages of social life in the University, but Indian Colleges are yet a long way behind taking adequate advantage of such societies and we should see more in them with kindred things, of gatherings where students may hold

Debate a band
Of youthful friends, on mind and art,
And labour and the changing mart,
And all the framework of the land

There are other details too, like the arrangement of social gatherings—common dinners, Old Boys days, recitations, theatricals etc, the encouragement of which within limits ought to be specially enjoined on the authorities of the College and the University. Opportunities for the

healthy development of the social impulse should also be furnished to the youths by the organisation of Social Service Leagues and other institutions. The organisation of University Co-operative Store should have similar educational value, apart from its immediate material advantages.

Mr Seshadri's suggestions are well worth serious study to those of our educated country men who are interested in University affairs whether in British India or in the Indian States.

R. MUKERJEE

BENGALI

JIBAN (LIFE) By Birendrakumar Datta, M.A.
B.L., cloth bound, pp 297 Price Rs 1-14-0 1326 BS
Messrs Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons 201, Cornwallis
Street, Calcutta.

This is our author's second appearance before the public. His first novel *Prahelika* was very favourably reviewed in this magazine and the present volume fully sustains the reputation he has already achieved. We are glad to find that the promise he gave of a bright literary career as a writer and thinker of original and independent views on all questions which are beginning to agitate the bosom of our immobile, decrepit society making its dry bones once more instinct with life, has, in the volume before us, advanced decidedly a step nearer fulfilment. The questions we refer to are those which we often find discussed, in one form or other, in our leading Bengali monthlies like the *Prabasi*, the *Sabuj Paira*, and the *Bharati*, requiring a new orientation of thought, a fresh outlook on life, and a critical attitude in regard to ancient customs and authorities. There is little of a plot, properly so called in the story, lovers of the sensational, who are not happy unless they receive strong nervous thrills, will find very little of excitement in this simple tale. But those who are satisfied with a calm and equable flow of the nerve-current, will find it sufficiently interesting, with a variety of characters both male and female, brought into strong relief, with the light and shade carefully distributed over the whole canvas and smart reprints, shrewd and pungent observations, and quiet rural scenes full of sympathetic touches natural and human, the effect of all which is heightened by a graceful style, simple yet impressive.

These qualities are happily not so uncommon among the younger generation of Bengali writers as to give the book any special distinction, or to call for the reader's particular attention, which we are anxious to bespeak on its behalf. The real merit of the book lies elsewhere. Not all our novelists are thinkers, some pose to be so, by weaving a third hand *reclasse* of our ancient philosophies into their novels by way of emphasising their 'wholesome moral tone, others claim to lead society back from its present so-called degenerate and chaotic condition to the good old days of the Santana Dharma by copious allusions to Manu and Jajnavalkya, and by drawing pictures of ideal husbands and wives and of sweet domestic felicity in which each knows and keeps his place, and the more remote they are from reality the better they are supposed to be. These writers, owing to the unlimited drafts which they make on the glories of our ancient Indian civilisation, pass for patriotic and their books command a ready sale. In no other civilized country

is this kind of intellectual slavery to ancient forms and traditions considered as a sure passport to literary success. Elsewhere thought is judged, not on a narrow sectarian or religious basis, writings with a strong denominational bias are treated as outside the pale of national literature and do not find mention in literary histories except where they rise to the level, say, of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* or Pascal's *Pensées*—but as it should be, on its own merits, the thinking mind showing itself as free, undimensioned, and competent to treat of men and things, with strict fidelity to the laws of nature, psychology, and logic, coloured, of course, by depth of insight and knowledge as well as by charm of style, which give the writer his peculiar distinction. But given the pre-requisites we have named, the writer may be as bold as he likes, and society, instead of judging him amiss, will seek out the fruitful thoughts and suggestions in his writings, and thank him for them. It is from such a standpoint that the author of the book under review should be judged, and if we do so, we shall find that though some of his ideas raise a big splash in the placid waters of Hindu society it is one which is badly needed in its present stagnant condition in order to set that healthy current in motion which has long since departed from its midst, carrying all, or nearly all, the healing properties of the life-giving fluid. For India at the present day stands in this respect exactly where Russia stood in 1862, when Turgenev wrote his *Fathers and Children*. The following dialogue in which Bazarov, the hero of the story, who, according to Mr. Edward Garnett, "stands for Humanity awakened from century-old superstitions and the long dragging oppressive dream of tradition", takes the leading part, is equally applicable to present Indian conditions. 'We do not accept any authorities. At the present time, negation is the most beneficial of all.' 'But one must construct too, you know.' That's not our business now. The ground wants clearing first! Suresh, the hero of the book under notice, is the prototype of Bazarov, 'In his aggressively protestant attitude towards all shams, he touches in places George Eliot's *Felix Holt*, and Rabindranath's *Gora* with which *Felix Holt* has so much in common, and also Sandip, the Nietzschean hero of Rabindranath's *The Home and the World*. To Nietzsche, the Christian virtues of patience, meekness, humility, long-suffering, resignation, and the like, indicate a low degree of vitality characteristic of slave-morality. The West is great, not by following, but by practically repudiating it. The 'elevation of the type man' is the aim of Nietzsche and he holds that the worst kind of spiritual weakness is the weakness of will, and that this will to power, and not the will to live, is the motive force of life. So he proposes a transvaluation of all existing values, and this is also what our hero Suresh does. There is much in the teaching of Vivekananda which is akin to that of Nietzsche at his best and with which, we feel, our author cannot but be in hearty sympathy. The late world-war has served to reveal the dangerous elements in Nietzsche's teachings, but if any country has insistence on mainly self-reliance, free-spiritedness, intellectual bravery and courage to face unpleasant and disconcerting truths are most urgently required to redress the balance of civilisation, it is pre-eminently India, where even a single thought, remotely suggesting a deviation from the pessimistic, world-weary, peace-regarding yet fanatical social standard set up

by the hoary sages of antiquity, drops on us like a bombshell and is promptly ejected from the four corners of our smug little mental cage so irremediably fixed in its ancient socket. The Montagu Chelmsford Report on constitutional Reforms rightly says that 'the placid, pathetic contentment of the masses is not the soil on which Indian nationhood will grow, and that in deliberately disturbing it we are working for her highest good.' If this be true in the field of politics, it is still more so in regard to the crying social evils which hamper our union and progress and make a thoroughly successful political reconstruction so difficult to achieve. If at times our author seems to be too dogmatic and iconoclastic it should be remembered that it is from the efforts of such patriotic writers and thinkers, who have the courage of their convictions and do not hesitate to state their conclusions in clear, unambiguous language, and not from sentimental admirers of the national culture with their too nicely balanced a sense of the hold of past traditions on future evolution, that progress is likely to come. While the admirers of the past muse and poeticise and are lost in the mazes of their search after the true genius of the race, its evolutionary tendencies, its cultural affinities and characteristic spiritual excellences, the blood, which is well nigh frozen in our veins by thousands of years of blind adherence to the *status quo*, loudly calls for some strong well-directed galvanic shocks which will set up the circulation, revive our animation and recall us to life. This is the aim of the author, and this, we believe, gives the name to his book. A society is what the men and women composing it make it. Too much emphasis on the doctrine of heredity, past tradition, the slow process of evolution, and the necessity of gradual assimilation, may be required in the case of a goatherd people who are not afraid of making the boldest experiments, but they are entirely out of place among a people like ourselves, who are scandalised by the slightest innovation in thought and practice. To those who are not scared by daylight, whose hearts feel for the under-dog and revolt against brutal inequalities and yearn for all round progress, and whose minds are captivated by the vision of a great and glorious future for their sacred mother-land of India a book of this type is as a balmy breeze, refreshing and health giving, enriching our thoughts and stimulating us to noble endeavour. It is for this reason that we would distinguish it from the generality of commonplace Bengali novels which flood the market, have their brief season, and are forgotten. The lessons the author has to preach do not, it is true, evolve themselves without conscious effort out of the natural denouement of the story, that, however, is the characteristic of the highest art, and he comes next best, for his reflections are embodied in dialogues which are skillfully interwoven with the story and fit in with the characters in whose mouths they are put. The quotation from Montaigne in the title-page seems to indicate that the author expects, 'a fit audience, though few,' but we believe we are right in thinking that the book will have a more permanent value than that which we are apt to attach to the majority of works of fiction which see the light of day in our country. To appreciate a work of this kind we must be largely free from local prejudices, and we shall be all the better prepared for it by possessing a general working knowledge of the main currents of world thought. But this equipment

we feel sure is not too much to expect of readers of the *Modern Review*.

The author's agnostic creed is not the outcome of cheap cynicism but is palpably the result of deep sympathy with the misery of suffering especially in this unhappy land of ours. It reminds us of Tennyson's lines

There lives more faith in honest doubt
Believe me than in half the creeds

A CRITICAL HINDU

GUJARATI

MAHATMA GANDHI NI VICHAR SHRASHTI (મહાત્મા ગાંધીનો વિચાર શ્રષ્ટિ) by *Mithuradas Trikamji* printed at the Bombay Vaibhav Press Bombay Cloth bound With illustrations Pp 413 Price Rs 2 12 0 (1919)

The ideas and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi have been focussed in this book which is a collection of his speeches and writings in English Hindi Marathi and Gujarati. So far as we know this is the first collection of its kind and the educative and instructive influence that the subject matter of the collection is likely to exert over those who are unacquainted with any other language except Gujarati is so great that in itself is a sufficient reason for recording a warm welcome to it. The subjects have been selected with great care and the translation does credit to the translator. We trust the book would be read by each and every native of Gujarat.

MAHAR VIVARTAO (મારી વીવર્તાઓ) by *Keshavrao Chhotalal Desai* B.A. LL.B. published by Ramakaram G. Tripathi printed at the Bhagodaya Printing Press Ahmedabad Cloth bound With illustrations Pp 308 Price Rs 2 0 0 (1919)

As its name implies this is a collection of twenty stories written by the author at various times and published in different magazines. Their model is the short stories appearing in English monthlies like the *Strand* and *London Magazine*. They fulfil the functions of short stories in every way and throughout the whole book there is not a single dull page. The circumstances on which they are based typical or rather represent the present times and hence there is no difficulty whatever in appreciating the worth and the intelligence of the writer. Although it lacks the minute knack of the humorist the situations painted by him are not without distinct interest. The stories certainly furnish delightful reading.

SARKA MANO KASYA MAJODANHI (સો યાજ્ઞ સર્કા મજાન) Part I I edited by *Jeevanchand Atarchand Jhaveri* Bombay Printed at the Darul Iubilee Printing Press Ahmedabad Cloth bound Pp 480 Price Rs 0 12 0 (1918)

This is the sixth book (pearl) of the series

inaugurated by the Devchand Gulabchand Trust for the publication of old Jain texts. It comprises three large poems Rupchand Kunvar Ras Nalra Dhamyanti Ras and Shri Shatrunjaya Uddhar Ras. There is a very well written introduction by Mr Derasari whose efforts in the direction of resuscitating old texts are well known. There is also a life of the poet Naya Sunder by Mr M D Desai which furnishes a lot of information about his work and times. The first Ras is devoted to the ingenuity with which women when so minded carry their points in the face of great difficulties.

K M J

MARATHI

SHRIKRISHNA CHARITA by *Rao Bahadur C V Vaidya* M.A. LL.B. published by Chitralashala Press Poona Pp VIII+320+4 Price Rupee 1

There is hardly any writer in the Marathi speaking world who is more competent to narrate the life-story of Shrikrishna than Rao Bahadur C V Vaidya whose mastery over Sanskrit Literature and specially over the two great epics is unrivalled. The one feature of this book that distinguishes it from others of its kind is that the story is told almost in the immutable language of the Puranas. Different parts of Shrikrishna's life and the absorbing incidents and anecdotes with which it abounds are found scattered in various Puranas e.g. Mahabharat Bhagavat Harivamsh. Mr Vaidya has gathered these scattered threads and woven them into an exquisitely beautiful story. In Marathi it is difficult to find a more compact and at the same time comprehensive biography than this. It is well proportioned and well written. Generally such books deal with one aspect only of that divine life and they merely swarm with descriptions of miracles. This work of Mr Vaidya is to a great extent free from these flaws. The book as it comes from one of the greatest authorities on the subject will be warmly received by the Marathi knowing public. A chapter embodying the translation of Bhagavadgita verse by verse in which the teachings of Shrikrishna are enshrined forms part of the book. A short masterly introduction in magnificent language full of sublime thought adorns the book. An informing appendix describing the times in which Shrikrishna lived is a valuable addition to the work. The diary of Shrikrishna p 114 and the comparative ages of Shrikrishna in the *Upan* on p 2 Appendix II will reveal to the reader the object with which the book is presented to the public. Accuracy of statement of facts marks every page of it. Many differ from Mr Vaidya in fixing the age of Shrikrishna and on other points also but we venture to say there will be no difference of opinion in regarding a place of honour to this book among all the biographies of Shrikrishna in Marathi. The book is well printed and

illustrated. It is a fitting prize book for students. It deserves the widest circulation.

W

KANADA

DANADHARMAPADDHATI by Narayan Shrinivas Rajapurohit, published by I. B. Alur B.A., LL.B. Dharwar. Price 10 annas.

This is an essay which won the prize from the Karnatak Vidyavardhak Sangh of Dharwar. The author describes the charitable institutions which existed in ancient times and gives a brief account of those obtaining in modern times and chalks out the lines of reform. Within such a short compass no better production can be expected. It would have been better if the author had expanded certain parts of it before bringing it under two covers. The view that charitable institutions must adapt themselves to the time and must never lag behind the progress of society, is steadily gaining ground even among the so-called uneducated classes. This viewpoint is illustrated by the lives of Ahelyabai, Dev Mamlutar, Svarnamayee, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dinshaw Petit and H. H. Sayaji Rao Gawkwad. The author has bestowed much labour upon collecting and summarising the useful information regarding the various classes of beggars, most of whom are a bane and burden to society. But there is no blind condemnation of all classes. Mr. Rajapadhyay rightly concludes that certain classes are necessary so long as their place is not taken up by better men. However, even these classes, who to a certain extent serve society, stand sorely in need of training in their work. Till we see any signs of improvement in them and till they make an earnest effort to do some useful social service, we should give no alms to them. The channels through which our charity should flow are indicated in a catholic spirit. Many parts of the book are punctuated by apt quotations. It concludes with a short touching poem of five stanzas, an appeal of the cow to man.

The book is fit to be placed in the hands of merchants who are not in touch with modern thought and are not inspired by modern methods of philanthropic and charitable work. The treatment of the whole subject is clear and the language simple enough to be understood by Kanaradi speaking ladies. Unknowingly ladies dote on corn and cloth and small sums of money to men and women, the majority of whom only deserve the reward of social boycotting by all right thinking men who have the good of society at heart. It will to a certain extent check the harmful tendency of priesthood to give a wrong turn to the charitable instinct in women by invoking the sanction of the shastras. The innocent ladies fail to understand that the priests twist the shastras to serve their own selfish ends. Among men the number of those who used to be victimised by these teachings is rapidly declining. We hope the publication and wide circulation of books like these among ladies who can read will

lay the axe at the root of this social evil of misdirected and misguided charity.

W

Acknowledgments

(1) THE INDRAPRASTHA HINDU COLLEGE MAGAZINE for May 1919

(2) THE AGRICULTURAL JOURNAL OF INDIA Vol. XIV Part II

(3) THE ALL-INDIA SERVANT a quarterly magazine for April 1919

(4) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION Rajbhavadri a highly interesting record of work done for the poor and depressed

(5) THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF GOKHALE EDUCATION SOCIETY Bombay 1918-19. The Society is very glad doing a most useful work in spreading education among the poorer classes

(6) CHRIST & NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION is a Bible study text book of 156 pages published by John S. Heyland printed at the Christian Mission Press Jubbulpur

(7) THE YOUNG HINDU a monthly Journal of the Y. M. H. A. (Central) Jaffna Ceylon

(8) INDUSTRIES IN BIHAR AND ORISSA by S. Singh B.A. M.B.E. of the Provincial Executive Service Bihar and Orissa.—This is an account of the industries existing in Bihar and Orissa suggesting how to improve them and start those industries the materials for which abound in the Province but which have not been properly tackled. An interesting pamphlet.

(9) REPORT BY THE BOARD OF REVENUE ON THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the year 1917-18

(10) THE REPORT ON THE WORKING OF THE DISTRICT BOARDS IN BIHAR AND ORISSA during the year 1917-18

(11) A NOTE ON THE ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for 1918

(12) REPORT ON THE JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION (CIVIL) OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES for the year 1918

(13) BARODA ADMINISTRATION REPORT 1917-18.—This book records in detail as its name implies the administration of His Highness the Gawkwad's Government and it fully justifies the manner in which the affairs of that government are being carried on. The efficient administration of the Baroda State does not a little credit to Mr. Manubhai Nandshankar the able Dewan of this progressive State.

(14) REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ALL-INDIA DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION CONFERENCES FOR THE ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY.—This Conference which was held in Bombay on 23rd and 24th March last had a noble aim to achieve and it affords us not a little pleasure to find that His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Gawkwad the Maharaja of Baroda who has sympathy with every scheme having for its object the amelioration

tion and raising of the poor depressed and oppressed presided on the occasion. The Report is indeed highly interesting and our readers will do well to procure for themselves a copy each to be had for the price of 8 annas at the following offices of this Mission —

INC Mission Office Chattri Rd. Girgaum Bombay
670 Taboot St. Camp Pooni
Near Post Office Old Hubli
Panchpaoli Nagpur City
142 Narayan Pillai Street Ban-
galore Cantonment

(15) IS IT SELF GOVERNMENT? by PRASANNAN M. DESAI printed at the Commercial Press Bombay. This pamphlet discusses in detail the management of municipal affairs in India which

the author holds and he rightly does so are far from self governing.

(16) REPORT ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN BEN-
GAL for 1917-18

(17) SUPPLEMENT to the above

(18) RESOLUTION REVIVING THE REPORTS ON
THE WORKING OF THE DISTRICT BOARDS IN BEN-
GAL FOR 1917-18

(19) THE BENGAL BIHAR AND ORISSA CO-
OPERATIVE JOURNAL for May 1919

(20) THE BOMBAY CO-OPERATIVE QUARTERLY
for June 1919

(21) BUREAU OF EDUCATION OCCASIONAL
REPORTS No. 8 — THE TRAINING OF TEACHER-
ISSUED BY Superintendent Government Printing
India 8 Hastings Street Calcutta Price 8 As
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A LETTER FROM ROMAIN ROLLAND TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The following letter has been sent by the great French author Romain Rolland to the poet Rabindranath Tagore

“CERTAIN free spirits who feel the need of standing out against the almost universal oppression and servitude of the intellect have conceived the project of this Declaration of Independence of the Spirit — a copy of which I enclose

Would you give us the honour of uniting your own name with ours? It appears to me that our ideas are not out of harmony with yours. We have already received the consent of Henri Barbusse of Paul Signac the painter of Dr. Frederik van Eeden of Prof. Georg Fri. Nicolai of Henry Van der Velde of Stefan Zweig and we expect the consent of Bertr. and Russell Selma Lagerlof Upton Sinclair Benedetto Croce and others. We think of collecting at first three or four signatories for each country — if possible one writer one savant one artist, — and then publish the Declaration making the appeal chiefly to the intellectual elite of all nations. If you can recruit for us some names in India Japan and China I should be very much obliged. I could wish that henceforth the intellect of our might take a more and more definite part in the manifestation of the thought of Europe. My dream will be that one day

we may see the union of these two hemispheres of the Spirit and I admire you for having contributed towards this more than anyone else. Allow me to tell you in conclusion how dear to us are your wisdom and your art and accept I pray the expression of my profound sympathy

ROMAIN ROLLAND

P.S. — I have allowed myself to lay stress on certain passages of your lecture of 1916 at Tol. so in one of my articles published during the War. I am sending it to you under separate cover with the request that you will pardon the imperfection of the French translation. I enclose with it a little pamphlet dedicated to one of our old philosophers of Europe who has exercised a great attraction over my thought and whom perhaps you will love also — Impe-
docles of Agrigentum

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE SPIRIT

Fellow workers of the Spirit comrades scattered throughout the world and separated from one another for five years by the armies the censorship and the nations engaged in war, we address our appeal to you at this hour — when the barriers are falling down and the frontiers are opening again — to re-establish our brotherhood

of union but a new union more firm and secure than that which was established before

The war has thrown our ranks into disorder. The greater number of the intellectuals have placed their knowledge, their art, their reason at the service of the governments. We do not wish to accuse any one, or to make any personal reproach. We know the weakness of individual souls and the elemental force of the great collective currents. All of a sudden the latter has swept away the former because nothing had been foreseen in time to offer resistance. May this experience at least serve us in good stead for the future.

And first of all let us fully realise the disasters which have resulted from the almost complete abdication of the intellect of the world and its voluntary enslavement to the forces let loose. The thinkers and artists had added a scourge which has tormented Europe in body and soul: an incalculable volume of poisonous hatred. They have searched every arsenal of their knowledge, their imagination, their ancient and modern precedents, historical, scientific, logical, poetical for hate. They have laboured to destroy understanding and love between man and man. In doing this they have disfigured and debased Thought whose ambassadors they were. They have made Her the instrument of the passions and without knowing it perhaps the weapon of the selfish interests of a political or social party, a state, a country, or a class. They now emerge from this strange conflict—in which all nations, both victors and vanquished, have been consumed, bruised, impoverished and in their heart of hearts, however little they acknowledge it, ashamed and humiliated at their consummate folly and Thought entangled in their struggles emerges with them ruined and fallen.

Up! Let us set the Spirit free from these entanglements from these humiliating alliances from these hidden slaveries! The Spirit is the servant of none. It is we who are servants of the Spirit. We have no other master. We are made to carry to protect its life to rally round it all men who have gone astray. Our part, our duty is to keep a fixed point to show forth the

pole star in the midst of the turbulence of the passions in the night. Among these passions of pride and mutual destruction we make no selection. We reject them all. We serve Truth alone. Truth that is free and frontierless without confines without prejudice of race or caste. Certainly we do not exempt ourselves from Humanity. It is for Humanity we labour but for Humanity whole and entire. We do not know peoples, we know the People, unique universal, the People which suffers and struggles which falls to rise again which advances always over the rough road drenched with its own sweat and blood, the People of all mankind and equally our brothers. And it is in order that they with us should gain the consciousness of this brotherhood that we raise up over their blind conflict the Arch of Alliance of the Free Spirit, one and manifold, eternal.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S REPLY TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

The following letter was sent in reply by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore to M. Romain Rolland—

When my mind was steeped in the gloom of the thought that the lesson of the late war had been lost and that people were trying to perpetuate their hatred and anger into the same organised menace for the world which threatened themselves with disaster, your letter came and cheered me with its message of hope. The truths that give us life have always been uttered by the few and rejected by the many and have triumphed through their failures. It is enough for me to know that the higher conscience of Europe has been able to assert itself in one of her choicest spirits through the ugly clamours of passionate politics, and I gladly hasten to accept your invitation to join the ranks of those free souls who in Europe have conceived the project of a Declaration of Independence of the Spirit. Kindly accept my thanks for the noble words with which you have introduced the French Translation of the passages from my Message to Japan in your pamphlet. I hope to be excused for publishing in one of our Magazines an English

rendering of the same, as well as your letter to me with the Declaration. I have asked my publisher to send you my book on "Nationalism" which contains my Japanese addresses and some more lectures on the same subject."

NOTES

Wisdom from China.

The worth of the ancient civilisation of China is proved, among other things, by the writings of her sages, which are store-houses of wisdom. Lao-tsze, the reputed author of the *Tao Teh King*, was born about 604 B C. *The World and the New Dispensation* has been giving some extracts from a translation of this work of his which are priceless for their insight and wisdom. Some of them are given below.

To harmonise great enemies

We must possess that which far surpasses enmity

We must be able to be at peace

In order to be active in Love

That is why the self-controlled man holds the left-hand portion of the contract, but does not insist upon the other man producing his portion

He who is virtuous may rule by a contract,

He whose virtue is within may rule by destroying it.

To govern a kingdom, use righteousness,

To conduct a war, use strategy

To be a true world ruler, be occupied with Inner Life

How do I know that this is so?

By this —

The more restrictive the laws,

the poorer the people

The more machinery used,

the more trouble in a kingdom

The more clever and skilful the people,

the more do they make artificial things

The more the laws are in evidence,

the more do thieves and robbers abound

That is why the self-controlled man says —

If I act from Inner Life

the people will become transformed in themselves

If I love stillness

the people will become righteous in themselves

If I am occupied with Inner Life

the people will become enriched in themselves,

If I love the Inner Life

the people will become pure in themselves

If the government is from the heart

the people will be richer and richer.

If the government is full of restrictions

the people will be poorer and poorer.

Where troops dwell, there grow thorns and briars:
After great wars, there follow bad years.

He who loves, bears fruit unceasingly,

He does not dare to conquer by strength.

He bears fruit, but not with assertiveness,

He bears fruit, but not with boastfulness,

He bears fruit, but not with meanness,

He bears fruit, but not to obtain it for himself,

He bears fruit, but not to shew his strength.

If a great kingdom only desires to unify and
nourish men,

If a small kingdom only desires to enter in and
serve men,

Then the Master, in each case, shall obtain his
desire

He who is great ought to be lowly.

God "left out."

"A very serious omission in the platform of the League of Nations as cabled from Paris" is pointed out by two American "trade publications," namely, *The American Lumberman*, of Chicago, and *The Bean Bag*, of St. Louis. *The Bean Bag* says that "nowhere in the platform, nor, so far as reported, in the proceedings that led up to its promulgation, is to be found any hint of official or public recognition of the fact, generally accepted by civilized humanity, of the existence of a Supreme Being who rules the destinies of nations, nor any petition for divine guidance in the most momentous crisis in the history of the world," and *The Lumberman* questions whether it is a "trifling omission" or "mere bigotry to refer to it?" It affirms that Americans who are familiar with their country's history will not so regard it. *The Lumberman* says that "the founders of the American Republic recorded in the Declaration of Independence their 'firm reliance upon the protection of Divine Providence.' This sentiment was reiterated by Lincoln in his immortal address at

Gettysburg as well as in other addresses and State papers and has been reaffirmed by every President from Washington to Wilson

During the darkest period of the Civil War the motto In God we Trust was ordered to be stamped upon American silver coinage by Act of Congress. When it was proposed a few years back to drop this motto from the coinage the suggestion aroused such a tidal wave of protest that it was immediately abandoned. The Lumberman affirms that there is no reason to believe that American sentiment has changed in this regard since then. It points out that the American anthem like wise declares that In God is our trust and that the national hymn America expresses the identical thought in the verse beginning Our fathers God to thee affirms that these sentiments express the real heart beat of America and not mere pious platitudes. The following statements made by our trade contemporary form good food for reflection—

Man proposes but God disposes and unless the League of Nations takes into account—not alone in words but in spirit—the fact of God it is foredoomed to failure just as every previous plan and scheme of men to insure permanent peace has broken down under the pressure of national ambition, hatred, or avarice—that have not yet been banished from the world. There must be something more potent than bayonets or battleships, needful as both are under present world conditions as the ultimate authority. Back of the citizen is the state—using the term in its broad sense—and back of the state is, or will be, the League of Nations. Back of the League must be God, if it is to endure.

God's guidance ought to be sincerely sought and followed in all human affairs. And when it is sincerely sought and followed His name should certainly be taken. But when it is clear that men are not going to listen to the still small voice within through which God constantly speaks to man but prefer to be guided by selfish motives and greed the best advice to follow is 'Do not take the name of God in vain.' To leave out God outwardly is certainly desirable when he is being left out of the reckoning inwardly. Frankly to ignore God is better than hypocrisy and profanity.

God cannot in reality be shut out.

Raising University Examination Fees

At a meeting of the Calcutta University Senate attended by a little over one fourth of the total number of its members the examination fees of the university were raised as follows: three members dissenting. Matriculation from Rs 15 to Rs 20. I A and I Sc from Rs 30 to Rs 35. B A and B Sc (Pass) from Rs 40 to Rs 45. B A and B Sc (Honours) from Rs 40 to Rs 50. M A and M Sc from Rs 50 to Rs 80. Law Examination from Rs 15 to Rs 30. We cannot approve of this action of the Senate. It was opposed by a few independent members of the Senate mainly on the grounds of the poverty of the people and the hard times through which they are passing. But before examining the arguments based on these considerations and the replies thereto it is necessary to consider why the fees were originally levied.

The fees are called and in reality are examination fees. Their object is or at least originally was to meet the expenses of the University examinations. Of course these expenses vary from year to year and cannot be estimated to a pie. Hence the fees have been fixed on a scale which leaves a surplus which may be spent for any legitimate university purpose. No University Act Regulation Bielew or Rule could have been formerly quoted which said that these fees were either wholly or partly a tax for the promotion of semi-free post graduate education. This is the third time that the fees have been increased and our information is that it was on one of the former occasions of increase that Sir Asutosh's standing majority enabled him to add words to the Regulations which authorised a fraction of the fees to be assigned for meeting the expenses of the post graduate classes—originally there was no such provision in the Regulations.

The fees as pointed out by Mr K. L. Dutt, ex Registrar of the University, already bring in more money than is spent for the examinations. Hence there was no case for raising them; on the contrary there is in fairness a case for lowering them.

All over the civilised world education is

being made cheaper, but here in Bengal, it is being made more and more expensive

Sir Asutosh Mookherjee, the mover of the resolution said that the work of the University of late had greatly increased and if the work was to be carried on in future with moderate success they must have money. He observed that Bengal could afford to pay the amount proposed if she chose. It was very good of him to say so for he knew that whether Bengal chose to pay or not he could with the help of his followers, practically force some of Bengal's children to pay. Candidates for University examinations and their guardians are neither the whole nor the majority nor the wealthiest portion of the population of Bengal. Hence it was not a question of Bengal choosing to pay or not. The question is whether the majority of those who seek the kind of education which is controlled and given by the University (and this is practically the only kind of higher education which our children can have) can afford to pay higher fees *without feeling the pinch*. Our conviction is that they cannot for the majority of those who seek English education are poor. When the minimum income on which income tax is levied was raised from Rs 1000 to Rs 2000 it was hailed as a great relief to the middle-class gentry. Among them the number of those who have even that income is not large. The guardians of our students are for the most part men of even smaller means. Hence the raising of the fees has been an unkind act. And we have shown that it was *morally ultra vires* though not legally.

Principal G. C. Bose opposed the motion and was supported by Rai Bahadur Dr Chuni Lal Bose who observed:

The community from which the majority of the Matriculat on students come live from hand to mouth and it was rather difficult for them to procure a lump sum of Rs 15. That was a fact and he challenged anybody to contradict it.

Sir Asutosh Mookherjee: I most emphatically contradict it.

We simply contradict Sir Asutosh with out any emphasis, for truth has its own emphasis.

Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray supported Principal G. C. Bose.

He was fully conscious of the supreme need for

increasing their revenue and he fully agreed with all that had been said by Sir Asutosh. In the opinion of the speaker a large proportion of their students were exceedingly poor and the increase of the fees would tell very harshly on the guardians of the students. Were there not in Bengal any more philanthropists like the late Sir Tarakanath and Sir Rashi Behari who could supplement the revenues of the University?

Sir Asutosh Mookherjee: If lawyers are vilified as they have been in the past they will not pay anything more.

Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray said that it was extremely painful to find that this most unkindest cuts of all should be inflicted by Sir Asutosh whose name was a household word and who was known as the friend of the poor students.

We do not think that rich lawyers are like children who would require to be flattered and coaxed in order that they might be induced to make endowments. They are remunerated for their labours by the people on a much higher scale than any other professional men, and if they pay back some of this money, it is simply a matter of duty. Should any lawyer think that he was giving alms to his Motherland or patronising her, he had better not give anything, the Motherland will manage to raise her head without such charity.

We do not know to what occasion or speaker Sir Asutosh referred when he spoke of lawyers being vilified. On a recent occasion Sir P. C. Ray was reported only to have said that if he were made Dictator for a day he would raze the law college to the ground. That was no vilification of lawyers, as we understood it. It was we take it, the humorous form in which the speaker's desire that our young men should take to industrial and commercial careers in much larger numbers than they do now, found expression. His speech as reported, did not contain any discussion of the ethics of the legal profession—a difficult subject—nor of the much easier question as to the moral effect on society of a superabundance of lawyers, nor did he abuse any lawyer or lawyers as a class. Sir P. C. Ray is not a mere chemist. It may be safely presumed that the professor knows that lawyers have their place in 'civilised' society and often do useful and sometimes noble work, though some of them are like some members of most other professions sometimes a nuisance too. We politicians know, and he

may be safely presumed to know that it is the lawyers who awakened the American colonists from their lethargy and were the mouthpieces to give expression to their discontent and aspirations and that some lawyers in India, too, have played the same role.

As for the pecuniary condition of the generality of students and their guardians we do not know of any man in Calcutta who can pronounce an opinion with greater authority derived from personal experience than Professor Praphulla Chandra Ray.

Sir Asutosh Mookherjee in reply to the criticisms made on his resolution said that really two points had been raised against it, namely (1) that it was immoral to tax matriculation candidates for the benefit of the maligned post graduate students and (2) the poverty and incapacity of the people of Bengal to meet the demand. The first ground was based on a very narrow view of the true functions of the University. It was said that all students who appeared at the matriculation did not appear at higher examinations. Those students who appeared at that examination and who did not intend to continue the studies had no right to appear at the examination. After all the University was one homogeneous whole. Then it was suggested that Bengal was poor. He did not believe that and he thought that notwithstanding the raising of the fees the candidates would go on increasing. It was suggested again that the postgraduate students should be made to pay but that would not be an help to them. Then again the students who reached the top come from the poorer classes. The solution of that problem as was suggested by Dr Howell was to make education free at the expense of the State. That is the right solution but that meant taxation and every man with an income would have to pay towards the cost of education. That was not desirable. Let that portion of Bengal whom the University could reach contribute towards its funds.

In the opinion of Sir Asutosh those students who appeared at the Matriculation examination and who did not intend to continue their studies further had no right to appear at the examination. That is his *ipse dixit*. But is it laid down in any university Act regulation or rule? The Matriculation is a qualification for several other things besides admission to arts and science colleges. A boy may wish to acquire this qualification without intending to join the I A or I Sc classes. More over many candidates cannot say when they sit for the Matric whether they pass creditably and can secure scholarships or free studentships or free board and lodg-

ing or private tutorships they continue otherwise they give up their studies. Therefore the matter actually stands thus (1) The University does not as it cannot demand any guarantee from any Matric candidate that on passing he would continue his studies before permitting him to appear at the examination nor is there any unwritten understanding entered into by any candidate that he would continue his studies after passing. (2) Taking Sir Asutosh's contention to be correct this unwritten contract (viz that a candidate can acquire a right to appear at the Matric only by having a *bona fide* intention to prosecute his studies further) cannot be one-sided. If the university demands such continuation of studies as a condition for permission to sit for the Matric the candidate too is entitled to demand that the university would after his passing guarantee his admission into some affiliated institution or other on his paying the fees &c. But does the University or can the University give any such guarantee? Do we not find many matriculated students knocking about from college to college without finding admission? If the university could provide room for all matriculates and if in spite of such provision of accommodation considerable numbers of them chose not to go in for higher studies the university could justly say to them "We charged you high examination fees partly for the furtherance of your higher education and provided facilities for higher education for you all but you have not availed yourself of these facilities. So having fulfilled our part of the contract we are not to blame. If there had been a School Final Examination qualifying candidates for the same employments &c. for which the Matric now qualifies Sir Asutosh's contention would have had slightly greater force. It is to be hoped his words do not foreshadow the institution of such an examination.

Sir Asutosh said that he did not believe that Bengal was poor. He is welcome to believe what he likes but his belief will not alter facts. Bengal is poor. We know rich and poor are relative terms and therefore we proceed to make our meaning

quite clear. By saying that Bengal is poor, we mean that the majority of Bengalis do not have a sufficient quantity of clean and nourishing food and decent clothing and house accommodation to enable them to lead healthy, efficient, and decent and moral lives, and also that, after obtaining the primary and essential needs of existence, (which, in fact, they cannot obtain), they have not enough left to educate their children.

Sir Asutosh 'thought that notwithstanding the raising of their fees their candidates would go on increasing.' May be. But that is not because Bengal is not poor, but because there are so few careers for our youth. Almost all the avenues of distinction and of employment for the *bhadralok* class lie through the portals of the university, and parents cannot but stint and starve themselves in order to be able to give their boys a start in life. In spite of the high prices of cloth, cloth dealers are making more money than before, and people have to buy some kind of cloth or wear rags. In spite of the high prices of rice and commodities, people have to buy them, because otherwise life would be impossible. Similarly, so long as other kinds of education leading to various new careers are not available people must go in for university-controlled education, however expensive it may be made. What people are forced by circumstances to do cannot be adduced as an argument to prove that they do it quite easily without feeling any inconvenience. 'It was suggested again that the post graduate students should be made to pay, but that would not be any help to them. Help to whom? To the university? The latter part of the sentence quoted above probably means that is even by raising the tuition fees of the post graduate students, who directly benefit by the activities of the university, Rs. 2,30,000 cannot be realised; therefore, let us tax those most of whom are not directly benefited or not benefited at all! But the tax mentioned by the Senate is not only not equitable, it has the further disadvantage of being levied on rich and poor alike in equal amounts, which no other tax is. The incidence of every other tax

varies with the means of the tax payer, but this increase in the fees will be the same for rich and poor alike.

As the university does not at present provide or propose to provide free education, the question of providing free education at the expense of the State and of taxation, for that purpose, of all who have an income, need not have been raised. There is no tax, by the by, which is imposed on all who have an income, large or small. Sir Asutosh knows that in countries where university education is free, the State does pay for it out of the taxes levied on the general population, without anybody saying "that is not desirable", he knows that in such countries, the expenses of educating post graduate students are not met in great part by levying high examination fees on undergraduates and candidates for matriculation, he knows that it is not the undesirability of taxing the general population for purposes of post graduate education which deterred him from proposing or advocating that step, but it was because it was beyond his power to levy such a tax which made him prefer to tax those who are helpless and whom he, mainly with the help of his followers, can practically force to pay any fee he may choose to fix. The whole population of a country is served and benefited by its educated section. Therefore, if it be proper to tax matriculation candidates for schemes from which only a small fraction of them would ultimately derive any advantage it is also proper for the State to pay the expenses of the highest education from the general revenues of the country, and even to levy a special education tax, if the country can bear it.

Dr. Howells admitted that

So far as the poor students were concerned there was no doubt that it would press most heavily on them. On the other hand it was a gratifying feature in this country that the poor students always get help from those who could pay. He believed that if the resolution was carried these students would get help as before and it would not close the door of knowledge to them.

Sir Asutosh also observed—

If they wanted to help the students who were poor let them raise a fund for the purpose. Did they really suppose that the people of Bengal were so poor

that they could not afford to comply with this demand? If they went to the cinemas and if they went to the theatres and other places of amusement they would always find the places full. If the people could spend money on amusement they could surely help the students by reducing the expenditure on heads other than education.

We must say, these are very curious arguments. Do not the speakers know that charity has a demoralising effect on those who receive it? It tends to sap their self respect and manhood. In so far as it is unavoidable, students have to and do beg. But surely it is not the part of their well wishers to bring about such conditions as would compel larger numbers of them to beg, or compel those who already beg to become more importunate beggars or beggars on a larger scale. We are deeply pained to have to write in this blunt fashion. We have not the least desire to wound the susceptibilities of indigent students. We are compelled to write thus to make the moral evils involved in the suggestions of Dr. Howells and Sir Asutosh Mukherjee quite clear. The latter referred to the fulness of theatres and cinemas as a proof of the prosperity of the people. But is Calcutta the whole of Bengal or are those who seek amusement the whole or the majority of the people of Calcutta or even of those who appreciate education? Moreover, some people have got such a craving for excitement and pleasure that they would rather deprive themselves or their children of a meal than go without these. That is also why frequently even in times of famine, the excise revenues do not show a falling off but most often an increase. Anglo Indian officials may treat this fact as a proof of the prosperity of the people, but we do not desire any of our countrymen to think in that way.

Sir Asutosh Mookherjee is an expert in getting big sums for the university. Why, then, instead of taxing candidates, does he not himself raise a fund for financing post-graduate education from the cinema and theatre-goers from whom he desires others to raise a fund for helping poor students? Even he will not find it easy. Better than telling poor students to beg from individuals or to depend on funds for helping them is the American way to make poor

students self supporting, viz., to provide them with remunerative work. The university should have an employment bureau for this purpose. A committee of energetic well wishers of students may also establish such a bureau.

The Vice Chancellor in summing up the debate said that the people of Bengal were not so poor as they were painted. They could easily afford to spend a little money towards the education of their children. (The italics are ours.)

It is very much to be regretted that Sir Nkratan Sircar said all these things. We have already defined what we mean and understand by the word "poor." We do not wish to indulge in hair splitting to ascertain whether Bengal is sufficiently poor to excite the pity and sympathy of well to do people. But she is poor, and the majority of Bengali parents do not find that the expense of their children's education amount to only "a little money," whatever the sum may mean to people with large incomes.

It should be noted that our remarks are based on newspaper reports. We have no other means of knowing what the speakers said.

The raising of the fees has been spoken of as a temporary measure. But we don't believe that having got an additional yearly revenue of Rs. 2,30,000, the university will again part with it. It will be argued that as the people are able to pay, let them pay, and let us spend the amount usefully.

Dependence on fee receipts involves one great evil. It inclines the university to make its examinations easy, in order that the number of candidates may not diminish, but, on the contrary, may increase. In other words, dependence on fee receipts has a tendency to make the prizes "cheap"—"cheap," of course, from the points of view of intellectual attainments. This commercialism goes directly against the interests of true education. We do not, of course, believe that the efficiency of education is proportionate to the number of failures in examinations. But we do believe that a university should not feel that its existence and solvency depend on a large number of candidates and passes.

III News Runs Apace

In spite of the efforts of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford to prevent any but officially-approved news of the Panjab being published and in spite of their strong desire that only officially approved inferences from the same should be drawn, even far off Australia seems to have drawn conclusions of a different character, as the following paragraph from the *Australian Worker* of Sydney (May 1, 1919) shows:—

Some time ago Lloyd George said that "India is entitled to ask that her loyal myriads should feel, not as if they were a subject race in the Empire, but a partner nation." Judging by events that have happened in India during the last week or two, it seems that the Indians are getting full measure of the Lloyd George brand of "Democracy."

Sectarian Suspicion in Europe

The Catholic Herald of India writes

The French Catholic press is asking a question which we piece out as follows from heavily censored articles. How is it that the Catholic Austrian Empire has been cut up into small pieces, whereas the Protestant German Empire is maintained practically entire? How is it that the Council of Five piously refuse to meddle with the internal constitution of Germany, whereas the principle of self-determination is rigorously applied to Austria? The answer of the French press is "We have been sold by international Jewry and Freemasonry."

This is a terrible indictment which we are too optimistic to admit, but we must make a note of it. We still believe in Wilson and Clemenceau, and they have declared themselves satisfied with the Peace Terms. However, let us keep awake.

Meanwhile there seems to be considerable hesitation, feigned or otherwise, among the Allies, as to whether they should countenance the new Rhenish Republic. Why all this fuss, it is difficult to understand, as it was stipulated by a secret arrangement between Russia and France that Russia would not raise any objection, should France set up a Rhenish Republic after the war. This may be a mere coincidence, but even then the opinion of the Allied Congress that 'political evolution in Germany is a matter for the Germans themselves' does not seem to be consistent with our Austrian policy and with our fundamental principle of national self-determination. We would like to see the stage directions.

The suspicion of the French Catholic press may be wrong or may be right, but there it is. We refer to it, only because it is thought that "the mutual distrust of Hindus and Musalmans" disqualifies Indians for self government. We deplore such distrust where it exists. It is an evil thing. But it does not become Europeans to urge this distrust as an argument against In-

dian self-government. Most European countries have been and are self-governing in spite of the mutual distrust of Protestants and Catholics, and in spite of anti-Jewish pogroms in some of them; and it is partly because of the exercise by them of the right of self government that this distrust has been diminishing, the other important cause being the progress of liberal education.

Colour Riots in Great Britain.

London, June 17

Colour riots continue to assume serious proportions compelling the Government to arrange for the early deportation of men of exotic races now in this country. The agitation is aimed at the Chinese whereof many thousands are here, mainly stranded seamen and Negroes, who also arrived during the war on ships. A large force of police is engaged in some towns in taking special precautions, notably in the China Town of London, Newport and Cardiff. General regret is felt at these disturbances, since the coloured men have done much good work in the war, but the hostility is partly industrial and partly connected with women—"Englishmen."

If Great Britain were under foreign rule, the foreign rulers could have used these facts to argue that the British people were unfit for self government; for the occurrence of riots in India has been used for such a purpose.

Other obvious comments the reader will make for himself.

The Policy of Tarquinius Superbus

'This [Manipur] tragedy was the subject of a debate in the House of Commons at which I happened to be present. Sir William Harcourt moved for papers in a speech of studious moderation I remember only one point he made. The Government of India, he said, accepted the revolution in Manipur as beneficial, but insisted upon the punishment of the Senapati who had brought it about. This, he declared 'is as though the people of England had accepted the restoration of Charles II but had ordered the execution of General Monk'—Sir William was replied to by Sir John Gorst, then Tory Under-Secretary of State for India. The cynicism of his remarks and the transparency of their personal application electrified the House. He observed 'The Senapati was the man of the greatest ability and greatest force of character among the ruling family at Manipur. He was a man who was extremely popular among the people for his generosity.' He went on to say that the Government of India had never encouraged men of that kind. They had always hated and discouraged independent and original talent, and had always loved and promoted docile and unpretending mediocrity. This was a policy they had inherited from Tarquinius Superbus. 'Although in these days they did not cut off the heads of the tall poppies, they took other and more merciful means of removing any

person of dangerous political preeminence to a far less condition.—*Indian and Home Memories* by Sir Henry Cotton chap xvi

Good Coming out of Evil

"The Anglo-Indian agitation against Lord Ripon's government the protests which asserted that the only people who have any right to India are the British the whole attitude of Englishmen in regard to Indian unity than any action or legislation on the lines contemplated by that Viceroy could have accomplished"—*Indian and Home Memories* by Sir Henry Cotton ch xvi

Alliteration in History

Philosophic and poetic students of history have found rhythmic movements in the events recorded therein. The more prosaic may be allowed to point out that there is also alliteration in history. In the recent history of India for instance boons and blows have gone together. So it was in the days of Morley Minto so it is in the days of Montagu Chelmsford. But just as in literature alliteration is not synonymous with poetry, so in politics too boons and blows do not work together to produce that harmony which is of the essence of real peace and order. Edmund Burke knew this when he wrote —

"I know not how the angel of conciliation will work in concert with the angel of repression. Striding by itself I could answer for the angel of sweetness and conciliation. In the bad company in which it is found I cannot."

Those who deal out blows and dole out boons have, no doubt their reason,—though possibly no rhyme. They may argue that boons unmixed with blows may be considered as proceeding from fear.

The Punjab Method of Government

It is not the administration of the Punjab under martial law which alone has been different from the administration of the other provinces. Even in ordinary times, that province has been differently administered. Let two Englishmen bear witness.

"The men of my time were the inheritors of the old ways and old traditions. Sir John Lawrence was the Governor General. He came from the Punjab. These men had been trained in a hard school and they meted out summary justice with an iron hand. *Sic volo sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas*. That was their motto and they acted on it to the uttermost. The Punjab's influence has never been a good one when extended to other provinces' and frontier methods have always been a source of danger in their facile application to general use.—*Indian and Home Memories* by Sir Henry Cotton ch v

It is generally conceded in India that the most important of the Government is that of the Punjab. It takes its stand upon two foundations rocks, 'Pres- tige and Sedition', the meaning of the former being that it can do what it likes, and of the latter that if any Indian questions its doings, his house will be raided and he will be deported. It has no notion of statesmanlike handling no idea of political methods. The man in power simply uses his power whether it is in the form of a not too honest detective department or a not too discriminating executive and judiciary.—*The Awakening of India* by J. Ramsay MacDonald Part II ch vi

Both the above writers, it will be observed speak of the normal administration of the Punjab not of Punjab under martial law. It would seem that an administration with the reputation of the Punjab would be the last authority whose advice as to the necessity of further and still further repressive measures would be listened to by a wise and prudent supreme Government but we live to learn.

Sir M. Sadler on Educational Aims and Ideals

On the occasion of his welcome back to Leeds University of which he is Vice Chancellor from India where he has recently worked as president of the Calcutta University Commission Sir Michael Sadler spoke on the outlook and influence of the old and new British Universities. As regards their influence on educational ideas in India he said in part

"Without any change in loyalty to the older experience the men throughout India are beginning to feel that here in the new university we have hit upon a form of constitution which works well in the modern State that we have felt our way to a right relation to the central Government of the country that we are right in being in great industrial centres and in holding up high the principle that for all, rich or poor man or woman a liberal education is the essential thing for citizenship. The people of India felt that the newer universities are a right in giving equal opportunity to men and women and that education was not a thing that stopped with the taking of a degree but was something to which men and women of all ages should continue to have appropriate access. They felt that above all the newer universities were right not to allow religious differences to enter into the fabric of the work."

Both Anglo-Indians (old style) and Indians ought to ponder over the words which we have italicised above.

It has become a generally accepted principle in America and many countries of Europe that the University grade of education should be open to all boys and

Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu

Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu is no more. More than any one else he should be considered the maker of modern Andhra desha the region inhabited by the Telugu speaking population. He was not a man of any high worldly position or

of fearless advocacy of the right and of ceaseless toil ought to be an inspiration to younger workers in the cause of humanity.

Famine in Bankura

Government has declared famine in the district of Bankura Bengal. This fact alone is sufficient to show in what dire



Rao Bahadur K. Viresalingam Pantulu



Some famine-stricken women and children in Chhatra Bankura

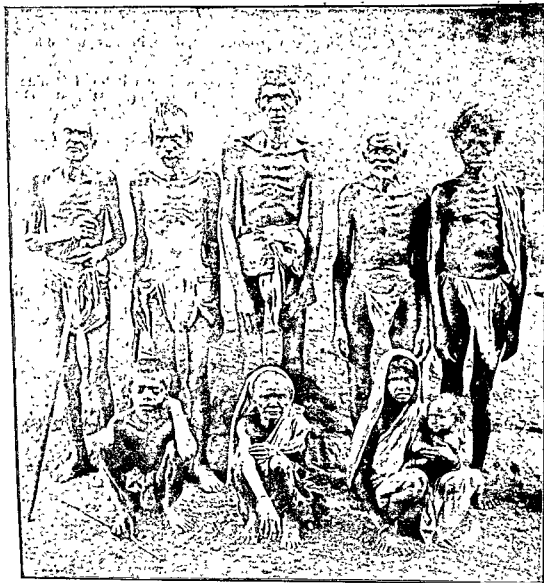
wealth. So long as he was in harness he held only the humble post of a Pundit in an educational institution. Yet by practising economy and from the sale proceeds of his numerous works in prose and verse he gave away more for the promotion of widow marriages, the advancement of education, the maintenance and upbringing of orphans, the propagation of the worship of God in spirit and in truth and for other good causes than many wealthier men reputed to be patriotic and public spirited. He was known as the Vidya sagar of the South for the lifelong and strenuous efforts which he made for bringing about the remarriage of widows.

He was the foremost Telugu author of modern times and may without exaggeration be styled the maker of modern Telugu prose. His poetical and prose works fill ten volumes.

He worked fearlessly for the cause of social reform and social purity and in consequence made many enemies. His life

struts the people of that district are Indians in all provinces of India and even those living in Great Britain, Africa &c. helped them during the last famine which visited them 4 years ago. It is to be hoped that public charity will be the means of saving life during the present famine too. The following paragraph from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* will give some idea of the condition of the people —

We have published in our columns an appeal by the Bankura Sammilan on behalf of the famine-stricken people in that district. Information has reached the Sammilan that two Mahomedans of Chhatra Bazar have died of starvation. There are instances without number says the report of the Sammilan where women can not leave their thatched huts for want of clothes to hide their nudity. They attend natives call in the night the darkness of which supplies these unfortunate women with means to cover their shame. This is the harrowing tale of distress but for the relief of which only Rs. 1906-4-4 pice in new clothes of 100 pices have been placed in the hands of the Sammilan by the public. With this extremely meagre help the Sammilan has been keeping the wolf out of the door of



Some famine-stricken men, women, and children in Khatra, Bankura.

1200 persons a day. Such an appalling distress is possible only in India. But we wonder that in Bengal the spirit of charity has so far been extinct that only a couple of thousands of rupees could be collected to meet a situation like this. The volunteers of the Sammilani are silently doing their best to relieve their suffering countrymen. But have not the rest of the people any duty by their famished brethren? A single rupee can keep ten men out of starvation for a day. Both the rich and the poor can pay. We earnestly appeal to our countrymen once again to remember the famished thousands before taking one morsel of food for themselves. All contributions, however small, are to be sent to Rai Hemanta Kumar Raha Bahadur, Assistant Director-General of

Post Office, Calcutta. The contributions will be acknowledged in the columns of the "Modern Review."

The photographs of the famine stricken people of some different parts of Bankura which we reproduce in this issue, have been taken and supplied to us by the Bankura Sammilani. The Sammilani has also sent us the photograph of a Jaina partly ruined temple in village Harmashra, which it can undertake to repair and restore if funds are supplied to it by Jaina gentlemen, who are generally kind-hearted and charitable.



Some of the famine-stricken men at the Bhowanick Road Bazar, Bankur

The reports will give employment to many famine-stricken men and women. Particulars may be obtained from Babu Rishin dranath Sarkar, M.A. B.L. High Court, Vakil, 20 Sankaritolah First Lane, Intally, Calcutta.

Manoranjan Guha Thakurta

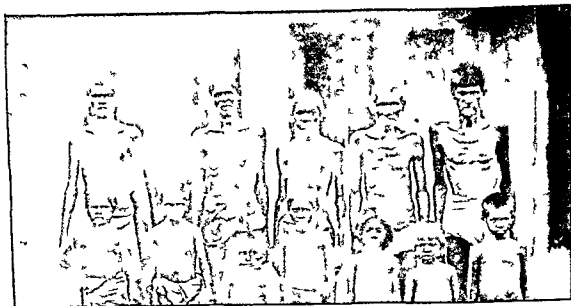
Babu Manoranjan Guha Thakurta, who was one of the ten gentlemen who were deported during the administration of Lord Minto when the agitation against the partition of Bengal was at its height, has breathed his last. He was one of the leading and influential figures in the Swadeshi Boycott and anti-Partition agitation. He was a very eloquent and persuasive speaker and wielded a facile pen. He founded and conducted for some time a newspaper called *Naya Shakti* (New Power) in the Nationalist interest and a

few years ago started and conducted for some time a monthly magazine called *Bijay*. He was the author of a few books. In the beginning of his public career he was a preacher of Brahmoism. He was a disciple of Pandit Bijoy Krishna Goswami and during the latter part of his life ceased to have any formal connection with the Brahmo Samaj. He was religious throughout life.

A Boy Discoverer

News have come from Bombay of some remarkable discoveries made in the chemical world by a 17-year-old Indian lad, Mr. F. F. Dutt—discoveries which are expected to revolutionise the industrial development of India in the near future.

This precocious youth, who has not had a school or college education at all in the accepted sense of the term, has discovered



SONS OF THE STRANGLERS AND CHILDREN IN HARMILRA BANKURA



AJANTA TEMPLES IN HARMILRA BANKURA

that the synthetic production of Methane or marsh gas is possible anywhere. The gas is of great use for industrial purposes is motive power.

The discovery was made in the Central Provinces a couple of years ago when the Germans were developing some of their most fiendish methods of warfare. At the request of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain who became acquainted with the discovery when the lad applied for a patent it had to be kept a profound secret during the war lest the Germans heard of it and put it into capital use against the Allies.

Young Dutt has in addition discovered and patented methods and processes by which pure sulphur can be manufactured from gypsum (sulphate of lime) which is plentiful in Raptana viz within the States of Bikaner and Jodhpur and also in the North West Frontier Provinces in Kala Bigh and in Sind. The significance of this achievement cannot be overrated. As stated in the records of the Geological Survey of India a cheap supply of sulphuric acid would be the key to many new industries in India now either non-existent or in a feeble condition. This defect could now be remedied.

The lad has also found out simple and



Master E. I. Dutt the Chemical Discoverer

Photograph by Bourne & Shepherd special to the Modern Review

cheap methods of manufacturing soda and carbonate of soda and alumina and an equally cheap process of extracting potash from ordinary rocks in this country. As a fertiliser, potash is largely used in Europe and America and the countries, which use them, are till now practically dependent on Germany for the supplies. Young Dutt's discovery would enable India to export potash in large quantities and successfully compete with Germany.

During the past few months Mr Dutt has been carrying on demonstrations in Bombay. The demonstrations have so far, it is understood, conclusively proved that his discoveries can be worked up on a commercial basis.

A strong syndicate of leading industrialists of Bombay have acquired the patent rights for the manufacture of sulphur, potash, soda, etc., from Mr Dutt. On the completion of the demonstrations, a company with about two crores of rupees as capital is to be formed shortly to undertake the manufacture of these chemicals.

Young Dutt is the eldest son of his father,

Mr P. C. Dutt, Barrister at-Law, who is a well known industrialist of Jabulpore. Mr P. C. Dutt is not a chemist and never read a word of chemistry. Young Dutt is a vegetarian in spite of his long residence in Europe, chiefly in London. He leaves India in September next for a tour in Japan, America and England to demonstrate his discovery of extracting potash from felspar rocks (which is a very common constituent of granite rocks in India, the United States, &c). The present food shortage problem in Europe is bound up with the shortage of potash supply from Germany. Young Dutt's discovery ought to make the supply of potash cheap and abundant. He hopes soon to make use of the gas Methane for more humane purposes than its deadly explosive use. His manufacture of soda salts will, he thinks, enable him to produce pure alumina and then aluminium metal at a cost which will at once cheapen it.

He has been specially photographed for the *Modern Review*.

Sir C. Sankaran Nair

One reads in the papers that Sir C. Sankaran Nair has really resigned and his resignation has been accepted, though the Government of India has not yet (June 25) given the public any information on the subject. Sometime ago when a question was asked in the House of Commons on the matter the reply officially given was that there was no official information but it was understood that he had resigned and the cause of his resignation was his disagreement with his colleagues on the policy pursued in dealing with the Punjab disturbances. Most probably that was the immediate cause, but his two minutes of dissent from two Government of India despatches show that his disagreement with them was of earlier date and that he was too patriotic, honest and fearless to conceal his real opinions and cry ditto to the bureaucracy or himself become a bureaucrat. All honour to him. That his worth should be recognised by his own countrymen is only to be expected. But what "Ditcher" in *Capital* writes of him, shows that there are some honest men



Sir C. Sankaran Nair

among non official Britishers in India who can appreciate intellectual and moral eminence in Indians

This is what Ditcher says —

I do not think that any fair minded critic will disagree with Sir Sankaran Nair who contends that the result of the Government of India's proposals that so far as the reserved subjects are concerned neither the minister nor the council is to have any real voice in the settlement of the budget. I have not the space to extract the whole of Sir Sankaran Nair's argument but every seri-

ous politician should study it carefully. It is brilliant and convincing and proves that both in dialectics and ethics he towers a head and shoulders above his colleagues in the Viceroy's Council. Perhaps that is the reason he has resigned.

At the end of the despatch of the Government of India it is written: Our colleague Sir Sankaran Nair has recorded a note of dissent which we attach. Time is important and we have not discussed his arguments although it will be clear that we have fully considered and rejected them. I have never read more pure bunkum. There is not in the whole despatch a scintilla of evidence that Sir Sankaran Nair's arguments were considered or even understood. On the contrary there is overwhelming evidence that the Cabinet decided that their only safety lay in never minding him.

Sir Sankaran Nair has been under a cloud for some time past. Even those who believed in him before his appointment as Member for Education had come round to the idea that he was content to proceed on the line of the least resistance because of the hopelessness of his isolation. I was told in a confidential whisper only last year that none came to a meeting of the Executive Council with so little information and knowledge. His minute of dissent creates a change in the spirit of the dream. It confirms Lord Carmichael's opinion that he possesses a highly trained and robust intelligence and a heart that fears neither man nor beast. By his outspoken indictment of the Bureaucracy he has done an inestimable service to his country and the Empire.

o's politician should study it carefully. It is brilliant and convincing and proves that both in dialectics and ethics he towers a head and shoulders above his colleagues in the Viceroy's Council. Perhaps that is the reason he has resigned.

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It is said that he will shortly proceed to England. His presence there cannot but be of very great advantage to India.

Dominating the Pacific

Reuter cabled on May 5 from Wellington that Sir J. Allen, acting Premier of New Zealand, declared today that he viewed the developments in the Pacific with some alarm. It was he said difficult to discover why Japan wanted the Marshall Islands unless the Japanese wanted to dominate the Pacific. The alarm may have been unfounded. But what the humorist will not fail to note is that it is thought quite right for some white power or other particularly the British to dominate all the oceans but to think that some non-white power wants to dominate some ocean—is it not very wicked and horrible?

The Calcutta Postmen's Strike

The Catholic Herald of India thus compares the postmen's strike in Calcutta with the threatened but averted railway strike—

Sometime ago the Coenated Officers of the R. G. Railway Company respectfully represented to the authorities that they and their families were starving on Rs. 350 a month and that unless they were given Rs. 500 they would go on strike, hold up all railway traffic, starve town and country, cut off troops and supplies necessary to carry on the Afghan war and suppress the revolt in Punjab. A big gentleman went to Simla and the other big gentlemen sat in conclave with the result that the Coenated Officers got the Rs. 500 they claimed and were warmly congratulated on the part of the traitor and law-abiding behrour.

A week later the Calcutta postal peons respectfully represented to the authorities that they and their families were starving on Rs. 15 a month and that unless they were given Rs. 20, they would go on strike. No big gentleman took any notice of it and on strike they did go with the result that one man got 20 days rigorous imprisonment for being the Treasurer of the Strike Fund, five others were condemned to three weeks rigorous imprisonment for being the leaders, eight others were fined, others were sacked and the rest pardoned and kept on the old rates.

1st Clown But what's the law?

2nd Clown Any man's law, the crown's quest law.

2nd Clown Well you have the truth on that. If these had been white gentlemen, etc.

1st Clown Why, there thou say it and the more pity that great folk should have countenance in this world to hang the public more than their even Christian. Come my spade.

Evidently the postal authorities were neither just nor sympathetic; they only wanted to uphold their prestige and teach

the men a lesson. The strikers may have been technically guilty of unlawful conduct but surely it is not unlawful to be kind to ill-paid, half-starved and hard-working men. As for the law, we agree with the Disgusted Briton who wrote to the *Englishman* to protest against the sentences imposed—

If the law obtaining in India permits the infliction of sentences of imprisonment for such so-called offences as these surely it is about time the law was altered. If the sentences were permissible under the Discipline of India Act they would seem a gross misuse of power.

During the present year the London police struck work and also have threatened again to strike. But there was no prosecution. Surely their action was calculated to produce more serious consequences than the Calcutta postmen's strike.

Soldiers as Strike-breakers

During the postal strike in Calcutta the postmen received little or no help or sympathy from the public of Calcutta. Why? Is it because the postmen were humble people?

On the contrary, some boy scouts and some men of the Calcutta university infantry corps acted as strike-breakers. They may be entitled to praise as having rendered some service to the public at much labour and inconvenience to themselves but it struck us at the time that they were making it difficult for the poor men to obtain justice. That was not a citizen like part to play. That free men do not like to be used as strike-breakers will appear from the following report of a question asked and answer given in the House of Commons on April 30, 1919.

SOLDIERS AS STRIKE BREAKERS

Mr. Grundy asked the Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that soldiers in India who were formerly trade unionists in this country had been warned that they might be called upon to take the place of Post Office servants on strike in India, whether he was aware that the warning was creating a serious feeling of discontent among the troops and whether he would take steps to ensure that the soldiers should not be used for any such purpose.

Mr. Montagu: I have no information on the matter but will make enquiry.

What trade unionists consider discreditable to themselves can not be creditable to others.

Are Americans unfit for self-rule

A Reuter's telegram dated London, June 10, states that "the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate [of U. S. A.] is investigating the leakage and unauthorised publication of the complete text of the Peace Treaty. Leading New York bankers are suspected in this connection and have been subpoenaed in order to produce correspondence with their London and Paris houses. Senator Borah, in the Senate, produced a copy which he stated had been brought to the United States by a Chicago journalist. The Senate, by 47 votes to 24, ordered the publication of the text in spite of President Wilson's disapprobation which had been cabled earlier."

Some Anglo-Indian journals held that Indians were unfit for self-government because some Calcutta University question papers had leaked out. As the Peace Treaty is perhaps a more important document than university question papers, Americans are undoubtedly unfit for self-rule. But unfortunately for Anglo-Indians (old style), they are neither the rulers nor the exploiters of America.

Serious disturbances Quelled in Shanghai Without Shooting.

London, June 11.

A telegram from Peking, dated June 6th, says that a wave of anti-Japanese feeling, arising out of the decision of the Peace Conference regarding Shantung, is spreading throughout China. Students are everywhere haranguing and inflaming the crowds in the streets. The police in Peking arrested one thousand students. The Chinese shops and banks in Shanghai and Tientsin were closed as a protest against the arrest of students. Burning of Japanese goods continues. The students were released to-day.—*Reuter*

London, June 11.

Anti-Japanese feeling in China owing to the decision of the Peace Conference with regard to Shantung has led to serious disturbances in Shanghai, where foreign police were assaulted with bricks. The police charged with batons and cleared the streets. There were several casualties. Volunteers have been called out to maintain order.—*Reuter*.

We have printed the above news simply to point out that though the disturbances were very serious, they were quelled simply by the use of batons; rifles, machine-guns, and bombs from aeroplanes were not used.

Anarchism in U. S. A., but no Rowlatt Bill.

A Reuter's telegram dated New York, May 1, runs as follows:—

Thirty-six bombs have been discovered in mails in New York and elsewhere. The post office authorities are convinced that the discovery has unearthed a plot by the terrorists to assassinate high personages at a Mayday demonstration. The majority of the recipients of bombs are prominent Anti-Reds including Senator Hardwick, author of the Bill to prevent immigration, whose wife was injured by a bomb. Search is being made throughout the country for the perpetrators.

Subsequently a severed head has been found on the roof of a house,—suspected to be the work of anarchists—and other proofs of an anarchist conspiracy obtained. But no "Rowlatt Bill" has been introduced in the U. S. A. legislature, probably because in that country the administrators are not as "strong" and "efficient" as the bureaucrats in India.

Germany Alone Not to Blame.

The Allies' reply to Germany's counter-proposals, which has been described as their "last word" to Germany, contains some interesting passages. Two will be quoted here.

"With regard to the economic and financial proposals, the Allies have no intention of strangling Germany or preventing her from taking her proper place in international trade and commerce. Provided that she abides by the treaty of peace and abandons aggressive and exclusive traditions in business the Allies intend that Germany shall have fair treatment in the purchase of raw materials and the sale of goods, subject to the temporary provisions mentioned in the interests of the nations ravaged by Germany."

Have the German business traditions alone been aggressive and exclusive? Are there no nations among the Allies which have the same traditions in business?

"As regards the former German colonies, the Allies state that they have placed native interests before every other consideration. Germany's subordination of native interests to her own ambitions has been revealed too completely to admit of the Allies consenting to make a second experiment and risking the fate of thirteen or fourteen millions of natives."

The accusation of "subordination of native interests to her own interests" does not come with good grace from the Allies, against most of whom the same charge may be quite justly brought.

Japan and Korea

The *Kobe Herald* of Japan a British owned and British-edited daily accuses the Japanese of obliquity of vision because

If they possessed the ability to see themselves as others see them we should not be confronted with the anomaly of prominent Japanese clamouring in Europe for racial equality as the champions of races and nationalities which are tempted to think that they are not receiving the same treatment as the big nations of the world while their own officials out here are compelled to confess that the Koreans have not been properly treated by any means. When a Councillor of the Foreign Office has to admit after making enquiry into the circumstances connected with the recent disturbances in Chosen that the people of the peninsula have been unfairly discriminated against and that the Japanese look down upon the Koreans regarding them as inferior and uneducated although as a matter of fact the average Korean young man absorbs knowledge more readily than his Japanese master we may be sure that this country's record in so far as the administration of the people is concerned is by no means so satisfactory as Japan would have the world believe. Japan it would seem would do well to take the beam out of her own eye before endeavouring to remove the mote from another's eye.

That may be true. But is there an imperialising nation having coloured dependencies to whom the biblical advice contained in the last three lines of the extract may not be justly addressed? However, to return to Japan's treatment of Korea. The *North China Herald* publishes a statement made by a Committee of Christian missionaries in Pyongyang Korea describing the recent passive revolution in that place. It says —

As you doubtless know disaffected Koreans in America Hawaii Manchuria China and Japan have kept up a constant agitation against Japanese rule in Korea ever since their occupation of the peninsula. About a month ago some of these men came secretly to Korea and organized committees to begin a movement for establishing independence. Their work was quiet and effective. Their plan was to begin a

Passive Revolution. No one (even Japanese) was to be harmed. No property was to be destroyed or injured. A persistent passive agitation was to be instituted and continued until success attended the object. If they were beaten or imprisoned or even killed they were to take their punishment without complaint. Nothing was to be done to bring reproach upon the name of the Koreans or their movement. And I

want to say here that up to the present time we have simply had to marvel at the restraint the people have shown under all the oppression and suffering they have had to endure.

After referring to the effects of Japanese rule and the various disabilities under which the Koreans live the statement proceeds —

The revolution began on Saturday afternoon March 1 in many large cities in Korea and spread like wild fire to the country. It was well planned the plotters being from all kinds of the people. A Proclamation of Independence was issued signed by 33 men. Twenty nine of these men gathered in Seoul on February 28 and after the meeting where the proclamation was read met at a restaurant for a dinner together. When this was completed they telephoned to the police that they were ready to go to gaol. Automobiles took them away to the prison. One of the signers having arrived too late to participate in the meeting and dinner went direct to the prison and asked to be treated in the same manner as the other men. His request was granted. In Seoul and Pyongyang and other places where foreigners reside the military were kept from firing on the crowds. But in the country districts violence of the most terrible description has been practised. Soldiers are terrorizing the whole country. Unresting crowds have been fired upon wounding hundreds of people scores being killed. Church buildings have been wrecked by these guardians of the law. Private homes have been entered and young men and school girls in particular dragged off to prison where beating has been the commonest treatment while a limited number have been held for trial.

According to the *Kobe Herald* (April 30 1919) a Korean professor who has just escaped to China was interviewed by the Peking correspondent of the *North China Daily News*. The correspondent thus reports the interview —

Though he (the Korean professor) spoke with restraint his intense patriotism was obvious. He asserted that it was absolutely impossible for Japanese and Koreans to assimilate. The union of the two countries was impossible. Until a few weeks ago Koreans were prepared to submit to Japanese suzerainty but that feeling had been changed by the ruthless manner in which the Japanese had dealt with the precise constitutional agitation of the Koreans in asking for independence. Union was impossible because the language customs and thought of the two people were different. Koreans could not be incorporated in another race as Japan wished.

We are not slaves he continued. The Japanese treat us as such. They plan for us their future. In their policy towards Koreans

they permit us to do nothing for ourselves. We are not allowed to initiate anything. We dare not publish a book ourselves. Ten years ago when they annexed our country they changed our language, deprived us of our lands, foisted their money system upon us, governed us by their laws and hemmed us in with all kinds of regulations. We had to submit to everything they imposed upon us. Having no redress we had to submit but when the opportunity came on March 1st, our pent up feelings burst forth like an avalanche carrying all our people with it. Japanese had published to the world that the Koreans had submitted but of course they could not see into the Korean heart.

In this twentieth century the world will not permit a subject race to be treated as Japan is treating us. We should not be treated like slaves. In no circumstances are we willing to submit to that treatment. We would rather die.

For ten years we have groined under their tyranny. No agreement that we signed has been voluntary—neither national nor individual. Every agreement and contract has been forced.

Foreigners come to Seoul see the well made roads, electric trams, fine buildings and so on and they think we have had benefits conferred upon us but they do not know that the country is garrisoned by Japanese soldiers that we are under military rule.

Japan wishes to pose as a civilized progressive nation and pleads for race equality but she does not recognize this principle in Korea where the universities and colleges are not open to us. We are restricted to primary schools. Individuality and originality are crushed. In the schools established by Japan the teaching must follow the lines laid down by Japan. We must take the text they have prepared.

It so happens that as the result of missionary effort in Korea the majority of intelligent Koreans are Christians. They have become the leaders of the people. Consequently they are hated by the Japanese who show their animus in innumerable ways at this time.

Japanese say they want Koreans to become Japanese citizens. That is only talk. They want to exploit us to take all they can out of us. They have put us under their feet. They have beaten us and treated us worse than beasts and yet they declare that they wish us to become citizens of Japan. We have no desire now to become citizens of Japan.

These are non-Japanese versions of the Korean passive revolution. We have not had any Japanese account before us. The nearest approach to it is the following paragraph taken from the *Australian Worker* of Sydney (May 1 1919) —

Lately it was reported that the Korean population agitating for the right of self govern-

ment as promised by Wilson and the Allied statesmen generally were shot down in wholesale fashion by Japanese soldiers. Now the Japanese Embassy at Washington U.S.A. denies the report. Only 371, it says, were killed and 735 wounded.

"A mere trifle of course, remarks the Australian paper sarcastically. The thing is, the intelligent world has grown so accustomed to the slaughter of hundreds of thousands that the killing of a few hundreds or thousands does not give it a shock.

The Japanese seem to have learnt the trick of treating a peaceful movement as if it were one of active armed rebellion.

The latest news of Korea is contained in a Paris telegram (June 19) which says that the Korean delegates have sent a letter to M. Clemenceau again urging that the Koreans request be heard as regards their own fate and asking for the recognition of the right of self-determination for Korea.

The Mandatory System.

The following additional terms in the Peace Treaty require a few words of comment.

MANDATORY SYSTEM

The tutelage of Nations not yet able to stand by themselves will be entrusted to the advanced Nations who are best fitted to undertake it. The Covenant recognises three different stages of development requiring different kinds of mandates.

(a) Communities which are provisionally recognised as independent subject to advice and assistance from the mandatory in whose selection they should be allowed a voice.

(b) Communities like those of Central Africa to be administered by the mandatory under conditions generally approved by the Members of the League where equal opportunities for trade will be allowed to all members. Certain abuses such as trade in slaves, arms and liquors will be prohibited and the construction of military and naval bases and the introduction of compulsory military training will be disallowed.

(c) Other communities such as South West Africa and the South Pacific Islands best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory. In every case the mandatory will render an annual report and the degree of its authority will be defined.

It is to be noted that the mandatory system is applicable only to communities which were before the war under the rule

of "enemy countries" it being taken for granted that all the Allies rule their dependencies in an ideal manner

That the mandatory system is not altruistic is plain from the scramble among most of the Allies for having the mandate for ruling this region or that

A vital defect in the mandatory system is that it does not provide for the ultimate independence, autonomy, or enjoyment of full citizen's rights by any of the communities in any stage of development under the mandatory system. There is no provision even for any community being recognised as having passed from a lower stage to a higher. Are these communities to be in perpetual tutelage or bondage? That would be a strange corroboration among other equally strange corroborations of the declaration repeated from many a platform that the war was fought for the world's freedom.

China at the Peace Conference

China may ultimately sign or may have already signed the Peace Treaty as a matter of expediency, but her real attitude can be gathered from the following telegram —

Peking June 10

The Anfu Club the powerful pro-Japanese military party which possesses the majority of the Lower House has announced that it does not favour China's signing the Peace Treaty. The whole Cabinet and President have consequently resigned.

Her case at the Peace conference has been thus summed up by the *Century Magazine*

1 Cancellation of all treaty provisions with foreign Governments that grant or recognise rights tantamount to spheres of influence within China's territories or any monopolistic privileges that cannot be available to all nations under the most favoured nation clauses

2 Nationalisation and international neutralisation of all railways in China's territories

3 Cancellation of all monopolistic mining rights accorded to foreigners or foreign nations in China and of all other concessions that tend to limit and impair China's sovereignty and the commercial open-door principle

4 Relinquishment of all leases of China's territories to foreign nations and the temporary substitution therefor of an international control with a proviso that they will revert

fully to China on the fulfilment by her of certain stipulations

Removal of all foreign troops from China's territories except those provided by the protocol of 1901 these to be also withdrawn on the fulfilment by China of certain stipulations

6 Removal of all foreign posts and telegraphs from China and foreign supervision over the Chinese postal service to cease on the fulfilment by China of certain stipulations

7 Establishment of a uniform currency system in China to be supported by an international loan under conditions tending to a gradual assumption of Chinese control

8 Granting of complete tariff autonomy to China under certain specified conditions whereby China's fiscal administration will be gradually reformed

9 Abolition of extra territoriality in China within a specified time and on the fulfilment by China of certain stipulations

10 Consolidation of the national debts of China all outstanding loans provincial and national to be absorbed in a single loan or series of loans under written by a financial syndicate under international supervision

11 Restoration of Chinese local administrative autonomy in all parts of China's territories where during recent years it has been insidiously subordinated to foreign authority

There is not a single item in China's demands which is not entirely just

Mr Lajpat Rai on Mr Patel's Bill

Mr Lajpat Rai writes from New York to Indian papers —

It is with a sense of shame and humiliation that I have read of the opposition to Mr Patel's Hindu Marriage Bill. It will be a great blow to our prestige and good name abroad if this extreme small measure of reform based on actual legal necessity is defeated on foolish sentimental grounds. They are poor champions of Hinduism who urge its rejection in the name and interests of Hindu Dharma and Hindu society. It is true that in their ranks are some whose sincerity is beyond question but the majority of those who are opposing it are men who are ready to indulge in every kind of free hit for themselves but who grudge it in the case of others specially to the other sex. They are still harping on the time-honoured authority of the Shastras and customs forgetting that the authors of the Shastras have made a liberal provision for necessary changes in social life and customs in accordance with the needs of place and time (Desh Kal). The Shastras themselves contain abundant evidences of these changes. The great Rishis were too wise to forget that static society is an impossibility. Any tendency to make it static leads to stagnation sterility and eventual extinction. Bold must be the man

who can honestly maintain that the social life of the Hindus (of all sections and classes) has been the same even for a century at a time. Compare the customs of one period with those of another and of one province with those of another province and the process of change that has been going on for centuries becomes clearly visible. The Shastras made ample provision for the legal recognition of these changes. It is the rigidity and absurdity of the judge-made law of the British Courts that has brought about the existing impasse in the marriage laws of the Hindus. A change such as is contemplated is an absolute necessity. Opposition to it is based on short sighted partisanship and false notions of Dharma.

The opponents of the bill do not see the mote in their own eyes. They are probably the worst offenders against the so-called Varnashram Dharma. But to be frank where is the Varnashram Dharma now in India? It is sheer dishonesty to oppose this reform on the ground of its being dangerous to Varnashram Dharma while the latter is a mere caricature of its original self. Unless we propose to live for ever and ever in our present degraded condition it is absolutely necessary that our ideas of Varnashram Dharma should be radically changed. Political democracy is a myth unless it is based on social and economic justice. The present caste system and the resultant restrictions on the liberties of men and women in the matter of marriage do not tend towards social and economic justice. The sooner we remodel our social and economic life on the broad bases of equal opportunity to all men and women regardless of caste, colour, creed and sex the better for our political future. Delays in social reconstruction must of necessity retard the realisation of our political hopes.

Special Studies at Santiniketan

Arrangements have been completed for the opening of special courses of study and research in the following subjects from the beginning of July at the Santiniketan Ashram of Rabindranath Tagore.

ART—Drawing and Painting in Indian style taught by S. J. Nandalal Bose and S. J. Suren Kar. Applications enclosing testimonials should be made to S. J. Abanindranath Tagore, 6 Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta.

Music—Teacher of Classical Indian Music—S. J. Bhimrao Shastri.

Teacher of Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali Songs—S. J. Dinendranath Tagore.

Only those who have had some preliminary training in music should apply.

SANSKRIT, PALI and PRAKRIT—Professors

Pandits Bidhushekhara Shastri and Bhimrao Shastri.

BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY and RELIGION—Professor Shri Dharmadharma Mahasthir.

Only students with a good knowledge of Sanskrit will be admitted to the last two courses. Special facilities will be given to those who desire to do research work in the Vedic, Puranic and Buddhist literatures and also in the Philology of the Bengali Language.

For fees, scholarships and other information please write to—

Rathindranath Tagore
Santiniketan Bengal

Napoleon and an Enslaved Press

Napoleon writes the *Nation* of New York, was his own propagandist and assumed all the duties and responsibilities of a trained journalist.

But what a sad failure! At the beginning of his career he made no attempt to hide his intentions. A Sovereign he stated must confiscate public opinion and use it to his own advantage. Twenty years later in exile on St. Helena he dictated a few sad words of commentary. "My son will be obliged to rule with the help of a free press."

Every great political upheaval writes the same paper has been followed by a flood of printer's ink and the French Revolution was no exception. It was a time when freedom of the press ran riot in revolutionary France. Delivered from the restrictive laws of the old regime every political party, every political leader printed a little news sheet of its own.

Napoleon wrote often to the Directors and asked that steps be taken to protect his reputation. The Paris press so he argued was helping the Austrians and the Sardians and something must be done to counteract this evil influence. He suggested the foundation of an official news paper reflecting the opinions of the French Government. The Directors listened patiently failed to answer the letters of their commander-in-chief and did nothing until General Napoleon in despair began to print his own newspapers.

The *Nation* then proceeds to describe Napoleon's journalistic activities.

In the year 1797 the *Courrier de l'Armée d'Italie* appeared in Milan. A few weeks later it was followed by *La France rue de l'Armée d'Italie*. Both papers were edited by trained

editors who had been requested to leave Paris for Napoleon's headquarters. They were allowed to do the routine work. The actual editorial policy was dictated by Napoleon himself and not a word was printed until it had been submitted to the generalissimo who wielded the blue pencil with great dexterity. The next year Napoleon transferred the scene of his activities to Egypt. As soon as he reached the shores of the Nile the *Courier d'Égypte* appeared printed in Cairo originally in the French language but soon followed by editions in Arabic for the benefit of the native who must be impressed by the glory and fame of the foreign conqueror. From that moment on Napoleon is master of the printed word in his adopted country. After the coup d'état of XVIII Brumaire the freedom of the press was a dead issue in France. On the seventeenth of January of the year 1800 Napoleon restricted the number of newspapers that were to be printed in France to exactly thirteen. The others were suspended for an indefinite period of time. The Minister of Police was appointed guardian of the printed page and no news was to be made public that might in any way be detrimental to the safety of the Government. Immediate suppression was the punishment that followed a breach of this strict rule.

Not contented with his fame on the field of battle the great general fought his quarrels on paper and concentrated his efforts upon a single sheet the *Moniteur*. This journal was not a new enterprise. It had made its first appearance early in the year 1789 as an independent newspaper. After 1801 it became the defender and expounder of the Napoleonic theories of government and administration. It printed the official decrees and the official announcements and was to be found on the table of every Imperial officeholder. When a serious question was before the public Napoleon himself wrote or dictated editorials and articles. As a source of inspired information the paper was never surpassed not even by the kept press of Bismarck. The entire quarrel between France and England is reflected in the articles of the *Moniteur* which answered every sneering attack of the London *Times* with the acerbity of one of our modern newspaper quarrels.

A little later the ruler of the French found himself in a bitter fight with the French cardinals and finally with the Pope. Then he started a publication strictly for home consumption the *Bulletin de Paris* followed shortly afterwards by the *Journal des Cures* which first appeared at the precise moment when all other clerical journals were suppressed.

Wherever the Emperor went he was followed by copies of his inspired newspapers. When the snow of the Russian plains and the tenacity of the Russian armies had turned his glorious Moscow campaign into complete failure he has turned back to Poland and from Wilna and

Warsaw tried to influence French public opinion by short and crisp notes telling of his plans for the future and lying gloriously about the actual conditions of the present. Not until he had left French soil did his activity as a newspaper man cease. And when he returned from Elba he resumed his work as unofficial editor-in-chief of the old *Moniteur*. For one hundred days Europe was obliged to read this official organ if it wished to know what the hated Corsican had to say upon all subjects from war to the administration of museums and the final destiny of conquered provinces.

The suppression of news was maintained by Napoleon at all hazard but even Fouché the head of his ministry of police and Fouché's spies could not prevent the ultimate spread of the truth. No wonder then that the Panjab Government with the help of the Government of India have failed to prevent the spread of news of the Panjab disturbances other than those which alone they wanted to circulate for their police and their spies are not such experts as Fouché and his spies were.

Two days before his death (May 3 1821) Napoleon confessed that he had been wrong. I tried to give France liberal ideas but I failed. In the beginning I felt that I was obliged to suppress news. Afterwards it was too late—a commentary which ought to have served as a warning to all who have since flattered the French Emperor by an imitation of his most unsuccessful and disastrous methods.

Frederick the Great and Freedom of Speech and Freedom of the Press

The policy of Frederick the Great of Prussia regards freedom of expression by speech and writing of what men felt and thought was far different from that of Napoleon. Riding along the Jager Strasse one day he saw a crowd of people. See what it is he said to the groom who was attending him. They have something posted up about your Majesty, said the groom returning. Frederick, riding forward saw a caricature of himself. King in very melancholy guise says Preuss (as translated by Carlyle) seated on a stool a coffee-mill between his knees diligently grinding with the one hand and with the other picking up any bean that might have fallen. Hang it lower! said the king, bec

knowing his groom with a wave of the finger 'lower, that they may not have to hurt their necks about it. No sooner were the words spoken which spread instantly than there rose from the whole crowd one universal huzzah of joy. They tore the caricature into a thousand pieces and rolled after the king with loud *Lebe Hoch* our Frederick for ever as he rode slowly away. There are scores of anecdotes about Frederick, writes the *Encyclopædia Britannica* from which this one has been taken but not many so well authenticated as this.

Macaulay adds some details which are important and interesting. He writes

A great liberty of speaking and of writing was allowed. Confident in the irresistible strength derived from a great army, the king looked down on malcontents and libellers with a wise disdain and gave little encouragement to spies and informers. When he was told of the disaffection of one of his subjects he merely asked, 'How many thousand men can he bring into the field?' He once saw a crowd stirring at something on a wall. He rose up and found that the object of curiosity was a scurrilous placard against himself. The placard had been posted up so high that it was not easy to read it. Frederick ordered his attendants to take it down. 'My people and I,' he said, 'have come to an agreement which satisfies us both. They are to say what they please and I am to do what I please. No person would have dared to publish in London satires on George II. approaching to the atrocity of those satires on Frederick which the booksellers at Berlin sold with impunity. One bookseller sent to the palace a copy of the most stinging lampoon that perhaps was ever written in the world: the *Memoirs of Voltaire* published by Beaumarchais and asked for his Majesty's orders. Do not advertise it in an offensive manner, said the king, but sell it by all means. I hope it will pay you well. Even among statesmen accustomed to the license of a free press such steadfastness of mind as this is not very common.

Frederick's description of the agreement which he and his people had come to must not lead the reader to infer that he was a cruel despot whose reign did no good to his people. On the contrary we have the following testimony to his work as a ruler from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*:

Taking his reign as a whole it must be said that he looked upon his power rather as a trust than as a source of personal advantage and the trust was faithfully discharged according to the best lights of his day.

How We Stand

In India some of Napoleon's methods with regard to the Press and to the suppression of news have been hitherto followed. Of freedom of speech and of the Press we have none as a matter of right, though we have some when the officials are disposed to be merciful. The conviction of Babu Kahanath Ray shows that even perfectly innocent journalists can be convicted and punished. Public meetings can also be prohibited and broken up by the executive without the people being able in any way to call them to account for such acts. What we say, therefore, in public and what we write and print we do, not as a matter of right, but because the executive do not always think it politic to exercise their power. On the other hand, there is no constitutional power in the hands of the people to prevent the executive and police from exercising their irresponsible and arbitrary powers in any way they think fit and in practice, these officials are unchecked by and therefore not *actually* responsible to even the British Parliament. And therefore unlike the agreement between himself and his people humorously described by Frederick the Great, the unwritten agreement between the people of India and their rulers seems to be that while the rulers can do what they please the people cannot say what they please, unless they are permitted by the former to do so. Unlike Frederick the Great the rulers of India though they ought to be confident in the irresistible strength derived from a great army, do not 'look down on malcontents with a wise disdain' and they do give encouragement to spies and informers. When they are told of the disaffection of one of his Majesty's equal subjects they do not merely ask, 'How many thousand men can he bring into the field?' Of course, they know that in British India no disaffected person can bring even a hundred or a dozen trained and armed men into the field and it is doubtful if at present there is even a handful of Indians who have the desire to put an end to British rule by force.

In spite of the more than ample powers of repression which the rulers possess, in

spite of the large arm and the latest weapons and engines of destruction which they possess and which bring out the weakness of the unarmed population into bold relief, they are never at ease. They attach the greatest importance to the department of spies.

The following figures give an idea of the unarmed condition of British India:

Year	Number of licences for arms in force
1913	182412
1914	176779
1915	167242
1916	137181
1917	136707

The table shows how year after year the number of licences for keeping arms are being reduced. The area of British India is 1693071 square miles, its population 244267542, and the number of its towns and villages 538809. There is then one licence in every 9 or 10 square miles one man out of every 1800 possesses a licence and there is one licence for every 4 towns and villages taken together. This is not a perilous situation, unless the unconsciousness of any Anglo-Indian official or non-official makes it appear such. However, whatever be the reason, every now and then some paper or other, some press or other, is made to feel the force of the press laws, including most of the best edited and most influential journals conducted in Indian interests, and even so sober and careful a journalist as Babu Kalinath Ray has been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. There has thus arisen a feeling of insecurity in the minds of Indian journalists, no one knowing what may and what may not be written with safety. On the top of all came the disturbances in the Punjab, the killing of a few Europeans, the destruction of much property, the shooting and bombing of hundreds of Indians, the proclamation of Martial Law, and the passing of most extraordinary sentences on large numbers of persons by Martial Law tribunals. The immediate effect was that people did not know what to do.

Rabindranath Tagore's Letter to the Viceroy

In this state of things, Rabindranath

Tagore wrote the following letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, giving voice to what Indians felt, and renouncing his knighthood:

Your Excellency—The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab for quelling some local disturbances has with a rude shock revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India. The disproportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon the unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced are without parallel in the history of civilised governments, barring some conspicuous exceptions recent and remote. Considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population unarmed and resourceless by a power which has the most terribly efficient organisation for the destruction of human lives, we must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification. The accounts of the insults and sufferings undergone by our brethren in the Punjab have trickled through the gagged silence reaching every corner of India and the universal agency of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers—possibly congratulating themselves for imparting what they imagine as salutary lessons. This callousness has been praised by most of the Anglo-Indian papers which have in some cases gone to the brutal length of making fun of our sufferings without receiving the least check from the same authority relentlessly careful in smothering every cry of pain and expression of judgment from the organs representing the sufferers. Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengeance is blinding the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government which could so easily afford to be magnanimous as befitting its physical strength and moral tradition the very least that I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen, surprised into a dumb anguish of terror. The time has come when braves of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation and I for my part wish to stand, shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings. And these are the reasons which have painfully compelled me to ask Your Excellency with due deference and regret, to relieve me of my title of knighthood which I had the honour to accept from His Majesty the King at the hands of your predecessor, for whose nobleness of heart I still entertain great admiration.

Yours, faithfully,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The poet has done the right thing in the

right manner. He has neither been impulsive nor hasty.

He is a man of international reputation and therefore what he has done will become known in the civilised world and some people may want to know the reason why. But this fact should not lead any reader to think that the poet's letter is a cry for the world's pity. He has throughout been a consistent advocate of strongly suffering what we have to suffer without whining. The letter is no doubt a protest addressed to the Viceroy. But its lessons for us as we have understood them are that (1) we should fully realise the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India and endeavour in all righteous ways to acquire the power of helping ourselves. (2) we should all be inspired with a feeling of true brotherliness towards all irrespective of worldly distinction, wealth or position in life and practise this brotherliness in scorn of consequence.

What is ample opportunity?

When Mr. Montagu's announcement of August 20 1917 was published we commented on its unsatisfactory character and on subsequent occasions too we have criticised it unfavourably. But even if one were to consider it satisfactory one would be compelled to say that at least one promise made in it had not been kept. It was promised that ample opportunity will be afforded for the public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament. The proposals are before the British Parliament in the form of a Bill. Before its introduction Indians were not given the least idea of what it was like. Even when the Bill had been read a second time in the House of Commons we had not before us even a brief summary of the proposals contained in it. When at length the Government of India issued a press *communiqué* containing the text of the Bill about a fortnight after its second reading in the Commons they said that it represents what the Government of India believe to be the language of the Bill to make further provision with respect to the Government of India which

has been introduced in Parliament, but its absolute accuracy cannot be guaranteed owing to the difficulty of conveying by telegraph all the textual changes made in earlier versions. The Bill has important schedules but these have not been published. Can this be called ample opportunity for public discussion? As it is the Bill by no means represents substantially what Parliament will have to consider finally. For a joint committee of the two houses of Parliament will shortly begin to take evidence and this committee has the power to propose or recommend any alternative scheme of reforms they choose. It may recommend even the retrograde scheme of the five provincial rulers. The Bill may thus undergo important changes before it comes again before Parliament and it is probable that these changes will not be made known in India in time for any criticism that would not be too late. Not that any Indian criticism that is timely and not too late would have the effect of improving the Bill. Still it would have been politic to keep up the show of giving Indians a hearing before legislating for them. But it seems that we are considered so insignificant that it is not thought necessary even to keep up a show.

The Government of India Despatches have had some effect in whittling down the reforms. But though these Despatches which have to some extent injured our cause were sent to the Secretary of State long ago and influenced him they were published in India much later—too late in fact for any timely and effective criticism to be offered on them by Indians. They ought to have been published in India sufficiently early to enable Indian criticism on them to reach the Secretary of State before he had made any alterations in the Bill in the light and under the influence of them.

Considering all these circumstances it seems futile to offer any detailed criticism on the Bill. It may be recommended to be changed by the joint committee beyond recognition.

Indian Constitutional Reforms Bill

The Indian constitutional reforms Bill which has been read a second time in the

House of Commons, is more unsatisfactory than the proposals contained in the Montagu Chelmsford Report, unsatisfactory as those proposals themselves were. All the most vital and important legislative and executive powers are in the hands of the Government of India. But, as in the M. C. report so in the Bill the Government of India remains beyond the control of the representatives of the people. Only in the provinces are some subjects to be transferred to the charge of Indian ministers. Though the position and powers of these latter have been made unsatisfactory and unenviable in the Government of India there are to be no Indian ministers even with such powers and position. The preamble which runs as follows, make this clear —

Whereas with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire it is expedient gradually to develop self-governing institutions in that country.

And whereas concurrently with the gradual development of such institutions in the Provinces of India it is expedient to give to those Provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities.

By the by, as the people of India wanted and still want some sort of autonomy let us print below for comparison the preamble of the Organic Act for the Philippine Islands commonly known as the 'Jones Law' which has given the Iliipinos internal autonomy within 17 years of the American conquest of those Islands.

An act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands and to provide a more autonomous Government for those Islands.

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the inception of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement and

Whereas it is as it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein and

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control

of their domestic affairs as can be given them without in the meantime impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence.

A vital element in all constitutional reforms ought to be the guaranteeing of personal liberty to the inhabitants of the country. It was for this reason that the special session of the Congress held in Bombay last year resolved as follows —

The Government of India shall have undivided administrative authority on matters directly concerning peace, tranquility and defence of the country subject to the following:

That the Statute to be passed by Parliament should include the Declaration of the Rights of the People of India as British citizens —

(a) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before the law, and there shall be no penal or administrative law in force in British India whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature.

(b) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property or freedom of association, free speech or in respect of writing except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice and as a result of lawful and open trial.

(c) That every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms subject to the purchase of a license, as in Great Britain and that right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary Court of Justice.

(d) That the press shall be free and that no license nor security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or newspaper.

(e) That corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty serving in His Majesty's Army or Navy save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects.

The Bill does not contain any provisions like the above. It may be noted that the Philippine Organic Act does assume clauses of its section 3 extracted below will show.

That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

That in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to be heard by himself and counsel, to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him to have a speedy and public trial to meet the witnesses face to face.

and to have compulsory process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf

That no person shall be held to answer for a criminal offence without due process of law and no person for the same offence shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself

That all persons shall before conviction be bailable by sufficient sureties except for capital offences

That the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion insurrection or invasion the public safety may require it in either of which events the same may be suspended by the President or by the Governor General whenever during such period the necessity for such suspension shall exist

That excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted

That the right to be secured against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated

That no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for redress of grievances

The small number of men who under the Bill will enjoy freedom of speech and the smaller number of places where it will be enjoyed are mentioned in the following sections of the Bill —

Part I Section 9 (8) There shall be freedom of speech in the governor's legislative council No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any courts by reason of his speech or vote in any such council or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of any such council

Part II Section 20 (7) There shall be freedom of speech in both chambers of the Indian legislature No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any court by reason of his speech or vote in either chamber or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of either chamber

These two sections mean that members of the provincial councils and of the Indian legislature will have freedom of speech in the council chambers The War which was fought for the world's freedom has not after all been fought in vain so far as India is concerned For it has led to the proposal to set apart a few hundred square yards of Indian soil enclosed within walls where a few hundred men will be allowed freedom of speech — whether they will exercise it undeterred by the secret activities of the C I D is another matter However

seriously speaking, we do appreciate these portions of the Bill Let us quote here another section, a part of which we entirely approve of and the remainder we might have wholly liked if for "may" "shall" had been substituted

22 The salary of the Secretary of State the salaries of his under secretaries and any other expenses of his department may notwithstanding anything in the principal Act instead of being paid out of the revenues of India be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament and the salary of the Secretary of State shall be so paid

In justice all the salaries and all the expenses of the Secretary of State's department should be paid from British revenues just as all the expenses of the Colonial and other State Secretaries departments are paid

The Rules, which are not a part of the Bill, and which have not been published, are vital Of the little power which appears to be promised to the people in the Bill much may be (or one may almost say will be) taken away by the Rules just as the rules made to give effect to the Morley-Minto scheme of reform made that scheme more futile than it originally was That was because those rules were made practically by the Indian Civil Service bureaucrats and the Rules to be made to give effect to the Bill would also be made by the Civilian Bureaucrats, whose hostility to Indian political aspirations must now be patent to all educated and thinking Indians and their well wishers In the Bill of course it is not said in so many words that the Civilians will make the Rules. It is simply said —

30 Where any matter is required to be prescribed or regulated by rules under the principal Act different rules may be made for different provinces and where no special provision is made as to the authority by whom the rules are to be made the rules shall be made by the Governor General in Council with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council and shall not be subject to repeal or alteration by the Indian legislature or by any local legislature

It is well known that the majority of the men denoted by the terms Governor General in Council and Secretary of State in Council are members of the Indian Civil Service

What vital and important matters are

left to be dealt with by rules will appear from the following sections of Part I of the Bill —

1—(1) Provision may be made by rules under the Government of India Act 1915 as amended by the Government of India (Amendment) Act, 1916 (which Act is so amended as in this Act referred to as the principal Act) —

(a) for the classification of subjects in relation to the functions of government as central and provincial subjects for the purpose of distinguishing the functions of local governments and legislatures from the functions of the Governor General in Council and the Indian Legislature

(b) for the devolution of authority in respect of provincial subjects and for the allocation of sources of revenue to local governments

(c) for use under the authority of the Governor General in Council of the agencies of local governments in relation to central subjects in so far as such agencies may be found convenient and

(d) for the transfer from among the provincial subjects of subjects (in this Act referred to as transferred subjects) to the administration of the governor acting with the minister in charge of the subject and for allocation of provincial funds for the purpose of such administration

(2) Rules made for the above-mentioned purposes may —

(i) regulate the extent and conditions of devolution allocation and transfer

(ii) provide for fixing the contribution payable by local Governments to the Governor General in Council and making such contributions a first charge on provincial revenue

(iii) provide for constituting a finance department in any province and regulating the functions of that department

(iv) provide for regulating the exercise of the authority vested in the local government of a province over the members of the public services therein

(v) provide for the settlement of doubts arising as to whether any matter does or does not belong to a provincial subject or a transferred subject and for the treatment of matters which affect both a transferred subject and a subject which is not transferred and

(vi) make such consequential and supplementary provisions as appear necessary or expedient

Provided that without prejudice to any general power of revoking or altering rules under the principal Act the rules shall not authorise the revocation or suspension of the transfer of any subject except with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council

Besides these there are numerous other matters on which the Bill leaves this authority or that to make rules. The Bill is thus a mere frame-work or skeleton. It

is the rules which will really make the Indian constitutional reforms what the authorities want to make them. Not knowing what the rules are going to be it is not possible to thoroughly criticise the Bill. From the Government of India Despatches on many indeed guess what their prevailing character will be, liberal but one cannot conjecture the details. Moreover conjectural criticism is of little use. It may be presumed that the rules will not be published for public criticism in India before they are finally sanctioned and passed though they ought to be. This is the way in which we are going to be given responsible government.

When the Bill says,

Provided that without prejudice to any general power of revoking or altering rules under the principal Act the rules shall not authorise the revocation or suspension of the transfer of any subject except with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council —

it is to be understood that the transfer of any subject may be revoked or suspended with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council. In the words of Sir Sankaran Nair it should not be in the power of the Governor or the Secretary of State who will only be his mouthpiece to strike thus at the root of the reform scheme. To give such circumstances this power is to go against the principles of constitutional Government and will be taken as indicative of a spirit incompatible with constitutional Government.

It is well known that all the chief legislative and executive powers by which principally a nation may be kept weak or made strong cowed down and emasculated or emboldened and helped to become men kept ignorant or enlightened kept poor or made wealthy, kept constant prey to sporadic and epidemic diseases or helped to become healthy and strong humiliated or helped to become self-respecting and kept isolated from the world or helped to make progress in culture wealth and freedom by free intercourse with the nations of the earth — rest of these powers belong to the Government of India. And these powers will never be generally used with a cold eye to the good

and to have compulsory process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf

That no person shall be held to answer for a criminal offence without due process of law and no person for the same offence shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself

That all persons shall before conviction be bailable by sufficient sureties except for capital offences

That the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended in less when in cases of rebellion insurrection or invasion the public safety may require it in either of which events the same may be suspended by the President or by the Governor General wherever during such period the necessity for such suspension shall exist

That excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted

That the right to be secured against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated

That no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for redress of grievances

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The Rules which are not a part of the Bill and which have not been published are vital. Of the little power which appears to be promised to the people in the Bill much may be (or one may almost say will be) taken away by the Rules just as the rules made to give effect to the Morley-Minto scheme of reform made that scheme more futile than it originally was. That was because those rules were made practically by the Indian Civil Service bureaucrats and the Rules to be made to give effect to the Bill would also be made by the Civilian Bureaucrats whose hostility to Indian political aspirations must now be patent to all educated and thinking Indians and their well-wishers. In the Bill of course it is not said in so many words that the Civilians will make the Rules. It is simply said —

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(b) for the devolution of authority in respect of provincial subjects and for the allocation of sources of revenue to local governments

(c) for use under the authority of the Governor General in Council of the agency of local governments in relation to central subjects in so far as such agency may be found convenient and

(d) for the transfer from among the provincial subjects of subjects (in this Act referred to as transferred subjects) to the administration of the Governor acting with the minister in charge of the subject and for allocation of provincial funds for the purpose of such administration

(2) Rules made for the above mentioned purposes may —

(i) regulate the extent and conditions of such devolution allocation and transfer

(ii) provide for fixing the contributions payable by local Governments to the Governor-General in Council and making such contributions a first charge on provincial revenues

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(v) provide for the settlement of doubts arising as to whether any matter does or does not belong to a provincial subject or a transferred subject and for the treatment of matters which affect both a transferred subject and a subject which is not transferred and

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of India unless the people can control the Government of India. At present this government is autocratic, not responsible to the people of India and practically it is not responsible even to the Parliament and people of Great Britain. The Bill makes the Governor General perhaps somewhat more of an autocrat than he is now. In the Bill, though the Indian Legislative Assembly will have an elective majority, the Governor General will be able with the help of the Council of State in which the elected element will be in a minority to enact any law he likes and to veto any law which he dislikes. No doubt for passing any law he requires to pass in this way, he will have to adopt the following procedure —

(4) Where the Governor General in Council certifies that it is essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India or any part thereof or for the purpose of meeting a case of emergency which has arisen that any law shall be passed the Council of State shall have power to pass laws without the assent of the legislative assembly which laws shall have effect as laws passed by both chambers.

But is there any law which may not come under any of the categories described above? All laws passed in any country by any legislature can be described as and are laws for the safety, tranquillity or interests of that country or any part thereof or for the purpose of meeting a case of emergency. Speaking generally it is difficult to see what other kind of laws a legislature can be asked to pass.

The position of ministers in local governments may be inferred from the sections quoted below. In our opinion, it will not be a position of power, influence, dignity or even of worldly advantage in the matter of salary and it will not be equal to that of a member of the executive council.

(1) The governor of a governor's province may by notification appoint ministers not being members of his executive council or other officials to administer transferred subjects and any ministers so appointed shall hold office during his pleasure.

There shall be paid to any minister so appointed such salary as the governor subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State may determine.

(2) No minister shall hold office for a longer period than three months unless he is or becomes an elected member of the local legislature.

(3) In relation to a transferred subject the governor shall be guided by the advice of the minister in charge unless having regard to His Majesty's instructions he sees sufficient cause to dissent from the opinion of the minister in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice.

(4) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act for the temporary administration of a transferred subject where in cases of emergency owing to a vacancy there is no minister in charge of the subject by such authority and in such manner as may be prescribed by the rules.

In the provincial legislatures the elective element will be in a majority. There is already a majority in some of these legislatures. The bill provides for a bigger majority. But this gain is counterbalanced by the following clauses relating to grand committees.

(3) Provision shall be made for the appointment from among the members of the council of grand committees on which a majority of the members shall be nominated members selected by the governor with power, in cases specially referred to them to pass or reject laws without the assent of the council which laws shall if passed have the same effect as laws passed by the council.

(4) Where any Bill relating to a reserved subject has been introduced or is proposed to be introduced or an amendment to such a Bill is moved the Governor may certify that the Bill or any clause of it or the amendment is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects and the Bill clause or amendment shall thereupon be referred to a grand committee.

(5) Where any Bill has been introduced or is proposed to be introduced or any amendment to a Bill is moved or proposed to be moved the governor may certify that the Bill or any clause of it or the amendment affects either—

(a) the safety or tranquillity of his province or any part of it or of another province or

(b) the interests of a specified reserved subject

and may direct either that no proceedings or no further proceedings shall be taken by the council in relation to the Bill clause or amendment or if he thinks fit and if the council so desire that the Bill clause or amendment shall be referred to a grand committee and the Bill clause or amendment shall be dealt with in accordance with such direction.

Thus the grand committees are a weapon in the hands of the Governor to pass or to

reject any laws as he thinks best. It may be contended that he will have to follow the procedure of certification. As to that see our remarks above on the Governor General having also to follow the same method. It is a curb on autocracy only in name.

The Bill makes the Provincial Governors in one respect more powerful than they are at present. Under the existing constitution of some of the Provincial Councils the Governor cannot always get his legislative council to pass the laws he wants, but the bill gives them the means of getting any laws they want passed by means of the grand committees. Let us enter into some detail. The Bengal Legislative Council has already a small elective majority and some of the other Provincial Councils for instance Bombay have a strong non-official majority. It is just possible for these councils to sometimes throw out Government bills or to pass bills opposed by the executive. The latter become law if not vetoed. For as subject to the limitations laid down from time to time by parliamentary enactments for the governance of India the legislative councils in India enjoy full freedom of legislation in their respective legislative fields a bill goes through three readings and becomes law if it is not vetoed. Therefore the provision of grand committees curtails the rights and power of the provincial legislatures.

It is not merely in theory that some of the existing provincial legislative councils cannot always be made to pass laws wanted by the Executive. Actual instances may be mentioned. In the *Bombay Chronicle* (August 1 1918) Mr V. J. Patel mentioned the following—

The Bombay Government had recently introduced a Bill for the amendment of the City of Bombay Municipal Act enabling them to appoint the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay on the Legislative Council. The amendment was strongly opposed by the non-official members with the result that it was lost. Similarly the Hon. Dissan Bahadur Godbole had moved an important amendment to the Irrigation Bill introduced by the Bombay Government in 1916 and it was supported by the non-official members with the result that when it was put to vote there was a tie. Again only last year the Govern-

ment had to drop the District Board Bill owing to strong non-official opposition.

By means of grand committees the Governors would be able in future to overcome such difficulties.

In addition to making provincial Governors practically all-powerful as regards legislation the bill provides many means for the Governor General or the Secretary of State to interfere in and control provincial legislation.

We consider the following unsatisfactory.

(4) A Governor's legislative council may be dissolved at any time by the Governor by notification but in that case the Governor shall appoint a date not more than six months after the date of dissolution for the next session of his legislative council.

17 (1) Every Council of State shall continue for five years and every legislative assembly for three years from its first meeting.

Provided that—

(a) either chamber of the legislature may be sooner dissolved by the Governor general.

(b) any such period may be extended by the Governor general if in special circumstances he so thinks fit; and

(c) after the dissolution of either chamber the Governor shall appoint a day not more than six months later for the next session of that chamber.

The sections dealing with the public services practically place their appointment, pay, pensions, discipline and dismissal beyond the province of the legislatures and Indian Ministers. This was to be expected from what the Viceroy said in one of his speeches a few months ago. More definite criticism can be offered only when the rules relating to the services are published. The appointment of an auditor general is a desirable step. The appointment of a permanent public service commission may also do good if proper men are appointed. But the legislative councils will not have anything to do with these appointments.

There are many other points in the Bill which are open to criticism but we do not feel disposed to write more because we feel that criticism at this stage would not be of any practical use.

The Bill is a very unsatisfactory piece of work. What was wanted was a liberal measure of self-rule embodied in and granted by a self-contained and independent

Act incorporating the good points of all previous laws relating to the governance of India. What we have got instead is a mere skeleton with constant references to rules to be made hereafter to schedules not published in India and to the Government of India Acts of 1915 and 1916. There is nothing in the Bill to rouse enthusiasm. Distrust of Indian capacity and confidence in the capacity, wisdom and infallibility of the human beings appointed as governors or governors general are writ large over the Bill.

Patents secured by young Mr. E. E. Dutt

The following is an incomplete list of the patents obtained by Mr. E. E. Dutt which have been referred to in a previous note.

No 3151 of 1917 a process for the manufacture of sodium carbonate alumina and metallic chlorides

No 3152 of 1917 a process for the manufacture of potassium carbonate alumina and metallic chlorides

No 3517 of 1918 a process for the manufacture of alumina sodium and potassium carbonates sodium and potassium aluminates and potassium chloride

No 3279 of 1917 a process for the manufacture of potassium chloride

No 3534 of 1918 a process for the manufacture of alumina sodium and potassium carbonates sodium and potassium aluminates magnesium and calcium chlorides

No 3599 of 1918 a process for the manufacture of aluminium sodium chloride aluminium chloride and carbonates of soda and potash

No 3831 of 1918 a process for the manufacture of potassium sulphate

No 3832 of 1918 a process for the manufacture of potassium chloride

No 3833 of 1918 a process for the manufacture of potassium salts from silicate minerals

No 3835 of 1918 a process for the manufacture of potassium carbonate and alumina

No 3735 of 1918 a process for the manufacture of manganese dioxide and manganese

No 2989 of 1917 a process for the synthetic production of Methirone

No 3202 of 1917, a process for the manufacture of magnesite

No 3475 of 1918 a process for the manufacture of alumina

Government and the Calcutta University

It is generally held that retrenchment is practicable and ought to be seriously undertaken in many items of expenditure of the Calcutta University, and we think there is some truth in the prevailing belief. But without detailed examination of all items we cannot say whether, even if all the retrenchment compatible with efficiency were made the University would be able to do without the increased income which the raising of the fees would bring in. The thing is it has been a standing accusation of Anglo Indian officialdom that the Indian Universities were merely examining bodies not teaching universities. But when the Calcutta University seriously took in hand the teaching function of a university the same officialdom did not help it with adequate grants. As is well known to our readers we have not approved of all the methods and means adopted by the university to convert itself into a teaching university. But in justice to it we must say that when the Government of India has given its formal sanction to all these methods and means it was its bounden duty to place sufficient resources at its disposal to enable it to carry on its work efficiently. This Government has not hitherto done. This has obliged the boss of the University to have recourse to the raising of examination fees repeatedly. If he had frankly put the matter thus instead of using inaccurate facts and unsound arguments there would not have been so great an outcry against the step. He might have said 'We the people are poor and we already have to suffer much inconvenience for meeting the expenses of the education of our children. But we must make still greater sacrifices for the sake of education. There is no help for it. But he chose to be defiant and by denying the fact of our poverty gave a handle to our opponents. And the Vice Chancellor too sinned in his company.

Reduction of School Grants

We hear from a reliable source that in Bengal, the Government grants of certain schools have been much reduced. We should like to know whether this is being done in all districts. It is suspected that the motive underlying the reduction of school grants is that if secondary and primary education were made 'transferred' subjects, the minister in charge would be given money wherewith to carry on his work, calculated in accordance with these reduced grants so that there might be more money in the hands of the bureaucracy to spend on their reserved' subjects. This would have the effect of compelling the minister to propose fresh taxation.

The public in all provinces should exercise great vigilance and find out whether sums hitherto allotted to departments which are likely to be transferred are being reduced.

Bethune College

This year more girls have matriculated in Bengal than hitherto. Hence there is a rush on Bethune College, which is the only State and unsectarian College for women in Bengal, the other, Diocesan College, being a Christian institution. The Lady Principal of Bethune College has informed several girl applicants for admission that there is no available accommodation in the college hostel, nor room in the college 'bus. And even if girls were able to make their own arrangements for lodging and board and conveyance, the floor space in the First Year Class room cannot seat more than some three dozen students. At the same time, the college staff is quite sufficient for teaching a class of the maximum strength of 150 allowed by the university regulations. In fact, the sum of about Rs 2,500 spent for the professoriate, can be said to be partly wasted, because, though they can teach more students, the class-rooms are too small for taking in more. The reason is, the college has no building of its own, college classes being held in the old school building. We have been hearing for about a decade that the college would have a building and a hostel of its own. But the grants and

the plans are still on paper. In the meantime, some temporary expedients should be resorted to for the education of all the girl matriculates who want to continue their studies. A committee has been appointed by the Brahmo community in Calcutta to make definite suggestions and proposals to the Director of Public Instruction. It is to be hoped that that officer and the Bengal Government will treat this matter as urgent.

Swadeshi

Mr M K Gandhi has been trying to vivify the Swadeshi movement. We are in entire sympathy with his efforts. We have been practising the principles of swadeshim, as far as we can obtain our requirements from the local market, for about two decades. The difficulties in our way have been the absence or paucity of supplies and the dishonesty of many dealers who pass off foreign goods as swadeshi. Along with other swadeshists we should be greatly obliged if we could know in what local shops we could get genuine swadeshi things. As regards articles of clothing, we would certainly prefer articles prepared from country made yarn woven in the country.

It should be understood and recognised by all Indians, as it already is understood and recognised by many, that though the Swadeshi movement is an economic movement it is sure to strengthen and vivify all other national movements. And there is this to be said in its favour, which cannot be said of any purely political movement, that up to a certain point it is entirely in our hands to make it what we like, by our earnestness and sacrifice.

Swadeshists should take note of the coming world struggle between the economic and the political formulas and their inter relation. Already the national leaders of Ireland recognize very clearly the power of the economic formula. "Through the development of their co-operative societies, and through the remarkable political writings of their co-operative leaders, they have come to understand the weakness of the old parliamentary system." It is now generally understood that Prot.

and Catholic Ireland have been kept apart largely by manipulation of the political formula, on the basis of an economic formula they would come together automatically. Thus writes the *Nation* of New York: May not Hindus and Moslems come together automatically on the basis of an economic formula?

Sir Dinshaw Wacha on our Cloth Supply

In a letter contributed to the *Times* of India on the subject Sir Dinshaw Wacha makes a forecast of the future possibilities in regard to the price of piecegoods which is not cheerful reading. He says that any hope of restoration of normal conditions is futile as no relief by way of adequate imports on the pre-war scale can be expected from Manchester for one year more at least. The deficiency he holds cannot be made good by local supply, no relief by way of increased output from Indian mills can be expected owing to the difficulty of strengthening the mills by additional spindles and looms, specially as shortage of shipping is likely to continue.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha has calculated that there were 136 yards of cloth for consumption in India per annum per head of the population in 1913-14 as compared with 9.28 yards the annual average of the five years which ended on 31st March 1919 or a shortage of 4.32 yards per year per head. The figures explain the cry of shortage and high prices of cloth.

Cannot hand looms and the indigenous spinning wheels render any further help than they do? We think they can.

Why Filipinos ask for Independence Now

Readers of newspapers know that the Filipinos have been recently asking for the independence which Americans have promised them and hopes have been given that they would get it at no distant date.

Recently the Philippine Independence Commission consisting of forty Filipino representatives of every class and section of that archipelago were on a visit to America to ask for independence. The

chairman of the commission was Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate. A representative of the *New York World* interviewed Mr. Quezon and asked:

Why should the Filipinos ask for independence now? And what specific advantages would independence give them over the present arrangement? Are they asking for independence because they really need it or merely because they want it?

The doubtfulness you express, Mr. Quezon said, 'is natural enough, and your questions are perfectly fair. I will try to answer them as fully as you wish.'

You ask what advantages we think independence would have for us as compared with the present arrangement. I will name two which we are quite sure of. The first concerns our purely domestic and internal affairs over which at present we have no effective control, no matter how vitally they concern us. We can make laws to be sure but those laws cannot have effect without the approval of Congress and the President. Take the one matter for instance of land and other natural resources. We Filipinos realize that though we have great natural wealth in our country it is by no means limitless. We want to be sure that it is used wisely and properly for our own benefit and conserved prudently for the benefit of the Filipinos who are not born yet. Wishing that we may for instance feel it necessary to forbid the sale of lands or other fundamental wealth to any foreigners. And we can make such laws. But before those laws become effective they must receive approval in this country [America] where naturally they will be considered not merely as they affect us Filipinos but as they might affect the United States in respect to certain possible international complications.

The Filipino patriot then proceeded to explain the second great advantage.

Another great practical advantage of independence would affect our foreign affairs. At present we have no power to make any laws of any sort affecting them. We cannot make such a thing for instance as a trade agreement with any country. All such arrangements have to be made in Washington. And the Filipinos are so remote their products and their whole industrial and commercial organization all their economic needs are so different that it is very difficult firstly to obtain the interest of Congress in them at all and secondly to induce Congress to consider them as what they really are—purely Filipino matters.

Mr. Quezon added a third reason which is really the most vital though people who are themselves independent but want to

keep their dependencies dependent for ever, would characterise a sentimental

A third great advantage we see in independence would be the fact that we were independent. Independence is like food. You do not miss it unless you do not have it. Its value is not something that can be argued about or settled by formula. If you asked a hungry man what the great advantage of food to him would be he would simply answer you Food. And so we see the advantage of being independent. It is a fundamental desire with us as it would be with you if you did not have it.

Having given the reasons why the Filipinos ask for independence their leader went on to say why they wanted it now.

In the first place there is the Jones law, through which in 1916 Congress promised us independence as soon as a stable government could be established. We accepted that promise in good faith. We set to work under it in good faith to meet its terms and gain our independence. And now we have met its terms. The man you sent out there for that purpose Governor General Francis Burton Harrison has come back and told you that the foundation of our nation has been well laid.

A stable government has been established. It is a government entirely of Filipinos. There are only two white men in it. And those Filipinos, as legislators and administrators have done such things as this. They have established at a cost of \$50,000,000 a universal system of primary and secondary education which will reach every child in the islands. They have established law, peace and order. For three years of the war it was the Filipinos who kept the American flag flying in the islands, every white soldier having been withdrawn. They have laid all the old racial religious bogues and Mohammedan legislators sit beside Christian ones to make laws for the islands. They have broken down the old peonage system where it existed and passed effective laws for the protection of labour. They have stabilized financial conditions and created a solid and wealthy Philippine National Bank.

In brief and Mr. Quezon we have complied with the Jones law. We have a stable government. We have done the share which you your series prescribed for us. So what do you ask us? Why should you ask for independence now? We have a right to answer with another question. Why should you ask us to wait any longer?

A second reason also was given why this particular time has been chosen for demanding independence.

'Another reason why this seems to us a proper time to ask our independence is the ending

of the war and the Conference in Paris. When we ask you to set us free we merely ask you to be consistent. If any country ever stood definitely and indisputably for any principle the United States stood definitely in this war for the principle of national freedom and self-determination. It was through your enunciation of this principle that Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and all the other new nations were set free and formed. How then can you consistently deny the same right to us particularly when we have willingly served a long and carefully watched apprenticeship in democratic self-rule—while these other formerly submerged nationalities must start from the very bottom as learners.

Mr. Quezon also summed up his reasons in one pregnant sentence.

Because we need independence as you would need it if you did not already have it because it would be of direct and practical advantage to us both at home and abroad because we are fit for it because you promised it to us as soon as we were fit and because this war was fought and won to establish the right of every people to live its own national life so long as it respected the life and liberties of other nations we Filipinos ask you now for independence.

But the interviewer asked him, 'how about Japan?'

We do not fear Japan he said. Our country seeks to seize another either for its own economic or its own strategic benefit. There is no reason to believe that Japan looks on the Philippines as an economic prize. They have no record of success in tropical colonization or of any great eagerness to attempt it. For example among our many millions of population there are only seven thousand Japanese to-day though no ban is set up against them by immigration laws and they are as free to come in as any other people. Japan's economic destiny lies on the mainland of Asia and in her world trade. As for the second motive—Japan is better off strategically now with Formosa, Corea and Manchuria ringed completely about her, than she could be with the Philippine outposts and her soldiers are statesmen enough to know it.

Furthermore added Manuel Quezon, 'the only way in which Japan could ever take possession of the Philippines would be by killing every Filipino.'

Remember that the generation of Filipinos who will be the self-governing race we ask you make free now will be American made boys from the public schools you yourselves established. Remember we have the same love and faith for democracy that you yourselves have, and the

same ardor for race and country. Remember too that, unlike their other neighbors, we have no natural basis of assimilation with the Japanese. We are far apart in race, we being Malays and they Mongols. We are far apart in tongue. Leaving out all other considerations, Japan could never take the Philippines from the free Filipino nation save at a price in treasure and blood far beyond their worth to her. And Japan knows that."

The Case of Babu Kalinath Ray.

It has not been proved that all the men forming crowds in different places in the Panjab which were fired upon or bombed, had committed any crime or had any criminal intention and were rioters. It may be justly presumed, therefore, that on account of the firing and the bombing many innocent men have been killed and wounded.

Subsequently, the martial law tribunals have sentenced many persons to death, transportation for life and other sentences. Both on account of the personnel of many of the tribunals and their procedure and because lawyers from outside were unjustly and arbitrarily not allowed to go to the Panjab and lawyers in the province were generally in a terrified state of mind, the accused were not properly defended and had not as fair a trial as accused before ordinary tribunals have. Hence it may be presumed that many innocent men have suffered the extreme penalty of the law and lesser punishments. In the ordinary course of criminal trials a certain proportion of convicted persons are acquitted on appeal as innocent. But there was no appeal from the judgments of the courts-martial. This fact also makes it clear that some of the persons punished by the martial law tribunals were innocent.

But though it is probable that many innocent men have lost their lives or been transported or sentenced to long terms of rigorous imprisonment, full details of their cases are not before the public. The case is different with the trial and conviction of Babu Kalinath Ray, editor of the *Tribune*. The sole evidence on which he was convicted consisted of some articles which he wrote in the *Tribune*, and the full text of the judgment pronounced upon him has also been published. Subscribers to the

Tribune were in a position to read these articles, and they have been subsequently reproduced in full in *Young India* (June 11, 1919), edited by Mr. M. K. Gandhi. Any one who has not read the articles may procure a copy of this issue from Bombay and satisfy his curiosity. We have read all the articles and we have read the judgment. Our opinion is that not only did Babu Kalinath Ray not commit any offence, but that, on the contrary, he rendered a service to the Government and the people by writing on a critical occasion with courage and self-restraint and in measured language. We have known him for long as one who, on account of his principles, disposition and character, was incapable of violent and inflammatory writing. The articles for which he has been wrongly punished, were quite in keeping with what we have known him to be.

The lawyers whom Mr. Kalinath Ray wanted to engage to defend him were not allowed by the martial law administrator to enter the Panjab. When the lawyers appealed to the Viceroy, His Excellency said that as a civil authority he could not interfere. But as what sort of authority, civil or military, did he make the many ordinances for the declaration of martial law in the Panjab, for regulating trials under martial law, and ultimately for the withdrawal of martial law from the Panjab? The humility which made His Excellency imagine that he was simply a civil authority is very wonderful. Is it possible that he never read, or forgot the existence of, Section 33 of the Government of India Act, 1915, which is reproduced below?

"The superintendence, direction and control of the civil and military government of India is vested in the Governor-General in Council, who is required to pay due obedience to all such orders as he may receive from the Secretary of State."

It is necessary to appeal to the Privy Council against Mr. Ray's conviction without delay. Subscriptions are being collected for the purpose. Rs. 15,000 are required for the purpose. The treasurer is Dr. Prankrishna Acharji, M.A., M.B., to whom all contributions are to be sent at 56, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

'The Rose and the Wine Cup

The artist who has produced this picture symbolises worldly pleasure by the wine cup and spiritual bliss by the rose. The woman who holds the wine-cup in her hand offers it to the other woman who has a rose in hers promising that it will make her really happy. But the latter refuses the wine, saying that true bliss can not be had in worldly pleasures. She at the same time produces her rose the symbol of spiritual joy saying that this alone is the source of true blessing. The first woman is startled to hear this and opens her crapulous eyes like one awakened from sleep. The picture is meant to symbolise this awakening of the soul. It is the work of Mr M Abdur Rahaman Chughtai.

The O'Dwyer Memorial

One reads in the papers that this Maharaja and that have been subscribing their thousands for an O'Dwyer Memorial. But is it really necessary to immortalise in this way one who has carved his name so indelibly on the tablets of contemporary history? Moreover his martial law not only enabled him to declare 'Peace reigns' at—this place and that but it also inclined people to give him farewell addresses and dinners. It is to be hoped however that in the cool atmosphere of the United Kingdom he will acquire good sense enough not to tell people that the Memorial movement and the farewell addresses were proofs positive of his great popularity and marvellous success as an administrator. For though there are no Edmund Burkes in England now, there are many who have read what Burke said when a certain defence was set up for Warren Hastings and who may make use of this knowledge. Macaulay writes in his Essay on Warren Hastings—

It is to be added that the numerous addresses to the late Governor General which his friends in Bengal obtained from the natives and transmitted to England made a considerable impression. To these addresses we attach little or no importance. For an English collector or judge would have found it easy to induce any native who could write to sign a 'negativa' on the most odious ruler that ever

was in India. It was said that at Benares the very place at which the acts set forth in the first article of impeachment had been committed the natives had erected a temple to Hastings and this story excited a strong sensation in England. Burke's observations on the 'apothecosis' were admirable. He saw no reason for astonishment he said in the incident which had been represented as so striking. He knew something of the mythology of the Brahmans. He knew that as they worshipped some gods from love so they worshipped others from fear. He knew that they erected shrines not only to the benignant deities of light and plenty but also to the fiends who presided over small pox and murder. Nor did he at all dispute the claim of Mr Hastings to be admitted into such a pantheon. This reply has always struck us as one of the finest that ever was made in Parliament. It is a grave and forcible argument decorated by the most brilliant wit and fancy.

We do not suggest the equal possession of bad and good qualities by Warren Hastings and Sir Michael O'Dwyer nor do we suggest any similarity in their careers. We only want to remind the admirers of Sir M. O'Dwyer, including himself of the possibility of an effective retort if memorials and addresses be used as arguments to prove popularity and success. Anglo-Indian extremists lost to all sense of proportion have classed him with the empire builders of their race!

Martial Law in the Panjab

It is Regulation X of 1804 which empowers the Governor General to declare martial law in the event of prevalence of circumstances indicated in the regulation itself and Lord Chelmsford issued his ordinance establishing martial law in the Panjab taking power from this regulation. But what are the circumstances which according to this regulation justify the proclamation of martial law in any territory? The preamble to the regulation answers that question.

Whereas during wars in which the British Government has been engaged against certain of the native powers of India certain persons owing allegiance to the British Government have borne arms in open hostility to the authority of the same and have abetted and aided the enemy and have committed acts of violence and outrage against the lives and properties of the said Government and whereas it may be expedient that during the existence of any war in which the British Government in India may

Inquiry into Punjab affairs.

Mr. Montagu is reported to have said in course of his Indian Budget speech:

Questions have been asked from time to time and resolutions have been moved demanding an inquiry. The Viceroy has always contemplated an inquiry. You cannot have disturbances of this kind and of this magnitude without an inquiry into the causes of and the measures taken to cope with these disturbances but no announcement has been made of any inquiry up to this moment, for this reason: let us talk of an inquiry when we have put the fire out. The only message which we can send from this House to-day to India is a message which I am sure will be one of confidence in and sympathy with those upon whom the great responsibility has fallen of restoring the situation. Afterwards will come the time to hold an inquiry not only to help us to remove the cause of the troubles but in order to dispose once for all of some of the libellous charges which have been made against British troops and those upon whom the unpleasant duties in connexion with these riots have fallen.

The charges against British troops and others referred to above are either false, unjust, and malicious, or they are true, just and made in the public interest. But Mr. Montagu says, even before a committee of enquiry has been appointed, that they are "libellous". Is not this prejudging to some extent?

Important Calcutta meeting on Events in the Panjab and the Reform Bill.

The public meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall on June 26, under the presidency of Mr. B. Chakrabarti, to consider the recent events in the Panjab and the Reform Bill, was very important. Rabindranath Tagore had already spoken for Bengal and India. But formal and public oral expression was given to the opinion and feelings of Bengal for the first time at this meeting. Particularly noteworthy

and significant was the following resolution:—

That this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta gratefully records its appreciation of the protest entered by Sir Sankaran Nair and Rabindranath Tagore against the policy pursued by the Government of India in relation to the Punjab disturbances and records respectfully and with regret the fact that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford has lost the confidence of the public and this meeting humbly beseeches His Imperial Majesty to recall Lord Chelmsford.

It is a bold thing to say that Lord Chelmsford has lost the confidence of the Indian public and to pray to His Imperial Majesty George V that he be recalled; but, so far as we are able to gauge public feeling, the resolution correctly represents it. The other principal resolutions, too, were very important and gave fearless expression to public opinion.

"Certain Acts to be Misdemeanours."

Section 124 of the Government of India Act, 1915, runs as follows:—

"If any person holding office under the Crown in India does any of the following things, that is to say—(1) If he oppresses any British subject within his jurisdiction or in the exercise of his authority;he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour."

Section 127 provides that

"If any person holding office under the Crown in India commits any offence under this Act, or any offence against any person within his jurisdiction or subject to his authority, the offence may without prejudice to any other jurisdiction, be inquired of, heard, tried and determined before His Majesty's High Court of Justice, and be dealt with as if committed in the county of Middlesex."

The law officers of the Crown in England should, after due inquiry, consider if these sections may not be made use of against Sir Michael O'Dwyer; or, if justifiable, impeachment may be resorted to.



LAILA AND MAJNUN

Early 18th century

From the collection of M. S. N. Gupta

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TO THE MURDERED PEOPLES

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

(Translated)

THE horrors of war perpetrated during these last thirty months* have rudely shaken the minds of thoughtful persons in the West. The martyrdom of Belgium, Serbia, Poland — of all the miserable countries of Eastern Europe trodden down by invasion can no longer be forgotten. But if these iniquities revolt us because we are their victims what of the fifty years and more during which the civilisation of Europe has practised the same evils or allowed others to practise them around her?

Who can say what price the Red Sultan of Turkey paid to his mutes for the European Press and of the Embassies for the blood of two hundred thousand Armenians slaughtered during the first massacre of 1894—1897? Who has ever raised his voice against the sufferings of the people delivered over as a prey to the rapine and plunder of colonial expeditions? Who when a single corner of the veil is lifted up from this or that part of the field of misery — Damaraland or Congo — has been able to endure the sight without horror? What civilised man can recall without a blush the massacres of Manchuria and of the China expedition of 1900—1901 when the Emperor of Germany gave Attila to his soldiers for an example and the united armies of civilisation ravaged one another in acts of vandalism against a culture more ancient and lofty than their own?

What help has Western Europe given to the persecuted races of Eastern Europe?

* The article was written by Romain Rolland in November 1911. (C.F.A.)

What help to Jews, Finns, Poles? What help to Turkey, Egypt, China in the day of their struggle towards self-regeneration?

For sixty years China, poisoned by the opium of India, longed to deliver herself from the bondage of the evil which was killing her. She found after two wars and a humiliating treaty the opium poison (which had brought 11 000 000 000 francs into the coffers of the East India Company) forcibly imposed upon her by England. And even after China today has completed the heroic task of ridding herself in ten years of her deadly disease she has needed all the pressure of indignant public opinion brought upon European States to compel the most civilised of them to renounce the profits which the poisoning of a whole people brought into their banks. Yet what wonder is there in this when Western Governments have not yet renounced the income they obtain by poisoning with alcohol their own people?

On one occasion writes M. Arnold Porret, a missionary of the Gold Coast of Africa, told me how the negroes explained the way in which Europeans had become white. The God of all the world asked the Europeans sternly —

What have you done with your brother?

They became pale

Western civilisation today has the odour of a dead body. It has called in the grave diggers. Asia is on the watch.

The civilisation of Europe said the great Hindu Rabindranath Tagore last

shapeless and deformed mystical exaltations of the soul drunk with the Infinite seeking an unhealthy gluttony of joy by suffering self-inflicted and inflicted on others insatiable conceited tyrannies of the reason when it claims to impose the unity that it does not possess but only desires inflamed vagaries of the imagination lighting up the remembrance of the past learned phantasmagoria of historic records that have received official sanction patriotic history or history written in such way as to brandish woe to the conquered or glory to the conquered according to requirement. And then surging upon the tide of passions all the secret demons which Society casts up as the tide ebbs in times of peace and order. Each one of us finds himself enlaced in the arms of this Octopus. Each one finds in himself the same confusion of good and evil forces bound and entangled together in an inextricable skein.

From all this comes the feeling of fatalism which crushes down mankind in the presence of such a crisis. Yet it is only discouragement before the magnitude of the task which stands in the way of deliverance. If each one did what he could and nothing more there would be no fatalism at all. The fatalism from which we suffer is made up of each man's weak surrender. In giving in each one becomes responsible for the weakness of others.

But the shares of responsibility are not equal. Honour to whom honour is due. In the medley of European politics today the biggest factor is Money. The hand that holds the chain binding the body social is Wealth—Wealth and his band of satellites. Wealth is the true master the true head of the State. Wealth is responsible for the back doors of our Chambers of Commerce and for our shady business transactions.* Not that we can make

this or that group this or that individual responsible for the evils from which we suffer. We are not such simpletons as all that! No let us have done with scapegoats! They are too comfortably convenient.

When we read the history of the great German capitalists who purchased mines in Normandy and between the years 1908-1913 had become owners of one fifth part of the mineral sub-soil of France and then used this ore in their own great steel factories to make the cannon which the German armies are now firing then we can get some idea of the lengths to which moneyed men will go till they become indifferent to anything else—like Midas of old who turned into gold everything he touched. Do not however attribute to them vast designs and such. They do not look so far ahead. They only seek to amass quickly as big a heap as possible. That which finds its climax in them is that anti-social selfishness which is the plague of our present age. These wealth-seekers are merely representative men in an age enslaved to money. The learned men the Press the politicians—yes the heads of the different States those puppets of a tragic peep show all these whether they like it or not are the instruments of the money makers who use them for a screen.* And oh the stupidity of the peoples—their fatal submission to the mysterious depths of ancestral savagery,

CLARUS in *Pages Libres* January 1907. The power of financial oligarchies collective mysterious independent of all control has appeared clearly in the government of the States of Europe—republics and monarchies alike.

* Let me quote so needless from Manors who is so lucid when he does not give himself over as a prey to his own fixed idea—The Money State is now the Minister in charge gilding and decorating with titles the intellect while it dazzles it and sends it to sleep. It can when it likes prevent the intellect from knowing a single point of truth and if it sees the truth from speaking about it and if it spends about it from being listened to and heard. Those who know their own needs if those who know them can be put under the constraint of silence, singing or silent on?

What a true picture of the present time!

* Read the series of illuminating public articles during the last ten years by Francis Deluon—for example that of January 1 1907 in *Pages Libres* on External Affairs of 1906 (the Algerian year). One can see there a good example of what he calls Industrial Diplomacy. As a supplement to this read the financial article of the *Revue* (Nov. December 1906) signed Lys and the commentary on it by Paul G. L.

that shattered itself to pieces against the eternal

The East with her ideals in whose bosom are stored the ages of sunlight and silence of stars can patiently wait till the West hurrying after the expedient loses breath and stops Europe while busily speeding to her engagements disdainfully casts her glance from her carriage window to the reaper reaping his harvest in the field and in her intoxication of speed can not but think him as slow and ever receding backwards. But the speed comes to its end the engagement loses its meaning and the hungry heart clamours for food till at last she comes to the lowly reaper reaping his harvest in the sun. For if the office can not wait or the buying and selling or the craving for excitement love waits and beauty and the wisdom of suffering and the fruits of patient devotion and reverent meekness of simple faith. And thus shall wait the East till her time comes.

Eastern Asia has been pursuing its own path evolving its own civilization which was not political but social not predatory and mechanically efficient but spiritual and based upon all the varied and deeper relations of humanity. The solutions of the life problems of peoples were thought out in seclusion and carried out behind the

security of aloofness where all the dynastic changes and foreign invasions hardly touched them. But now we are overtaken by the outside world our seclusion is lost for ever. Yet thus we must not regret as a plant should never regret when the obscurity of its seed time is broken. Now the time has come when we must make the world problem our own problem we must bring the spirit of our civilization into harmony with the history of all nations of the earth we must not in foolish pride still keep ourselves fast within the shell of the seed and the crust of the earth which protected and nourished our ideals for these the shell and the crust were meant to be broken so that life may spring up in all its vigour and beauty bringing its offerings to the world in open light.

In this task of breaking the barrier and facing the world Japan has come out the first in the East. She has infused hope in the heart of all Asia. This hope provides the hidden fire which is needed for all works of creation. Asia now feels that she must prove her life by producing living work she must not be passively dormant or feebly imitate the West in the imitation of fear or flattery. For this we offer our thanks to this land of the rising sun and solemnly ask her to remember that she has the mission of the East to fulfil.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE YELLOW PERIL

SOME weeks ago Field Marshall Sir Douglas Haig in the course of a discussion of the political problems of the future and its perils expressed his conviction that certain changes were necessary in order that the British Empire might successfully weather the impending storms. One point in his address was of especial interest to India. He contended that a new spirit of comradeship must be infused into the relations of its various parts and pointed out with soldierly directness that

the only means of accomplishing this was by securing to every nation under the Imperial Aegis equal rights privileges and responsibilities.

As far as one is able to appreciate his position from the summary available it would appear to be this—The British Empire both because of its geographical diffusion and the wide racial diversities which exist within it has only one hope of successfully solving the problems which will face it in the coming age. This hope

lies in creating a state of affairs in which all the various nations in the Empire will recognise that they mutually and *equally* profit by the Imperial connection—a bond made strong by the appreciation of a common interest.

Sir Douglas Hogg is not a "statesman" in the usually accepted sense of the word, yet how infinitely more statesmanlike is his clearest formula of equal rights for all within the Empire than the quibbles and political gymnastics in which so many so-called statesmen are indulging now a days.

The soldier speaks as a man and a gentleman and in the outcome of this mental attitude we see true statesmanship exemplified. It is as though he said to those whom he was addressing, "The only one upon whom you can depend in times of emergency is a *comrade*, and no true comradeship is possible without true equality. Make those races of the Empire who at present suffer from disabilities friends indeed and when the time of testing comes you will find them friends in need." What could be simpler, and in spite of its simplicity what could be more true? What firmer foundation can be laid for unity in the Empire than that which is laid in the recognition of a common advantage, a common responsibility, and common rights and privileges?

And yet how many of the statesmen of the day seem quite satisfied to build the foundations of future Imperialism upon the sand. In place of striving for that good will among its various parts which can only be built upon the knowledge of fair dealing and equal justice between nation and nation they labour to bolster up the claims of unfair privilege and vested interest. Wholly lacking in political imagination and appreciation of the awakened spirit of the age they cling to the old formulas and think that by a judicious use of camouflage people may be induced docilely to accept the shadow for the substance—the high sounding effusions on benevolence and good will which they consider a suitable substitute for justice. The times have changed but such men seem quite incapable of changing with them.

Indeed the attitude of some of them hardly seems to take the question of justice into account at all. To these the problem appears merely to be that of persuading the people to accept their point of view, and if they do not succeed in this to use sharper arguments followed by piously worded expressions of regret that such a course was forced upon them. The fact that they may be in the wrong does not seem to strike them. One must assume that their attitude is based upon the unshakable conviction of infallibility and that any opposition to their arrangements for managing the affairs of the world is a manifestation of darkness fighting against the light.

Some go further still, and frankly express their opinion that it will only be possible to *rule* by the occasional display of power and "the inculcation of a wholesome respect" for it grounded upon the part of the ruled in a sad experience of its potentialities. They are right, the only way in which they can *rule* as they conceive ruling is by an occasional resort to terrorism. But thank God, the times are changed, and with them the attitude of the Government of the Empire as regards its relations with what were once looked upon merely as "subject peoples."

Typical of the attitude of these exponents of terrorism judiciously applied is the sentiment expressed by the Egyptian correspondent of the *Pioneer* in a recent issue, when he stated that the feeling among the nationalists there appeared to be one of discouragement and depression, and added that this was all to the good. One presumes that he felt that this state of mind would afford the proper atmosphere in which to build up a strong Empire!

What a contrast to this is the attitude of the present Secretary of State for India! Abused and scoffed at, called a "political charlatan," and his honesty impugned by the reactionary Anglo-Indian press, how firmly has he taken his stand upon what he considers just and fair for India! The present situation reminds one vividly of certain lines from E. B. Browning written many years ago—

A Great man (who was crowned one day)
Imagined a great Deed

He shaped it out of cloud and clay,
 He touched it finely till the seed
 Possessed the flower from heart and brain
 He fed it with large thoughts humane
 To help a People's need
 He brought it out into the sun—
 They blessed it to his face
 'Oh great pure Deed, that hast undone
 So many bad and base'
 Oh generous Deed! heroic Deed!
 Come forth! Be perfected! Succeed!
 Deliver by God's grace!
 Then Sovereigns, Statesmen north and south
 Rose up in wrath and fear
 And cried, protesting by one mouth
 What monster have we here?
 A great Deed at this hour of day?
 A great just Deed—and not for pay?
 Absurd—or insincere!

There is no use to complete the above
 Times have changed since the lines were
 written, and we trust and believe that
 Mr Montagu's "great deed will not be
 too great for the age in which we live
 If it is, then alas for the age!"

As this paper has been headed 'Some
 Thoughts on the Yellow Peril' it will
 probably occur to the reader to question
 what relation the foregoing bears to that
 subject. In the writer's opinion a very
 intimate connection exists.

In the course of his speech Sir Douglas
 Haig expressed his fear of an eruption of
 the "yellow races" as a possibility of the
 future. He also spoke of other Oriental
 races as presenting potential perils if the
 discontent arising from unfair treatment
 and racial discrimination were allowed to
 grow. An Anglican Bishop also has recently
 been expressing himself in England upon
 this so-called "Yellow Peril," and in
 America its possibilities have been long a
 subject of discussion. In the opinion of
 the writer of the article the peril is a very
 real one. Given certain circumstances it
 would appear highly probable that the
 next hundred years may witness a struggle
 before the magnitude of which the recent
 war will assume insignificant proportions.

Yet it is hardly fair to call it the
 Yellow Peril. Thousands of years have
 elapsed without any attempt upon the
 part of the Far East to encroach upon the
 West. History furnishes no indications
 that military aggressiveness has been a
 part of the genius of China—or even of

Japan until she came under the influence
 of the Western Spirit.

No if such a catastrophe ever takes
 place it will be because the views of such
 bodies as, for example, the Indo British
 Association, succeed in gaining sufficient
 power to mould the view point and policy
 of Europe and America.

We are convinced that they never will—
 that they are the manifestations of a
 dying school of thought (or thoughtless-
 ness) and that a nobler broader concep-
 tion of national responsibility and obliga-
 tion is even now displacing it. But they
 are for all that the expression of a mental
 attitude which has largely influenced the
 political attitude and actions of Europe
 in the past. Of this there can be no
 doubt. We might go even further and
 assert that even at this moment those in
 the West upon whom the broader and
 juster vision has dawned are a micro-
 scopic minority, howbeit an influential and
 growing one.

Let us examine as far as we may the
 mental attitude of the average Western,
 and see if what we find does not have a
 vital bearing upon the question of the so-
 called Yellow Peril. In order to do so
 it will be needful for us to glance very
 briefly at the relations which existed
 between Europe and the Orient in ancient
 times.

In the days of Greek and later, of
 Roman ascendancy in the West, the great
 nations of the Orient—especially India—
 were treated as equals. The learning of
 the Brahmins and "Gymnosophists" was
 highly spoken of and in the days of Pliny
 India's trade with Europe brought her in
 nearly fifty million sesterces in coin per
 annum. Embassies were exchanged upon
 several occasions between Rome and
 various Indian potentates, and the Emperor
 Trajan is reported by Dion Cassius to
 have entertained one such embassy with
 great magnificence, and to have given its
 members senators' seats at the theatre.
 There is also ample evidence that at one
 time there were Roman soldiers serving in
 the bodyguards of Indian Kings. The
 writings of Clement of Alexandria
 contain allusions to India based upon

conviction will be apparent that there is no true civilization but his own. If the reader will consider for a moment he will perceive how fully this accounts for the attitude of the average Western to the people he comes in contact with in the East.

With the earlier phases of modern Western mental development it is not our purpose to deal in this paper. The later ones are much in evidence in these days and most enlightening. In acts more than in words the West has claimed the right to subordinate the wishes and aspirations of the rest of the world to the exigencies of that form of civilization which she has evolved for herself. There can be no doubt of this. In spite of the fact that she even now staggers torn and bleeding as a result of the peculiarities of her system, her confidence in it appears little shaken. What other conclusion can be drawn from the new system of mandates she has just evolved? Does it not imply the conviction that she considers it her duty to guide the destinies of other races—races that do not appear likely to conform of themselves to the system she has evolved? Indeed one hears much loose talk about her duty to them, and the various aspects of "the white man's burden" are receiving a good deal of honest attention, yet down at the root of the matter is not the position of most people crudely this? "We, the enlightened nations, have evolved a superior form of civilization based upon an orderly system of barter and trade. Our programme includes the use of your raw materials which we consider vital to our welfare. We propose in exchange to sell you our manufactures and if you are not yet sufficiently civilized to appreciate and desire them we shall take steps to make you so. If you consent to this and take no measures to protect your own industries at the expense of ours, we shall permit you to govern yourselves, provided always that no political exigency arises which would make it necessary for us to annex you. If this should ever become necessary we shall of course confer upon you the blessings of education and what little share in the management of your own affairs, your natural

lack of ability and incapacity makes possible."

This seems to the writer to express the average view point of the West at its best until comparatively recently. At its worst it was merely a scramble to plant the flag of one's country upon the shore of an island or continent where the flag of no other powerful European country had been previously set up and quite irrespective of the wishes of its inhabitants, claim it as belonging to one's King.

During the early part of last century, however, a new spirit began to evince itself. Men began to understand that these many arbitrary acquisitions brought with them responsibilities to consider the welfare of the people upon whom they had forced their rule. At first there were only a few solitary voices raised on behalf of this new ideal but with the years the vision grew until at the time of this writing the Imperial Government not only admits the right of the people of India to a present real share in the administration of their country, but also acknowledges that the time must come before long when Indians shall govern India within the Empire.

Yet here arises a difficulty. To admit a right is one thing to have the courage to grant it quite another. Not only as regards India but also as regards the whole question of the relations of the present dominant races to the rest of the world two schools of thought are fighting desperately—the old and the new. One represents the conviction of innate superiority involving the right to acquire and exploit without any reference to the desires and feelings of the exploited. The other—and so far as India is concerned Mr. Montagu seems to be its champion—represents the new spirit, and the one upon which the future welfare of the world must depend. It embodies the recognition of the right—not merely of every Western nation—but of every nation to what the late German Kaiser used to call "a place in the sun." It represents the honest attempt to make realities of the cant phrases and party catch words of the last century, and as it grows and develops it will

lopment of responsible Government on democratic lines in India. Our own ideal is the same. It may be that so long as we do not get full responsible government national education will more or less be under the thumb of the dominant class but then the remedy lies in our own hands. Constant vigilance, constant agitation, constant education of the public mind will be our duty so long as the goal is not reached and when the goal is reached our policy will be completely in our hands. Then there will be no danger of the control of education falling into hands other than those of the future Fishers of India.

At no time can or will private efforts to further education be dispensed with. Pending the development of full national Government, private effort must do a great deal of what the Government fails to do. In short, private efforts should supplement the efforts of the Government without any pretence of supplanting it or doing what it is the latter's duty to do and what it can under the circumstances be forced to do.

Private efforts therefore should be directed to fill up the gap left by State education and also to supply the particular needs of particular classes with a view to bringing up every class in the nation to the level of general national efficiency. It seems that education is one of the subjects under the new scheme (which at the time of writing I have not seen) regarding which full responsibility is going to be thrown on Provincial Legislatures. Provincial Legislatures are already legislating in some provinces at least giving the local bodies power to declare it compulsory and to provide for it. Now sitting at such a distance I am unable to say much about these moves. As at present advised I am inclined to think that this may be the governing vicious circle in which things move in India.

We have seen from Mr Fisher's speeches that in England the policy is laid down by the national Government and the bulk of funds are provided by them. For every 17 millions sterling provided by the local rates the national purse has been giving 16 millions and the present Government in spite of the awful strain of the war on its

finances has sanctioned the additional grant of another four millions from the national purse thus making the national contribution twenty millions as against the 17 millions realized from local rates.

What is going to happen in India I don't know but of one thing I am certain in my mind that the general outline of a scheme of national education in India must be laid down by an All India agency leaving the actual working out of the details to the Provincial and local bodies. This all India agency must have a majority of Indians on its personnel and the policy laid down by them must be accepted by the Government subject to the limitation of funds. What is needed is a national policy, a national scheme and a maximum grant of national funds for the purpose to be supplemented by Provincial taxes and local rates. Of course the first need of the nation is more schools and more teachers. The second is good schools and good contented teachers. The third is vocational schools including schools for instruction in commerce and foreign languages. The fourth is technological institutes. The fifth is continuation schools. The sixth is more high schools and more universities.

I do not suggest that all this should not be done simultaneously. But I believe that the bulk of the available funds must be reserved for some time to come for more schools and more teachers to give instruction to the children of the nation on national lines.

In my judgment the first ten years of our national effort should be *mainly* devoted to (a) the increase of literacy, (b) the production of literate skilled labour conscious of its rights as human beings and conscious of its rights as members of the body politic, (c) multiplication and training of the teachers with as great an increase in their remuneration as may be possible under the circumstances. It should be the duty of the State to provide higher technological and agricultural institutes in selected localities in sufficient numbers to enable the nation to develop its mineral, agricultural and industrial resources. It should be the aim of the State to fill up these institutes with Indian expert talent which if not

are the same. To us in India Mr. Fisher's words are of greater significance than those of others equally well placed of other countries because of our political connection with England. Here is the chief educational authority of the Empire laying down certain principles and expounding truths which are according to him of general application in all self-respecting, progressively minded communities. We the Indians in India are not yet free to determine our educational policy. Even with the promise of educational autonomy to provinces the last word will practically remain with the Imperial Government. The progress of popular education in India must for a long time depend on the good will of the British officials in charge of policies and vested with powers over revenues and funds. The words of a British Minister of Education will be more to us in our discussions of educational policies and schemes than those of any other authority in any other part of the world. In the region of policy the example of Great Britain is the best for our purposes and I cannot sufficiently urge upon my countrymen the importance of using the British system as a fulcrum for the raising of education standards in India.

This does not involve a blind imitation of British methods of education nor does it mean that we should neglect to profit from what is being done by the other great nations of the world especially the United States and Japan in this department of their national life. But on the whole Britain can teach us much in this line.

In adopting Britain as our model however we are not bound to pass through the same processes of experiment and wastage through which she has passed in her educational evolution. It is the height of stupidity and ignorance to argue that the evolution of any nation must proceed on the same lines as has that of those that are now in the vanguard of progress in the world. Why should not the younger marcher profit from the mistakes of those that have gone ahead? Why should he not avoid the wastage involved in the failures and blunders of others? Of what use is history if its warnings cannot be heeded by those

to whom they are available? Let us therefore be on our guard against the fallacious argument that we must grow through the same mistakes of which the others have been guilty in their growth towards freedom.

Nor does this mean that we can neglect the various stages of development through which we must pass before we can come up to the level of those who started long ago. What we require is a rational and comprehensive scheme taking note of the general principles which have come to be universally accepted all the world over with special emphasis on our special needs and with due consideration of the stage of social evolution in which we are and also of our resources.

Now we may assume that the following general principles of national education are accepted all over the civilised world.

1. That national education being the surest and the most profitable national investment for gain as well as the best and the most effectual insurance against loss is as necessary for national safety as the military provision for its physical defence.

Among the lessons of this Great War the most important in my judgment is the value of education to a fighter from a military point of view. Personal bravery and courage must as ever continue to be an important element in war. But even more than that the fate and safety of nations have come to depend on the intelligence and efficiency of its fighting units. Wars are now virtually fought in schools. The numbers matter a great deal but even much more than the numbers matter intelligence, skill, efficiency and discipline. Then again the efficiency of a nation does not mean merely military efficiency; the latter is so much wound up with its economic and industrial efficiency.

Economic and industrial efficiency does not mean the mere possession of gold and silver but the brains and capacity of the whole nation to turn the gold and silver and other raw materials into modern arms and munitions—ships, submarines, aeroplane guns and bullets are only the concrete completed forms containing
 num her parts the material

each of which requires technical skill of the highest order—and, last but not least, food and hospital necessities. Assuming, therefore, that security from without is the first duty of a State, popular universal education alone can make it possible under modern conditions.

The war has conclusively established the fact that the idea of a mercenary standing army, consisting mostly of illiterate units, is an obsolete one: also that India cannot be defended by British people alone, nor can India depend upon Great Britain for its supply of the sinews of war, be they arms and ammunitions or the numerous other things found vital in modern warfare. If the British had foreseen this and equipped India for the inevitable struggle, they could have crushed their enemy in comparatively less time, and with greater facility. Universal education of the best modern type is therefore, an absolute necessity for the future security of India and for all that, for the best interests of the Empire, which require that the human resources of the Indian Empire should be economized to the fullest extent. It is a crime to let them be wasted so flagrantly as they have been until now.

Universal popular education must be provided by the State and should be the first charge on State revenues. Any attempt to provide for national education by private agencies and private funds is futile and to attempt it is to attempt the impossible. Moreover it diverts public attention from the State.

A national system of education must be provided for, enforced, financed and controlled by the nation, and in performing that function the nation must be represented by the State. It may be pointed out, as has in fact been done by Mr. B. G. Tilak, in his views on national education that in India the nation, not being represented by the State, that function must devolve, at least for some time, on private national agencies. The remedy, in my judgment, lies in concentrating our energies on the task of converting the State into a national agency. Along with that, we can use what powers we have or are needed to us under the new scheme for

insisting on the State providing for universal national education befitting the needs of the nation and guaranteeing in war, as well as in peace, the fullest use and development of our human and industrial resources.

National education must be provided by the nation, and whether the State is representative of the nation or not it must be made to provide for it. The nation should be made conscious of this.

2 The old idea that the State was only concerned with making provision for elementary education, is also gone. All over the world it is recognized that the duty of the State does not end with elementary education. The economic and industrial efficiency of the nation depends upon technical and industrial education, and that also must be provided by the State. Nor can the State ignore the necessity of higher education, for intelligent and efficient leadership depends on that.

3 Education does not consist in imparting certain amounts of book knowledge and teaching the three R's. It includes the provision for the physical development of the young. It embraces a provision for the general health of the child, including feeding if necessary, to such an extent as to ensure the fullest benefit to the child from the provision for his education made by the State.

4 In short the duty of bringing up and educating the child with a view to make him an efficient, intelligent and prudent citizen, lies on the State, and the State must be made to fulfil it. It no longer depends on the capacity or willingness of the parents.

Some great thinkers and educationalists such as Spinoza have maintained that the Government will, if it controls the education of the nation, 'aim to restrain, rather than develop the energies of men.' Kant remarked the same differently.

The function of education, in the eyes of a dominant class, is to produce skilled but obedient men as distinguished from self-thinking and self-reliant men. This theory presupposes the predominance of a particular class in the Government of the nation. Democratic ideals of government bar any such assumptions. The Imperial British Government has pledged itself to the devel-

lopment of responsible Government on democratic lines in India. Our own ideal is the same. It may be that so long as we do not get full responsible government national education will more or less be under the thumb of the dominant class but then the remedy lies in our own hands. Constant vigilance, constant agitation, constant education of the public mind will be our duty so long as the goal is not reached and when the goal is reached our policy will be completely in our hands. Then there will be no danger of the control of education falling into hands other than those of the future Fishers of India.

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forthcoming at once, should be gradually but steadily introduced as competent men, trained in foreign countries as Government scholars or otherwise, return.

If Mr Fisher was right, as undoubtedly he was in saying that national education is not only an investment but an insurance as well, I see no reason why education in India should not be provided for, pushed and furthered wherever necessary, by supplementing the amounts made available for the purpose from the taxes and the rates by raising additional national debt. If it was legitimate to raise money by loans for railways and for defence and for contribution to the Imperial War Fund, why is it not legitimate to raise funds for national education and the development of essential national industries by the same means?

At this stage I may as well give another passage from one of Mr Fisher's speeches. When addressing the manufacturers and business men of Bradford he asked them if it does not often happen in the management of a business that you find yourself compelled to face an additional outlay in order to get full value from the outlay that you have already made? And what is true of individual business is true of national business.

In order to get full value for the outlay which India has made on railways, canals and the frontier defences it is necessary to develop the intelligence the productive power and capacity of the nation (its defensive and offensive capacity) as well as its capacity to compete with other nations on equal terms in industries and manufacture. The raising of the nation's intelligence and skill the improvement of its physique and the development of its earning capacity is as important, if not more so, as railways canals and forts. Sometimes it seems to me that in India the cart has been put before the horse.

My argument is that there are certain things which can only be done by the State and must be done by the State that the State should do these things even by incurring financial obligations in the nature of public debts, if the current finances are not sufficient or adequate to do them on any decent scale, and that universal elementary education and a widespread provision for the training of teachers, and an equally widespread provision for vocational and technical education both of the lower and higher order, are among those things which cannot be postponed without risk of serious danger to the political safety of the nation.

These things being provided for by the State on a scale commensurate with the needs of the nation, private effort should be unsparing to contribute to the rest. All privately endowed colleges and academies should be allowed to develop into universities, conducting their own examinations, giving their own diplomas and conferring their own degrees. All research work in classical language in history and philosophy in logic and mental and moral sciences as well as in social sciences, may be left to them. The State maintained colleges and the State universities should mainly concern themselves with scientific education scientific development and research and with the natural development of the country. Not that the State and the nation have no interest in the former. Oh! no the nation is interested in everything that develops and aids efficiency in the individual, as well as in the classes, and more so in leadership, but for the time being the above mentioned division of labor between the State and private enterprise in education may be the best way of collaboration to economise our resources and get the best possible results from them.

THE LIFE OF AN INDIAN MILL LABOURER

I

THE time has fully come when those who have the welfare of the Indian poor deeply at heart should study closely and carefully the condition of the labourers working in the Mills at our great industrial centres. Nothing is more disappointing in the long Report of the Industrial Commission than to note the scanty attention that has been paid to this subject and the inconclusive results which have been reached by the Commissioners. The Report from beginning to end has been written from the capitalist's point of view and labour is treated in a cursory and haphazard way.

I cannot pretend to any elaborate or detailed study of the Indian problem of labour nevertheless I will venture to put down in as simple and untechnical a manner as possible some of the experiences I have gained from living for a short time among the mill labourers in Madras and the difficulties that have thus been brought before me. The first hand information which I received by actual residence has seriously set me thinking and I have a hope that if I relate some of these thoughts while they are still fresh in my mind it may help others who are working at the same problem to take courage in their work and press forward. For the cause is a great one.

Nowhere in the world except in Japan and China are cotton mills worked at such long hours and under such exhausting climatic conditions as in India. The Indian Factory Act allows a working day of twelve hours full work the only stipulation being that there must be an interval of half an hour in the course of the day's work during which the machines are not to be used. The Mill may therefore run from 6-30 a.m. in the morning to 7 p.m. at night with only an interval of half an hour in the middle of the day for food and

rest. When we compare such a day with that common in English or American mills we find that the Indian mills are kept running between twenty four and thirty hours longer each week than those in the industrial West. The Indian mills run for 72 hours per week the mills in England and America run between 42 and 48 hours per week.

Now let us consider how this actually tells upon an average working man's life. I will take a record from the notes which I made while living near the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras. The man I questioned told me that he had nearly five miles to walk every day before he got to the Mill. In order therefore to be punctual without any danger of a lock out he had to get up before half past four—because he needed some coffee and a little food before starting and he allowed a margin of ten minutes in order to be on the safe side. When he reached his work he would have to stand at the loom from six o'clock to twelve o'clock with hardly any pause or break. Then at twelve o'clock he would have forty minutes allowed him in which to get his food which consisted mainly of cold rice and a little currie. He had to get back to his loom punctually at twenty minutes to one and to go on standing at his loom working until six o'clock in the evening. He told me that he usually reached home some time after half past seven and then he would obtain his first properly cooked meal. He went on to describe to me how when he reached home he was so tired that he usually after taking his food went straight off to bed. He hardly saw his children at all except on Sundays.

The man who gave me these details was a respectable working man drawing good pay and it will be noticed that these Mills in Madras do not work up to the maximum limit of the Factory Act regulations. They give forty minutes interval

for food instead of thirty minutes, and work 11½ hours instead of twelve

But what a life to have to lead all the year round! What drudgery, what monotony! There is scarcely a break in it, except the weekly Sunday, and a very scanty list of religious festivals,—six or seven days in all, besides Sundays, in the course of the year. One has to take into account the heat and noise and dust inside the mills, the strain of standing for such long hours without a break, the practical certainty sooner or later, of digestive troubles owing to badly-cooked or fermented food, the discomfort of the rainy season, walking through the mud, arriving wet through, often contracting chest and lung diseases, which are aggravated by the cotton fluff that is always flying about and getting into the throat. It must be remembered that there are no workmen's compensation or sick insurance acts in India, as in the West,—no fund to draw from in case of illness. What a life!

I asked this man whether he had to work the whole six hours *standing*. He said that the men were allowed to go out for a short time in turns to the latrines by getting a pass, and some men stayed there to smoke. But the work was piece-work and the managers would 'speed up' one man against another, and besides this there were overseers who were ready to come down on any man, if he was away too long.

Another question I asked him was about the housing of the workmen.

"Why," I questioned him, "do you live so far away from your work?"

"It is difficult," he replied, "to get even a single room near at hand. They have all been taken up, and besides, I don't like the people's habits near the Mill. I have a wife and children to bring up, and I prefer to live some distance away."

He told me that a considerable number of the mill labourers did as he did, especially the more respectable ones. Some lived even further away still.

I have taken this example for one of the best managed Mills in India, where the Company has done a great deal to help the men. If, notwithstanding all this, the con-

ditions of this workman's life were so exacting, what must be the case in those Mills where the Factory Act is always strained to its full limits and dirt and filth and foul atmosphere and insanitary latrines are the common daily experience? I have seen a Mill of this latter type, and there the labourer's lot must have been much harder than that which I have just depicted,—though, possibly, the slackness of oversight could give the workman a greater margin for slackness in his turn.

This brings me to a third type of Mill, which interested me greatly and made me study anew the question of the length of hours. Here, the Mill was in no sense conducted on what might be called antiquated or slovenly lines. There were no filthy floors or badly built rooms, with foul air and stifling heat. Every thing was quite up to date. The owners prided themselves on this fact. The passages and gangways were kept perfectly clear, and the latrine arrangements were modern and sanitary. The rooms were well situated for light and air and space, and there was no foul atmosphere. But, because labour was difficult to retain, on account of competition from other Mills, the great object of the managing body was to make labourers feel quite at ease and so come to prefer this Mill to any other. This was effected by employing an over plus of workmen to run the machines, paying them good wages, and then permitting each labourer a margin of leisure to go out and smoke or sleep, while the labourer next to him kept an eye on his machine, which would be kept running while he was away. This relaxation would be allowed, turn and turn about. The manager himself told me that very few men did more than eight hours' solid work in the course of the day. I noticed that the morning meal was eaten within the Mill. When it was brought in, the men would sit down in little groups and eat it, while their fellow-workmen looked after the looms of the absentees. In this way the whole Mill had its breakfast, not in the interval, but during actual working hours. The men under these conditions, were contented and the Mill was prosperous.

I asked the manager if it would not be possible to work the Mill more efficiently by having a shorter working day and less going out to have a rest. The manager stated his own opinion that this leisurely method of work was more suited to the Indian climate and the Indian labourer's habits. It was expensive for it meant a large overstock of workers but this was compensated—when compared with Lancashire—by the cheap cost of labour and also by the greater number of hours per week that the machines could be run.

There are thus clearly two or three different types of Mill in India not one kind only. There are the old badly constructed badly arranged and badly managed Mills working up to the very limits of the Factory Act and beyond those limits where it is safe to do so. These Mills are often the curse of the country. They sweat their working men in a disgraceful manner, and do not impart to them any new id as of order, method or cleanliness. Secondly there are the Mills which keep well within the hours prescribed by the Factory Act and are thoroughly up to date and modern but take the last ounce of labour out of the workmen by rewards as well as by punishments. As was dealing with the fear and cupidity of the labourer at the same time offering bonuses and prizes on the one hand and threatening with penalties on the other. These up-to-date Mills have usually a large staff of overseers and foremen who drive the men all through the day. There is a certain educational value in Mills of this kind they drill the workmen into punctuality, order and business efficiency. But it is a hard process in which only the fittest survive. The waste product—the men thrown back as useless—is enormous. The race is indeed to the swift and the rewards are to the strong but the weak are cast out on to the rubbish heap and our pity goes out to them. And then last of all there is the type of Mill which I have just sketched wherein slackness of a certain type is allowed and the pace is made rather by the average man than by the strong man greedily for money. Here too the educational results are not slight while

at the same time there is much less wear and tear.

I have mentioned already the question of competition with Japan and it is likely to loom larger in the future. I have visited Japan and enquired into the conditions of the cotton industry there. From all that I could gather I feel certain that the strain of the work especially upon the women is far greater than in India. The way the pace is forced appears to me to be quite unnatural and abnormal and a nemesis is certain to follow later on. Coming out direct from leisurely India to strenuous Japan I could see and almost personally feel the nervous tension. The labour also appeared to be sweated labour not organised for self protection as in America and England and yet drawn from a congested and densely populated country.

I have brought in this Japanese problem because it confronts us in India at every turn. It is the one final argument difficult to meet which seems to stand in the way of an immediate shortening of the factory hours. For instance the following argument was used when I talked the subject over with certain employers of labour in Madras—

We would be only too glad they said to me if we could have a shorter working day in our Mills. We have given evidence to that effect before the Factory Commission. But the shorter hours agreed upon must be the standard for all India not for Madras only.

Certainly I replied let us get to work and persuade the Bombay people to fall into line. For instance why not advocate a ten hours working day?

You will never they answered induce the Bombay people to agree till Japan comes into line as well and that won't happen in a day.

In this argument we are brought up at once face to face with the international problem of modern industry. We have seen recently how the Labour representatives at the Peace Conference have argued that not only military war but also commercial war must cease and disarmament must begin on the commercial side of life as well as in the military sphere. There

is a poison gas whereby a neighbouring country is flooded with sweated goods just as there is that by which armies are stricken on the battle-field. Commerce is thereby become another form of military more no less ruthless than ordinary war.

How far this argument concerning Japan holds good will come up for consideration in the concluding section of this paper.

Shantiniketan

C. F. ANDRÉS

MOVEMENTS IN INDIAN LITERATURE SINCE 1850

I

THE influence of England on India has been most marked and most beneficial in the department of thought and this result has been achieved without any pressure from the Government. The vernacular languages of India have been wonderfully developed and in some cases almost evolutionised by the example of English and the needs of the modern age. In one sense our literary language has become both simpler and harder. Though poetry was very highly developed in many of the vernaculars of India before the 19th century prose was in a crude and primitive condition everywhere. It wanted flexibility, variety of expression and naturalness of movement because the learned cared to write only in Sanskrit or Persian and if the vernacular was used at all by them it was used for writing poetry. (Letters and official papers were written in vernacular prose but they are not literature). The prose written in the early British period was overloaded with heavy Sanskrit and Arabic words and was as remote as possible from the spoken language of the home and the street.

Vernacular prose specially in Bengal and Bombay received a great impetus from the missionaries who published translations from the Bible, sermons and controversial treatises in it. But the style was stiff and foreign and hardly influenced our men of letters. A few vernacular prose works were also published under the patronage of the Government for the use of the officials

studying in the College of Fort William. The necessity of supplying such officers with text books was one incentive to the creation of a prose literature.

But a literature cannot be really developed except by literary geniuses. And such appeared in Bengal in the middle of the 19th century in the persons of Michael Madhusudan Dutta the poet and Pundit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar the prose writer. Both of them greatly modernised the Bengali tongue and made it a proper vehicle for expressing the varied thoughts and feelings of modern life. Both followed the classical style, i.e. used Sanskrit words by preference and avoided colloquial or homely expressions. But at the same time there was no stiffness, no pedantry, no obscurity in their style and their genius was shown in combining clearness, sweetness and beauty of expression with strength and purity of diction and a certain music of sound.

The Bengali newspapers of the time also employed a classical but flexible and fairly simple prose. In Urdu the old Muhammadan models continued to be followed for a generation after Vidyasagar but with in the past 30 years a new school of Urdu writers have risen who aim at a simpler more vigorous and more flexible style in imitation of modern English Prose. What Vidyasagar had achieved in Bengali was achieved in Hindi 20 years after him by Harish Chandra who introduced a simple varied but sweet and vigorous prose, rather less Sanskritised than that of Vidyasagar. But the influence of Bengali on

Harnish Chandra is unmistakable. A similar transformation of Marathi prose took place in the last quarter of the 19th century and it is correct to say in general that to-day nearly in all the vernaculars of India literary prose has assumed a simple and natural structure and the old rigid structures have been discarded chiefly through the influence of the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji.

The Indian drama has been completely changed since the middle of the 19th century and is now really a close imitation of the modern English drama. The classical Sanskrit model of Kalidasa's time has been entirely discarded. In style plot characterisation and scenery the modern drama in Bengali Urdu Hindi and Marathi is an open imitation of the English drama. Many English plays have been bodily translated many have been adapted in a modified form and only a few miracle plays of the medieval Hindu type still survive to remind us of the old. In the earlier vernacular dramas of the British period a highly Sanskritised prose was spoken and there were long metrical speeches and outbursts as in the French drama before Victor Hugo. But very soon afterwards a colloquial prose was adopted which still holds the field. Thus the Indian drama was completely anglicised much more quickly than our literary prose.

Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar merely marks a transition stage in the development of Bengali prose. He improved it no doubt but he did not proceed far enough in the direction of simplifying and modernising. Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novels indicate a long step in advance. The basis of his style is still the so-called pure i.e. Sanskrit vocabulary but his sentences are shorter and simpler than those of Vidyasagar and he has a richer variety of expression and of feeling and far wider interests than the writings of Vidyasagar. He at first avoided colloquial expressions but they got into his later novels. Long Sanskrit compounds are frequent in his earlier novels but towards the close of his literary career his style became simpler and more easily intelligible to the common people. He however returned to the end

the literary or strictly grammatical structure of sentences and did not adopt the prose that is actually spoken by the people in their daily life.

II

The third stage in the development of Bengali literature is represented by Rabindranath Tagore. We shall discuss only his prose here. More than forty years ago he and his fellow workers in the monthly magazine *Bhadrati* deliberately avoided Bankim's Sanskritised vocabulary and used a simpler and more colloquial style without absolutely reproducing the language of the man in the street. The conservative critics raised a hue and cry that the purity of the language was being destroyed by these innovators. But this simple prose went to the hearts of millions of readers who were ignorant of Sanskrit and could understand very little of formal literary Bengali. The success of the new style was also indicated by the rise of a large number of imitators and it is now the prevailing prose style except with a few pundits and writers on abstruse philosophical subjects.

Another solvent on Bengali prose style has been the growth of public oratory, both religious and political and the almost phenomenal progress of the Bengali news papers intended for the vast lower middle class. These orators and journalists have naturally adopted a style that is most readily understood by the millions because they want to make converts to their views. (This simplification of Bengali prose has its parallel in the simple English style that Addison introduced after England became a democracy as the result of the Revolution of 1688.) The most popular literature of to-day namely novels and dramas are written in very much easier and shorter sentences than those of even Bankim though they often lack the vigour grandeur and variety of Bankim's style.

For the last ten years an acute controversy has been going on in Bengal about introducing into books the exact grammatical structure and pronunciation of the language of the man in the street. At Calcutta Rabindranath has been experimenting in

this line in prose and verse alike during the last 5 or 6 years. His opponents are first, the writers of Eastern Bengal, who argue that while literary Bengali is one for the whole country, colloquial Bengali differs in every district and the adoption of the latter in books would destroy the literary unity of Bengal as the dialect of Dacca cannot be appreciated at Calcutta except in comedies and the dialect of Calcutta would attract no readers in East Bengal.

The second class of opponents of colloquialism consists of the writers imbued with the spirit of the Sanskrit classics who insist that literary language should have a certain dignity and polish of form which the spoken dialect of the man in the street does not possess. Experiments in pure colloquialism in serious prose and imitation of some of the mufassil dialects are being published in the monthly magazine *Sabuj Patra* which is also ardently defending this movement. Literary or grammatical Bengali more or less Sanskritised, is strenuously advocated by the two magazines *Narayana* and *Salutya*.*

III

The modern English drama was adopted in all its features in Bengali about 1860. At first historical plays were very popular and large numbers of them were written. Translations and more frequently adaptations of Shakespeare were also staged for some time, but no translation of Shakespeare into any Indian vernacular has been made by any literary genius, and consequently the great poet is not worthily represented in our theatres. In the eighties of the last century religious dramas became popular and almost monopolised the Bengali stage for a quarter of a century. But these plays written with a purpose have not become literary classics. In the course of the last four years the Vernacular

stage in most provinces in India has greatly deteriorated and the plays are, with a few honourable exceptions, low intellectual performances with plenty of music and dances for which alone the audience care. Their moral tone is distinctly low and from the artistic point of view also these dramas are very poor works.

Dinabandhu Mitra was the first great dramatic genius in modern Bengali and excelled in comedy. His works have deservedly become classics. D. L. Roy, in the next generation, was also a great author and excelled in historical plays and lyrics. His dramas are second only to Dinabandhu's and miss perfection only because he wrote too fast, pruned and polished too little, and did not always work at his best. Girish Chandra Ghose, the actor and playwright, was the ideal of Bengali playgoers for a generation. But he had great industry, range of reading, and power of adaptation rather than original genius. Again, his profession compelled him to write voluminously producing two and sometimes three plays in a year, hence much of his work will be forgotten by posterity. Rabin-dranath has attempted the drama, but though he has attained a high level of excellence and avoided glaring defects yet his genius is not dramatic, and he has not produced any immortal work in this branch of literature. His shorter dramatic dialogues, or rather "Imaginary Conversations" in verse, are masterly. Two of his smaller and lighter plays, namely *Saradotsava* (The Autumn Festival) and *Goraj Galad* (Initial Blunder) are first rate productions. Recently he has been writing mystical plays like the *King of the Dark Chamber*, the *Post Office*, *Achalajatan* (the Stereotyped Cathedral Chapter).

The Hindi theatre was modernised by Harish Chandra and his plays are still deservedly popular on account of their easy and yet strong and dignified style, excellence of ideas, and general literary finish. He is admittedly an imitator of Bengali literature.

But the present-day Hindi stage is occupied almost exclusively by religious plays of the primitive kind and sensational dramas or love plays of a low moral and

* Whatever the theoretical contentions of the editors of these magazines may be in practice they welcome and publish many contributions written in language far different from what Prof. Sarkar says they advocate—language which often degenerates into vulgar Calcutta slang.—Ed. M. A.

intellectual type, often adapted from low-class English dramas through the medium of Urdu.

The Urdu theatre is a disgrace to our society and danger to the aesthetic faculty and morality alike. The greatest writers like Shakespeare go through a degrading perversion in the Urdu adaptations and become absolutely vulgarised.

In the Marathi theatre music preponderates, and no great dramatic genius has yet appeared.

II

The new spirit in Indian Literature. The example of the modern European literatures and of English translations of the classics which are so dissimilar in character to the old products of the Indian authors, has caused a new birth in our vernacular literature. We have described above the extent and sources of the imitation of the European forms in the modern literatures of India. The change in the spirit has been even more striking. Happily, no foolish attempt was made to transplant European literature into India wholesale, but our authors have shown their genius by assimilating the spirit of the West and often giving expression to it in an Eastern garb. The greatest changes have been the growth of the modern drama and the modern novel in nearly all the Indian vernaculars. The change in poetry has been striking but not wholesale. The cast iron rigidity of metrical forms sanctioned by the old books on prosody, and the slavish imitation of the Sanskrit classical models, have given place to far more varied and often lighter metres. Deliberate attempts have been made with considerable success by a long line of Bengali poets from Mathuradas Guha to Rabindranath Tagore to adapt in Bengali various English metres, especially lyric forms, and we find the same phenomenon in Hindi and Marathi poetry, though 50 years after Bengali.

Now, in respect of spirit, our first great gain has been the analysis of character. Here European models are followed even by commonplace Indian writers, while in the hands of geniuses like Bankim and

Rabindranath a degree of excellence is reached in characterisation not inferior to that of the greatest European authors. Secondly, historic truth and local colour are now scrupulously observed by all our authors who care for their reputation. Hence, their writings are more life-like, more marked by naturalness and individuality and less conventional than the pre-British literature of India. Thirdly, the old theological dogmas, legends of saints and miracles of the gods or hackneyed novels which formed the subject-matter of our older literature have given place to the treatment of modern social, ethical and political problems. Our best writers now are didactic, i.e., they write with the purpose of teaching certain principles or theories. All the novels of Bankim's later days and the plays poems and stories of Rabindranath in his maturity, deal with such problems and suggest solutions to the reader. At the present moment the theories of Ibsen, Maeterlinck and Bernard Shaw are finding expression in Bengali literature, sometimes in direct translation, but more often in adaptation. In one word, the best of our vernacular literatures have ceased to be medieval and are becoming modern not only in form but in spirit also. The new spirit shows itself in a wider, more natural, healthier and more rational outlook upon life. Orthodoxy has been completely discredited in literature, though it still rules society.

Even in the treatment of a subject like love, though it was well known to our authors of the ancient classical period and though a minute analysis of it and a considerable variety of its moods are to be found in the mediæval Vaishnava poetry, yet the example of English literature has enabled our modern poets to work with greater delicacy, greater thoughtfulness and a wider variety than was known in our country in the past. (Rabindranath is the best example of this gain.)

The influence of Europe has enriched our literature also by kindling our nationalistic spirit and developing our historical sense. Historical novels and plays have become popular. The Indian mind has swept away the petty barriers of caste distinctions,

ness and good faith we almost implicitly believed what they said. That is perhaps the kind of rational humility which Mr. Archer wants us again to adopt. Then came the reaction, the most important force to bring it about being the irrational arrogance and the sweeping condemnation of everything Hindu by the former. I am free to confess that the spirit of retaliation did in a small degree introduce an element of bitterness in the educated Hindu and has done some harm to the cause of social and religious reform. But on the whole its effect has been marvellously healthy. The ways of affect, humility and of servile prudence are not the ways of progress. So long as the leading intelligence of the country prove their claim to that position by seeing things in juster proportion there is no danger of an uncalculated emphasis on the other side. I am not aware of many in lines of education and position to whom Mr. Archer's description of the tendency towards arrogance can apply.

The reformers may be classified as follows:

- (a) The members of the Brahmo Samaj
- (b) The members of the Arya Samaj
- (c) Social Reformers
- (d) Theosophists
- (e) Sanataniists
- (f) Free thinkers

There is hardly anything really valuable in Mr. Archer's criticism of Hinduism against which all these classes have not raised their voice. The degree of vehemence with which they have denounced the evil customs has been determined in each case by their estimate of the rate at which progress is or was possible. Mr. Archer pleads for a patient and resolute struggle, a language very similar to that which is or has often been used by the advocates of extreme caution and slow progress. Let me assure Mr. Archer that the number of Col. Olcott's followers is greater in the West than in India. By that I do not mean any disparagement of Col. Olcott. I have no doubt in my mind that there is a larger percentage of educated men in the West who deserve to be called credulous than in India. There are more Roman Catholics, Christian Scientists, believers in healing by faith, spiritualists and believers in magic among the educated men and women of the United States than in the corresponding classes of India. Now I do not say that these people are really credulous. I express no opinion against them. But according to Mr. Archer's ideas of credulousness they may possibly be so. Amongst the educated in India there are not many who believe in palmistry or fortune telling or magic while in my small experience in the West I have met hundreds of University graduates, men and women who are crazy after their fortunes being told. Now this is no sign of degeneracy because these men and women are extremely efficient and rational otherwise. As to the particular instance of credulity relied upon by

Mr. Archer on the authority of Professor Oman let me tell him with all humility that there are a great many rational westerners who believe that the world moves in a circle, that there is nothing really new in the scientific developments of the modern age and that the existence of words in ancient languages denoting the ideas which are embodied in these scientific developments is evidence presumptive of their having been known to the world at some previous stage of its history. Mr. Archer would at once come down upon me if I were to base my conclusions as to the mental or spiritual capacity of the West upon these insanities. The truth is that in these respects there is more of insanity in the world all round than other wise. I wonder if Mr. Archer can tell me what percentage of the western humanity is entirely free from it. A sane world would not have started this war. A sane world would not give a copy of the Bible to every combatant. A sane world would not use the best products of man's intelligence for the purposes of sheer destruction. A sane world would not tolerate the horrible conditions of modern industrial life. A sane world would not tolerate the existing unequal distribution of wealth. A sane world would not punish people for their opinions nor send them years of imprisonment for stealing a loaf of bread. A sane world would have no need of night courts or of tombs or of big prisons or so many lunatic asylums. Mr. Archer will come across many such insanities in Mr. Upton Sinclair's articles on the profits of religion which are being published in this month issued from Eastland Los Angeles, U.S.A. Why as a matter of fact there is more of insanity in the West than in the East. A sane world would not call upon God to help in the murder of their fellow beings. The fact is that neither the East nor the West are in a position to throw stones, neither are or have ever been perfectly or entirely sane. Yet we have to admit that there is a sufficient amount of sanity in the world to enable it to go on. The mere facts of power and wealth are not evidences of greater sanity. Else we should have to admit that Chengis Khan and Tamerlane were saner than Darwin, Huxley, Butler and Christ. The same may be said about rational sanity if one can use such an expression.

At this stage I might state my own point of view. I believe (a) that once India had a great civilisation the greatest of that age which lasted quite up to the beginning of the Christian era. That does not mean that the India of that time was quite free from insanity or credulity or even of barbarism. (b) That India's degradation and fall was brought about by an abnormal increase in the volume of this insanity, credulity and barbarism. (c) That up to the middle of the 18th Century India's insanity, credulity and barbarism were at no time and in no way greater than that of

AN INDIAN EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION TO AMERICA

IT seems on this side of the Atlantic that Hindustan is living in the stone age of education. If she really wishes to take her rightful place among the great nations of the world India must have a more modern educational system. But where will she go to seek for the ideals of newer education?

In the past the Indian zone of observations has been chiefly confined to only one country in the West and that too admittedly backward in matters educational. Be that as it may this zone should now be pushed and widened to the United States. Here one can see at this moment better than at any other what reconstructional plans are engaging the thoughts of American leaders what re-educational experiments are in progress for the disabled in war what new departments are being added to colleges of science and agriculture.

A few years ago the English government in India sent a fish commission to this country to study American fisheries. Is it too much to expect that American colleges and universities will be considered as worthy of careful study as American fisheries? At all events the Indian leaders who are interested in the educational advancement of India should send a commission to America at an early date. The commission should be made up of the very best educational experts India can afford. The founders of the University of Mysore, Women's University of Poona, the Hindu University of Benares as well as the organizers of the proposed Muslim University at Aligarh and the Azadama University in Hyderabad should be willing to co-operate in sending this mission to America. If the needed means and initiative fail to come from the government they should be furnished by the nation itself. For after all education is the most important piece of business in the Indian agenda just now.

It is interesting to note that several foreign countries including Japan and England have recently sent commissions of education to the United States to make an intensive study of the American educational system. Why should not India also go and do likewise?

An Indian educational commission to America is not at all an idle speculation. It is eminently practical. Many of the leading American educationists whom I have consulted on the subject have given it their unequalled approval and whole-hearted support. Dr. Walter A. Jessup, the President of the State University of Iowa with which I have the honor to be connected for the past few years wrote to me in part:

Should the proposed Commission visit the

United States we would be pleased to have them make Iowa City and the State University of Iowa their headquarters while studying the schools, colleges and universities in the central part of United States. We believe that it would be to the advantage of such a commission to make this place their headquarters since in Iowa City there may be found typical public schools of all grades including the State University with its professional colleges of law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and engineering and its college of liberal arts, graduate college and college of education.

The College of Education of the State University of Iowa is equipped with an experimental school including both elementary and secondary grades and is used as a sub-station of the United States Bureau of Education.

In the event that the proposed Indian Commission should come to Iowa City the State University of Iowa would do everything in its power to facilitate their work.

I also bring encouraging words of greetings from no less a distinguished man in the world of education than the Honorable P. P. Claxton, the Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Education at Washington. Dr. Claxton whose position is very similar to that of the Minister of Education in the British Government sent me among others the following lines: "I wish to assure you and others who are interested in the matter that it will give me great pleasure to lend whatever assistance I can to this Commission either personally or through the United States Bureau of Education."

Education in India has been more or less unsatisfactory. The time has come when the frozen decorative ideals of the past should be shattered and swept out of the halls of learning. There is now a great need of a co-ordinated and well-directed plan to build a new education for new India. And as a basis for such an educational reform a commission of expert investigators and trained educators should come to America and see first hand the creative work that is being done in commerce, industry, art, literature and science. The results of such an investigation are bound to give immense stimulus for reconstruction of educational life and make it quiver to the very soul of India.

It only remains for me now to add that if an educational commission should come Mr. R. K. Khemka, the very able President of the Hindustan Association of America which has for years been helping the newly arrived Indian students to choose right American colleges will be delighted to place his services at the disposal of the

incidence of the tax he pays. Now it is well known that when University work made Sir Sundar Lal prolong his visit to Benares in the winter of 1917 by one day beyond his first engagement he lost for that single day Rs 5,000 in fees. It should also be borne in mind that if Mr Malaviya in collecting money for the Hindu University has impaired what professional practice he had he has on the other side of the account secured as the accredited agent of the Hindu University *entrée* to high places which would have been closed to him as a stump-ordinator. The gain has been mutual.

But admitting for the sake of argument that Mr Malaviya has done for the H. U. all that is claimed for him by his blind admirers, we must realise what price we are being asked to pay for it. Money getting is only a means to an end. Are we to subordinate that end—the ideal efficiency—the good name of the Hindu University—to the sole purpose of touring for subscriptions and making the travelling agent the *entée* dictator of the University? All mathematicians who have not forgotten their algebra and simple arithmetic in the pursuit of higher research will admit the correctness of the formula: that

$$\begin{aligned} \text{if } m &= m_1 g \\ \text{then } m &= g \end{aligned}$$

i.e. If Madan Mohan Malaviya = money getting machine then Malaviya must be governor general of the Hindu University.

With results for which see Babu Bhagwan Das's letter.

IN THE VIEW

The Benares Hindu University: An outside View of an Inside Criticism

Every one Hindu or not who delects that Hindu culture and learning have particular contributions to make to the wellbeing of humanity must place great hopes upon the eventual achievements of the first Hindu University of recent times. But the greater one's insight into the nature of such an institution as a University and the more closely one has followed the course of the histories of other Universities the more patient one will be with regard especially to the efforts of the early years of a new University. It is, perhaps, before all things necessary to go slowly in circumstances of this kind. In the particular conditions of Indian Academic life which does not seem to train as yet very many prominent scholars and in which when such

scholars are produced they are as long as possible retained in particular institutions and localities it is not possible to bring together in a short time the kind of staff which should be aimed at. It seems to us far better to wait than to appoint men about whom it is possible for people to say that their positions were gained by personal influence and not by evident merit. We have heard it said for example that one of the Professors was appointed chiefly through the influence of one about whose poetry he had written in flattering terms. For the sake of the Hindu University we shall be glad to find that such reports are radically false. In any case a good reason may be given for delay in filling University appointments until the type of man required is available. It should be regarded as the best in the circumstances to make some temporary appointments.

From what has been said—also from an inside source—there appears to be an absence of loyalty and co-operation amongst the members of the staff and it would seem from the attempt to make criticisms against the Principal that he is not treated as one has learned to expect. To us and we know Dr. Chaudh Prasad neither directly nor indirectly the statements about his policy are really indefinite and not such as to give any support to the view that the University is in rapid dissolution. Had there been more efficient organisation at the beginning in the time of a certain Acting Principal of the Hindu College Dr. Prasad's task might have been easier. No University can expect to do good and effective work on a Principal of a College can organise with credit to himself and the institution if there is a source of disaffection in the staff.

Perhaps it is sufficient to say here that when the Insider has worked as hard for the University as Pandit Malaviya he may have the right to write in the manner he does. We do not hold a brief for the policy which the Pandit pursues but we believe that he might give a good answer to much of what the critic says.

There is real ground for regret in the resignation of the Vice-Chancellorship by Sir P. Shri Ram Iyer. But such a man is able to state clearly any criticisms he may wish should be published for the good of the Hindu University. The last thing we can imagine is that he should, with an inside critic should present the matter as he does in a manner from which it is improbable that any good may come—except perhaps the unveiling of the Insider Critic himself.

OUTSIDE CRITIC

A PEACE THAT IS NO PEACE

AS the issues raised by the latest act of the Allies in forcing an unwilling peace on Germany, are of the gravest moment for the future history of the world, and of especial importance for India I propose to put the case, so far as the present data are available, with some detail. For if selfishness has actually prevailed over humanity, if the Armistice terms have not been truly kept, (as I believe to be the case), then it appears to me to be certain, that, only when we have retraced our steps and acted humanely towards Germany, can we afford to rejoice. It is no slight thing to be called upon to invoke God's name upon our actions, and we must not take that Name in vain.

I

The Armistice was concluded on November 11, 1918, with two reservations mentioned later, on the basis of the terms offered by President Wilson in his speeches during the year 1918, which have been called respectively,—

- A The Fourteen Points
- B The Four Factors of Peace
- C The Five Requisites of Peace
- D The Five Issues of Peace

It is necessary to get these, in their outline, practically and concisely before the eye of the mind. I shall give them, therefore, in detail with very slight abbreviation,—

A THE FOURTEEN POINTS

I Open covenants of peace shall be openly arrived at. No private national understandings. No secret diplomacy.

II Absolute freedom of navigation of the seas, outside territorial waters. No naval blockade except by international action.

III The removal of all economic barriers as far as possible, between nations.

IV Adequate guarantees given and

taken, that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V A free, open minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims.

VI The evacuation of all Russian territory. The settlement of all Russian questions, by giving Russia unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, under institutions of her own choosing.

VII Belgium must be evacuated and restored.

VIII All occupied French territory to be restored. The wrong done in the matter of Alsace Lorraine to be righted.

IX A readjustment of Italian frontiers to be made along clearly recognisable lines of nationality.

X The peoples of Austria-Hungary to be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro to be evacuated and occupied territories to be restored.

XII The Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire to be assured a secure sovereignty. The other nationalities to be guaranteed full opportunity of autonomous development. Dardanelles to be a free passage for all nations.

XIII An independent Polish State to be formed, which should include territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations.

XIV A general Association of Nations to be made affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

B THE FOUR FACTORS OF PEACE

I The destruction of every arbitrary power that can secretly, separately, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world.

II The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of material advantage or interest of any other nation which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery

III The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct towards each other by the same principles of honour that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another

IV The establishment of an organisation of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right

C THE FIVE REQUISITES

I The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favour and knows no standards but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned

II No separate or special interest of any single nation, or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all

III No leagues, or alliances, or special understandings, shall be made within the general and common family of nations

IV No special or selfish economic combinations, and no employment of economic boycott shall be made except when the power of such boycott is vested in the League of Nations for discipline or control

V All international agreements and treaties must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world

D THE FIVE ISSUES

I Shall the military power of any nation, or any group of nations, be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples, over whom they have no right to rule, except the right of force?

II. Shall strong nations be free to

wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

III Shall people be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force, or by their own will and choice?

IV Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

V Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance, or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

There are certain extremely important utterances of President Wilson interpreting the Armistice position which were made during the days of the Peace Conference sessions. The following are the most important —

(a) *Speech to the Italian Deputies*

January 3 1919

'Our task at Paris is to organise the friendship of the world to see to it that all the moral forces that make for right and justice and liberty are united, and are given a vital organisation, to which the peoples of the world will gladly and readily respond

(b) *Address to the Peace Conference*

January 25, 1919

'We are here to see that the very foundations of this war are swept away. These foundations are the power of small bodies of men to wield their will and use mankind as pawns in their game. Nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace

(c) *Speech in the Chamber of Deputies*

Feb 3, 1919

'We have come to work out a world which is fit to live in and in which all countries can enjoy the heritage of liberty for which France, America, England and Italy have paid so dear

(d) *Message to the American People*

Feb 24, 1919

'The men, who are in the Conference at Paris, realise that they are the servants of their own people, and that the spirit of their people has awakened to a new purpose,

all need revision, modification, or expungement

Mr Lloyd George,—who alone of the Prime Ministers has spoken officially up to the date of writing—takes a typically defiant attitude. His speech reads rather like that of a politician desirous of making capital out of the situation, for party purposes, than that of a trustee, who has been given a most sacred trust to fulfil for the people.

The terms, he admitted, were stern were even terrible, but the crime of Germany had been terrible, besides they would have been more terrible still if Germany had succeeded in winning the war. As for justice it would have accorded with every principle of jurisprudence to have thrown the whole cost on Germany. He therefore challenged any member of the House to show a single case of actual injustice in the terms which had finally been settled. Germany's offence was heinous, and the world could not afford to take such risks again. This Peace Treaty should not be a 'scrap of paper'. Germany must fulfil it. The guarantees included the disarmament of Germany and the destruction of her arsenals.

I propose to take up that challenge of Mr Lloyd George and examine it.

The primary question is not whether the peace terms, which have now been signed under compulsion, shall be made a 'scrap of paper'. If they are unfair and unjust—as even General Smuts, who signed them, seems to think,—then, the sooner they are amended, and even (to use General Smuts' own word) *expunged*, the better.

No! The crux of the situation is not there at all. It lies in the one supreme point of honour. Did the Allies at the peace table when Germany was absolutely at their mercy, make the Armistice terms a 'scrap of paper'?

III

There are two charges brought forward. A. That the Armistice terms concerning (i) Open diplomacy, (ii) Disarmament, (iii) Transfer of territory, have been violated by the Allies.

B. That the financial exactions, imposed by the Allies, have been beyond any

thing ever contemplated in the Armistice agreement. They are contrary to the spirit of President Wilson's declarations.

A. (i) The initial clause of the Armistice principles was, that no secret diplomacy should be allowed. Yet the Allies are proved to have been engaging in secret treaties with one another all through the war and at the peace table these secret were treaties regarded as inviolable, even when they have been contrary to the principle of free self-determination of peoples, on which principle the war was fought and won.

There is a direct charge of bad faith here, and it is difficult to see anything but double dealing in the conduct of England, France and Italy and also of Japan. Here is the cabled despatch to America of what happened at the peace table.

'It was an awkward moment—Mr Lloyd George turned to Baron Makino, whereupon Mr Wilson was informed that Japan had received the promise of England, France, Italy, and Russia two years ago, that she should have outright all German islands Worth of the Equator. After learning so much Mr Wilson asked if there were any other secret agreements. It was then admitted that the agreement with Japan also included the British, French and Italian promises to support her claims to the Chinese province of Shantung, as the price Japan demanded for allowing China to enter the War.

'IT WAS AN AWKWARD MOMENT'

The awkwardness needs to be called by a much blunter name. It was a moment of dishonour.

(ii) Concerning the question of disarmament, the Fourteen Points of President Wilson are so explicit, that it would seem quite impossible to get round them. The words are,—“adequate guarantees (i.e. of disarmament) shall be given and taken” (Point IV). With regard to guarantees taken from Germany we have Mr Lloyd George's own statement,—“Our guarantees include the disarmament of Germany and the destruction of her arsenals.” But we do not find a single word in the P

Treaty about guarantees of disarmament being *given* by the Allies. General Smuts confesses in his statement of what happened 'regret that the abolition of militarism is confined to the enemy.'

What can be said about responsible people, who first solemnly pledge themselves that adequate guarantees of disarmament shall be *given and taken*, who then insist on the disarmament of the other side, and, last of all, when the other side is disarmed refuse to give any guarantee themselves?

There is a certain action sometimes tried by sharpers called the 'confidence trick.' It is difficult not to call the action of the Allies by that name.

(iii) No single point was insisted on more often in the Armistice terms than that of the free self-determination of peoples that peoples should be governed according to their own choice and not merely used as pawns by the stronger nations. All the territorial articles, in the Fourteen Points, keep this end in view. The principle is defined with great care and exactness in the second of the Four Factors and it is also implied in the first two of the Five Requisites and the first four of the Five Issues. Indeed it would hardly be too much to say that the War was determined by this issue. Yet in the Peace Treaty terms we know that the following four territorial changes *against the will of the peoples and by military force*, have been decided.

(a) The Saar Valley, with its coal fields, which is German territory, is to be handed over to France with an international administrative control, for fifteen years' exploitation, after which a plebiscite is to be taken.—The disguise of this plebiscite is too thin to deceive any one.

(b) Territory bordering on Poland is to be handed over to Poland though the population is German.

(c) A part of the northern Adriatic coast is to be given to Italy even where the population is not Italian.

(d) The German 'rights' in the Shantung Province of China are to be handed over to Japan, even though China strongly and emphatically objects to it.

It is not unlikely that other breaches of the right of self-determination have actually been decided upon by the Council of Four, especially in Asia Minor, but, apart from this, those which have been publicly acknowledged appear to me incontestably to prove that the Armistice terms have been departed from in order to satisfy imperialistic aims. The terms have not been honourably kept.

B It is difficult to record concisely all the economic and financial exactions which have been levied upon Germany under the Peace Treaty. The following is a brief *summary of the main points*—

(a) Germany, an industrial country, depending on coal and iron, loses one third of her coal supply, and two thirds of her coal reserves.

(b) She loses one half of her iron supply, and three fourths of her iron reserves.

(c) She has agreed to grant freedom of transit through German territory to "persons, goods, ships, carriages and mails from or to any of the allied or associated powers, without customs, transit duties undue delays restrictions, or discriminations."

(d) She restores all devastated regions and makes good any coal deficiency. She also must give option to France, Belgium and Italy on 21,500,000 tons of coal annually (one seventh of Germany's pre-war production). For 3 years, she must deliver benzol, coal tar and ammoniac to France. She forfeits 5000 railway engines, 5000 motor lorries, 160 000 railway cars.

(e) She forfeits all ocean ships of 1,600 gross tons and upwards, one half of those between 1,600 and 1,000 tons, and one quarter of her steam trawlers and fishing fleet. In addition she is bound to build a million tons of ships for the Allies within five years.

(f) Abroad, Germany is stripped literally of everything. On this account, she is practically deprived of all opportunity of taking immediate active part in industry and trade abroad,—so far as the conquerors can dictate.

(g) She accepts, in addition to all this the responsibility for a war indemnity.

(called compensation) which is to be finally settled by an Inter Allied Commission not later than May 1st 1921. She pledges an initial indemnity of 20 000 000 000 marks within two years and to issue bonds for 40 000 000 000 marks assuring the full payment of these bonds within 30 years. The total discharge would require 160 000 000 000 marks. Staggering already under an enormous public debt driven out of the world markets and economically imprisoned within Germany's own markets with her economic equipment exhausted by the war each single German family will have to pay for the next 30 years in addition to all other burdens 300 rupees out of its own scanty domestic income to the Allies.

It is this Peace Treaty which Mr. Lloyd George declares must be fulfilled at the point of the sword and not allowed to become a scrap of paper. It is this Peace Treaty which he says can be guaranteed because the guarantees include the disarmament of Germany and the destruction of her arsenals.

It may be thus guaranteed but again we ask the question—Is this fair as it just is? Is human as it true to the Armistice proposal? There is not the least doubt that Germany was inhumane in war but that is no reason why the Allies should not be humane in peace.

I place these economic terms side by side with President Wilson's own speech containing the Fourteen Points—on the basis of which the Armistice was made. Here are his own words—

The day of conquest and aggrandisement is gone by. We have no jealousy of German greatness and here is nothing in this programme which impairs it. We do not wish to injure Germany, or to block

in any way her legitimate influence or power. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new world in which we now live.

Then take the British Officers Official Report of conditions today in Germany—

We were shocked at the condition in the poor quarters. Spinach is brewed in the kitchens for babies of three weeks to three years old and the sight of babies sucking spinach soup out of their bottles in place of milk is distressing. Charts show that babies at the end of their third year do not weigh much more than at the end of their first year.

I have put side by side with very little comment of my own the professions and the practices of the Allied statesmen towards Germany.

The Treaty which has ended the war with Germany contains no true or lasting peace because it is based upon untruth. It will have to be undone.

Just as from every corner of the world the cry went up before against the inhumanity of the war methods employed by Germany which shocked the conscience of mankind so now from every corner of the world the cry will go up against the inhumanity of these peace methods of the Allies which as soon as they are fully known and understood will shock the conscience of mankind. Inevitably this will come to pass and the voice of thoughtful men everywhere will be clear and strong.

July 9 1919
Shantiniketan

C. I. ANDREWS

THE WORKING OF THE HINDU UNIVERSITY

AFTER ADMINISTRATION AND ITS RESULTS
It has been shown in the June Number of this Review how as the result of preferring candidates to resident Univer-

sity teachers in elections to the Executive Council of the Hindu University in 1918 not a single meeting was attended by even half of its members and that most of the

Now mark the sequel. Since that Senate meeting *eleven months* have elapsed but no duly sanctioned selections have been made available. Towards the end of the academic year 1918-19, a brochure of 17 pages containing the hackneyed *Channakya slokas* and some 180 couplets from the *Ramayana* was printed, but as the booklet has not yet been passed by the Board, the Faculty and the Senate, it cannot be used in the classes. Thus our academic mountain, after having been in labour for 2 years and 2 months (May 1917-July 1919) has not even brought forth the proverbial mouse. An impropriety was reached in Dec 1918 when an examiner in M. A. Sanskrit wrote to say that he could not possibly set his paper of the next examination as the selections from the Vedas had not yet been made. The Vice-Chancellor had to use his emergency powers and prescribe certain books to save the situation, thus justifying Mr Sheshadri's wisdom. But what time had the candidates to prepare these pieces which were announced on 19th January 1919, while the examination was to take place in April next?

This Sanskrit selection sub-committee was appointed on 5th May 1917 with five members. But its first meeting was held on 31st October 1918 (i.e. 1½ years afterwards) only one member attending. The 2nd and 3rd meetings were attended by the same number and the 4th and 5th by two members, out of five. And this (or these) "resolved" on behalf of the whole body. Happily there is no quorum in a sub-committee.

PROMISES AND PERFORMANCES

No private gentleman who has the least sense of responsibility will make any promise which cannot under normal circumstances be carried out. Caution in this

assurance given by Mr Malaviya I beg leave to withdraw the resolution. Mr Malaviya immediately insisted on the word *assurance* being changed into *explanation* so that no responsibility would lie on him when his assurances afterwards came to nothing as they have actually done.

* Later the M. A. examination was put off to July, on account of the late epidemic.

which is expected to have a permanent impersonal existence, stretching beyond the lives of its founders. In raising subscriptions (or what comes to the same thing, in attracting students), there is a naturally a strong temptation to humour the audience and a practised orator is apt to let his tongue run away with him. But promises made on such occasions without due consideration of their practicability, have a disadvantage they come home to roost, as Mr Malaviya is now doing, to the dismay of the officers of the University.

Mahatma Munshi Ram, the revered leader of the Gurukul educational scheme, recently remarked in addressing the C. H. C. students —

It may be tedious to say so in this hall but none of the founders of this University realised what they mean when they speak of this institution reproducing the educational ideal of ancient Aryavarta. Such dazzling promises are made by your leaders when they find it necessary to induce a shower of silver from the audience. But in practice they have only added one more to the stereotyped Universities of modern India. You attend lectures, lead free and easy lives, cram at the end of the term and go through the grind of the examination here as elsewhere.

The orator and financial resource beggar of the Hindu University has been telling his audiences that it would harmonise the East and the West intellectually, that it would impart the highest modern or Western knowledge while reviving the devotion and morality of ancient India, and therefore all Hindus, all well-wishers of India have a sacred duty to subscribe to it. Easier said than done, one is tempted to reply in the language of Carlyle when criticising Scott's dying speech to Lockhart.

The synthesis of the East and the West can be effected only by divinely gifted geniuses who are born as the winds of Fate blow. You cannot create them to order, or by mechanically stamping men with the hall mark of Ph.D. and D.Sc. In religion such a synthesis was effected by Rammohun Roy a century ago, and in literature by Rabindranath, three generations afterwards. In art we are still striving, it is still more obligatory on the leaders of an institution, like a University

ing after it. The Hindu University, even if it piled up the 4 crores of Rupees demanded by Mr Malaviya, cannot create the genius who will 'harmonise the East and the West' in the domain of knowledge.

But one thing it can do. It can and ought to improve the quality of its passed students, so that they may go forth and compete in the world's market better equipped than their rivals from the Allahabad Calcutta Bombay or Madras Universities. The present condition of the Benares teaching staff has been already described now for the output. At the recent B A examination, which is the first conducted by the Hindu University with its own examiners and its own question papers, at first 73 p c of the candidates were passed and then two more in a supplementary list, making about 75 p c of successes. Sir Asutosh Mukerjee must look to his laurels, as he could not pass more than 54 p c at the B A, in the days of his highest glory. The Hindu University in the first complete year of its existence has done nearly half as much again.

Great as this achievement is, it just misses the mark of Mr Malaviya's eloquent address to the C H C students last monsoon term when he publicly expressed the hope that the Hindu University would pass 95 p c, *nay cent per cent*, of its candidates. The reader can easily imagine the effect of such a speech by a man of his position on students from the province of Allahabad where the old University has hitherto passed about 25 p c only at the B A.*

Another promise of Mr Malaviya—equally alluring to the ear, especially the orthodox and Marwari ear, but equally difficult to perform, was flung in his teeth by Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta at the 1st Annual Meeting of the Court in 1917. Mr Malaviya was reminded that he had, when collecting money, promised that he would reproduce the scene of 5000 students sitting on the grass by the Ganges under

thatched roofs at the new Hindu University and receiving the highest education, whereas he was now proposing to spend twelve lakhs on buildings.

Yet another case. When welcoming the Maharajah of Darbhanga to the C H C in 1918, Mr Malaviya declared that it had long been his aim to teach Sanskrit to every student of the Hindu University from the Brahman to the Chandal (The audience, as the intelligent reader may guess, was composed mainly of Pandits). The real facts are that Sanskrit has been omitted altogether from the science course made optional at the matriculation and a very elementary test in it has been laid on such Arts students as do not wish to offer it as a subject.

BUSINESS PROPOSALS THAT DO NOT MATURE

The reader's attention is also drawn to the paragraphs which are inserted in the daily papers at the psychological moment without any signature—for that would be inconveniently binding and would fix definite responsibility in the case of their proving false,—but also without any contradiction from the University chiefs. Such paragraphs are so worded as to be very soothing to past donors and alluring to prospective ones. Hitherto they had promised the migration of the University to Nagwa and the opening of a complete residential University there in the near future. The latest resource-catcher in this line announces that the Hindu University would supply electricity to the whole town of Benares and would also manufacture chemical dyes commercially. The last item is particularly interesting, seeing that the new British Dye Company formed to compete with the Germans has a capital of many crores. Subscribers would do well to watch for the date when the chemical dyes manufactured by the Hindu University enter the Indian market commercially.

An advertisement for a post is a promise that the advertiser is prepared to appoint a suitable man if found. In the case of the highest academic chairs the selection of their incumbents may sometimes take time but ordinary lectureships should be rapidly filled as they are at all other in-

* The proportion of its candidates which a university passes is in itself not a proof either of its efficiency or of its inefficiency. Fd, M K

stitutions in India. But it has become a matter of adverse comment in educational circles all over India that an advertisement by the Hindu University does not really mean business: it does not usually mature in the appointment of anybody. Select candidates are written to and interviewed but months pass away and the post remains unfilled while men of exactly similar qualifications get or have already got posts at other colleges without delay.

Similarly, the Exodus of the whole University to the promised land of Goshwa at Nagwa is being repeatedly put off and making our chosen people soul sick. When investing the Hindu University with the powers of an independent body from 1 Oct 1917 the Government of India demanded an assurance that the removal to the residential site would soon take place. The assurance was given. At the Council meeting of 30 Oct 1917 on Mr Malaviya's motion the Engineers were ordered to start work forthwith on the Arts College, the two Science Laboratories and a Hostel for 600 students (*Minutes* II 282). Building materials cannot be said to have appreciated since that date but migration to Nagwa is now (July 1919) conditional upon the University realising above 9½ lakhs of Rupees of the arrears of promised subscriptions and donations and above 22½ lakhs of new not yet promised donations. Thus unless more than 32 lakhs of Rupees are actually collected in the present year urgent expenditure on buildings cannot be met (*Budget Estimate* p. 2). Will a new Moses appear coin all this money with his prophetic rod and accomplish our Exodus? If so when?

THE FUTURE

From the facts quoted by us the public will get an inside view of the Hindu University as it is run at present. Where lies the remedy? The first to strike a certain type of politicians is to use a morning paper or two to assure the public that all

is for the best in this the best of all universities in India. But blinking truth will not avert catastrophe. In the severe struggle of the after war world mere votes (of the *quorum* as usual) mere platform clap-trap the habitual wriggling out of promises when they happen to be unwritten the evasion or denial of unpleasant truths is not business. The cure can come only if the patient with a contrite heart admits his disease and does not try to brizen it out or to hulk his head in a sand heap. Whether that mental stage has been reached at Benares we cannot say. But hoping for a better day we suggest the following remedies as likely to help forward that day.

(1) The recognition that money is only a means to an end and that end should not be jeopardised in the quest of money.

(2) The use of common sense and common business honesty in the conduct of affairs and addresses to the public.

(3) A definite simple and practical programme of work clearly laid down in advance and steadily followed without being lured away to side-shows. The merciless rejection of the theatrical element and newspaper advertisement.

(4) A resident Executive Head (Vice Chancellor) with experience of the working of some older University power of controlling assemblies and capacity for hard labour. Sir Michael Sadler told me

I feel that I cannot stay away even for a day from the University of which I am Vice Chancellor. A resident and active Vice Chancellor of commanding personality is essentially necessary for a new University like that of Benares in its initial stage.

(5) The predominance of men with modern knowledge and teaching experience in the governing bodies of the University. Hence the formation of a professoriate *on the spot* capable of running the University unaided. Quality not quantity.

INSIDE VIEW.

THE DUTIES OF KINGS IN ANCIENT INDIA

FROM Dr R C Majumdar's learned work on *Corporate Life in Ancient India* which has been recently published we learn that in the Vedic Age kings were sometimes elected by the *sabhas* and *samitis* which were a part of the constitution that the only means by which rival claimants to the throne sought to gain over the assembly was supremacy in debate, that after the death of King Dasaratha the *rajakartarah* (King makers) met together to select a King,¹ that the King's Privy Council (called *mantriparishad* by Kautilya) was, according to the Mahabharata,² to consist of 4 Brahmanas, 8 Kshatriyas, 21 Vaisyas, 3 Sudras and 1 Suta, that the whole of northern India immediately preceding the Christian era was studded with non-monarchical or republican states known as *ganas*, that even in the Deccan 'some states were republican and some monarchical in form',³ that unity was the chief refuge of the *ganas*⁴ and that it was only from the fifth century A D onwards that they ceased to be important factors in Indian politics.

As an instance of the custom of electing the king may be mentioned the Junagadh inscription of the Satrap Rudradaman who ruled in Ujjayini about the middle of the second century A D, where it is represented that men of all castes went to him and chose him as their lord for their protection.⁵

The whole subject has been treated in

the book under reference with a wealth of detail which leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that "institutions, which we are accustomed to look upon as of western growth, had also flourished in India long, long ago" (p 122).⁶

My object in writing this short article is to add a few more authorities which I have come across in the course of my reading on the duties of kings. In the Mahabharata,⁷ we read,

'The king who, taking the sixth of the produce from his subjects, fails to protect them, is said to take upon himself the entire burden of their sins'

Similarly, in the Bhagavata Purana⁸,

'The protection of his subjects is the highest of royal virtues, by which in after life the king robs them of a sixth of their merits, otherwise, by exacting taxes from his subjects and yet failing to protect them, he is robbed by them of his merits, and himself eats their sins'

But nowhere has this idea been more forcibly expressed than in the Markandeya Purana,⁹ where the royal sixth has been

6 See also, on the same subject, *Buddhist India*, by Rhys Davids, ch II, *Epic India*, by C V Vaidya, ch VIII. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* translated by R Shamasastry, Bk I, ch XII, Bk V, ch VI, Bk VIII, ch II, Bk XIII, ch V, &c, *Sukraniti*, translated by Prof Benoy Kumar Sarkar, ch I.

7 अरक्षितार राजानं बलिष्वहभागदायिषम् ।

तमाहृ सख्योक्तस्य समग्रं पापधारिषन् ॥

Adiparva, section 213, verse 9

8 अथ प्रजापालनमेव राज्ञो

यत् साम्प्रदाये दुष्कृताम् यष्टमम् ।

दुर्लभान्या दत्तपुण्यं, प्रजानां—

अरक्षिता करद्वारोऽप्यसि ॥

Skanda 4, ch 20, v, 14

9 यदन्तः पादाति लोकादहृत्तान्तररश्मिः ।

वृद्धतो बलिष्वहभागं नृपतेऽनेरको भूयम् ॥

निरूपितमिदं राज्यं पूर्वैरक्षयवेत्तुम् ॥

अरक्ष्योऽनिरक्ष्योऽयं तदेनो नृपतेर्भवेत् ॥

ch 18 v 6--7

1 Ramayana II 672

2 Santiparva, Section 85

3 Vide अरदानयतः, no 88 (first century

B C) — 'केविदेहा गवाधीना' केविद्राजाधीना इति

4. 'सद्वा' एवाहुर्गोचानां अरक्ष्य सद्दम्—Maha-
bharata Santiparva, section 107

5 'सर्वैरक्षयिभिर्मन्य रक्षय्यायं यतित्वं वृत्तेषु' ।

quoted at p 22, Dr Bhandarkar's Early History
of the Deccan (1884)

in accordance with ethics and whatever is not opposed to policy and to act according to that and never to act arbitrarily."

There was no struggle says Mr Havell for freedom of conscience or for the political rights of individuals, because both were established by the unwritten law of the land confirmed by every monarch in his coronation oath.

Religion took the foremost place in the political history of India by a natural psychological process because when the preliminary steps in social evolution were passed—freedom of conscience and a sufficient measure of personal liberty to ensure the contentment and material prosperity of the community—all impediments to the attainment of the highest goal of intellectual effort—spiritual freedom—had been removed.²⁹

The Sukraniti lays down that the king must never act upon his own opinions³⁰ but upon the opinions of the majority.³¹ Public opinion is more powerful than the king as the rope made up of many fibres is strong enough to drag a lion.³²

In defining the limitations of monarchy the Hindu lawgiver is much more explicit and outspoken than the barons of England at Runnymede when they decried Magna Carta.

Whoever the reputed author [of the Sukraniti] might have been he certainly was regarded as an exponent of an ancient popular tradition which every king was bound to respect for these *Vituvras* were the text books for the king's education. There are always kings who forget their lessons or learn them badly but the theory that India has never enjoyed a constitution according to modern ideas is an historical fiction which does not bear careful examination.³³

Discussing the very remarkable evidence of genuine local self government and the management of village revenues and common lands tanks gardens and charitable endowments &c by different committees of the village *Sabhas* and *Maha-Sabhas* elected after regular voting by ballot on the most approved modern methods and the exercise of judicial powers extending not only to the imposition of fines but also to capital punishment by these assemblies full details of which have been brought to

light by recent archaeological research on South Indian temple inscriptions of the ninth to the twelfth centuries A.D., Mr Havell very justly concludes that

the common belief of Europe that Indian monarchy was always an irresponsible and arbitrary despotism is so far as concerns the pre-Muhammadan period only one of the many false conceptions of Indian history held by Europeans. Neither ancient nor modern history in Europe can show a system of local self government more scientifically planned nor one which provided more effective safeguards against abuses than that which was worked out by Aryan philosophers as the social and political basis of Indo-Aryan religion. The liberty of the Englishman was a rung from unavailing rulers by bitter struggles and by civil war. India's Aryan constitution was a free gift of the intellectuals to the people it was designed not in the interest of one class but to secure for all classes as full a measure of liberty and of spiritual and material possessions as their respective capacities and consideration of the commonweal permitted.³⁴

Speaking of Southern India at the dawn of the Christian era Mr Aiyangar in his *Ancient India* (ch. IV) says

The rulers in those days held before them high ideals of government. Their absolute authority was limited by the five great assemblies as they were called of ministers priests generals heralds (spies) and ambassadors. There appears to have been a general permit for a learned Brahmin to speak his mind in any *darbar* and these often gave out their opinions most fearlessly. This privilege was similarly accorded also to men of learning.

The account of the Chola administration (A.D. 900 to 1300) in chapter VI reads like a romance though gathered from the most authoritative and unimpeachable sources and demonstrates that self government of a democratic type not surpassed by any country in the modern world formed the very basis of society in Southern India.

In a little book recently written by Mr Vincent A. Smith to prove the unsuitness of Indians for responsible government that most hostile of all writers was compelled to admit that

"Both Hindus and Muhammadans recognised that the king had duties as well as rights and that if he was from one point of view the master he was from another the servant of the state."

35 Havell *o cit* p 235

29 See the quotation from *Mithabharata Sant parva* Havell pp. 3-4

30 Havell *o cit* pp 215-16

31 *ibid.* 7-6 32 1 232-33

33 *ibid.* 7 338-33 34 Havell *o cit* p 224

Sun Yet-Sen the 'father' of the revolution, to offer the highest prize in the gift of a nation to another individual. Even though Yuan acted treacherously, Dr Sun's abnegations did not go altogether in vain. I believe it had a tremendous effect upon the world. It showed quite clearly, more than anything else could possibly have done, that Young China was not out merely for office and that you will concede was a great thing.

"After the revolution had succeeded we found," said His Excellency 'that our difficulties were greatly increased because the various Powers of the world—strange as it may sound—appeared to be lined up with the reactionaries against the progressives. The reactionary elements in the country were strong numerically and extremely influential. With the backing that they received from various agents and especially the money that they were given by various nations, they could defy the progressives. That, I think, is the real reason why the progressives have not been able to succeed any better than they have done—why during the short space of 7 years there have been 4 revolutions, and two attempts to re-establish the Imperial regime.

"When the War began and the liberal Powers of Europe ranged themselves against the autocratic Powers of Central Europe the progressive element in China hoped that a new chapter in Chinese history would begin. We heard, for instance, that Great Britain was going into the fight in defence of national rights and the freedom of small nations. We wanted nothing more than to be left alone to work out our own salvation, and we believed that Britain and her Allies meant their formulas to apply as much to the Far East as to the Far West.

"While Chinese Progressives felt thus, the Chinese Government began to negotiate with Germany for taking over the unexpired lease of Kiaochow. But these negotiations were rudely interrupted by the ultimatum served by Japan upon Germany. When China offered to join forces with the Allies to co-operate in the reduction of that German outpost, her offer was objected to by a certain Power.

Early in 1915 China renewed her offer to go into the war. But for some unspecified reason that same Power was opposed to her doing so. A friendly diplomat in China advised our Government not to press her demands. What could China do ?

You will see therefore " pointed out His Excellency that it was not China's fault that until 1917 she remained neutral, and that her contribution to the war consisted merely in sending thousands of Chinese sailors to help to keep afloat Allied merchantmen engaged in bringing food to Britain and other lands and hundreds of thousands of Chinese labourers to work behind the lines and in munition factories in France, Mesopotamia and elsewhere, and providing large quantities of provisions and raw materials for use in war and other industries. The entry of the United States of America into the war and her appeal to the neutrals to join the Powers associated together to crush the menace of militarism and to make the world safe for democracy, paved the way for China to come in.

You may recall, emphasised the Chinese statesman 'that no delay occurred on the part of China. Further she made it absolutely clear that she had gone into the fight from no sordid or ulterior motive. Her whole aim was to help to crush the peril to civilisation, and to insure national rights and self-determination.

China's entry into the war profoundly affected the Far Eastern situation, especially the situation in regard to Kiaochow. From that time onward the territory did not remain territory that had been acquired by an enemy from a nation that was neutral. With China fighting on the side of the Allies, it became a territory that rightfully belonged to an Ally, and that, if the Allied formulas of national rights and self-determination had any meaning whatever, must be handed back to China. But the Chinese delegates at Paris find that the fate of a territory which belongs to China, one of the Allies, is being settled on the basis of conquest. While the Allies have refused to make the territories in Africa which actually belonged to Germany the subject of barter with Germany, it is proposed that the fate of Kiaochow, which

tion began. Believing as he did that the Manchus should be driven out of power in the interests of Chinese progress Mr Wang threw himself heart and soul into the movement. He was at Wuchang when fighting was going on there but apparently he bore a charmed life and came out of it without a scratch. After the disappearance of the Manchus his intimate knowledge of Eastern and Western institutions and his great energy enabled him to force his way to the forefront of public life in his country and he was elected Vice President of the Chinese Senate and later was appointed Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. When Yuan Shih K'ai usurped power Mr Wang remained true to the ideals of republicanism and stuck to the South. His inclusion among the Chinese Peace Delegates is for that reason significant.

For a man in the prime of life and full of energy His Excellency talks with great gravity. He told me that to understand the situation that exists in China to-day and to realise the problems that confront the Chinese patriots it is necessary to make a survey of recent Chinese history.

You may recall he said that in 1897 two German missionaries were accidentally murdered in the interior of Shantung. The Chinese murderers were apprehended and executed, certain officials were punished for lax conduct, indemnity was paid and two expiatory churches were erected. Nevertheless Germany refused to drop the matter and demanded that Kiaochow be leased to her for a period of 99 years. Since that demand was enforced by a German squadron under the command of the Prince Henry of Prussia the late Kaiser's brother China had to submit.

Other European nations were watching the German game in the Far East. None of them stopped Germany from robbing China but as soon as she had succeeded in wringing concessions out of China Russia demanded Port Arthur and Dalny, Great Britain Wei Hai Wei and France Kwang Chai Wan in order to maintain the balance of power in Extreme Asia.

China was helpless in the matter. Everyone believed that she had no self

respect—no national pride and thus it would be impossible to hurt her self respect and her national pride. Greatly was the world surprised therefore when the Boxer Rebellion broke out in the beginning of the present century. Many explanations were given at the time and many have been given since but the only basis on which it is possible to explain why certain Chinese massacred foreigners and laid siege to the Legation in Peking is that they resented the humiliation that the foreigners had heaped upon their country. In other words the blow out was the result of mild resentment though it was expressed in a stupor.



CAO TZE WANG

Late Vice President of the Chinese Senate.
Former Minister of Commerce and Industry.
Peace Delegate of the Chinese Republic.

Not long after the outbreak had been put down by the joint forces of the various Western powers and Japanese indemnities levied and other harsh terms imposed upon China things appeared to settle

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Rabindranath's Resignation

Everyman's Review (Madras) for June 1919 in its Notes and Comments writes

Though the title of a knighthood is but a title for a man of Rabindranath's genius and celebrity his resigning that conventional honour coveted by most men and only very sparingly conferred by the Government and resigning quite unprovoked and unincited by personal insults is an act of heroism and charity characteristic of the world-renowned poet. If we want to have a precedent to this we must go back to him alone and his refusal to visit Canada and deliver lectures at the Canadian Universities because of the injustice done to the Indians settled in Canada is the only other example that can be compared to his resignation prompted by simple and pure fellow feeling and regard for the mother-country. The letter written by the poet to His Excellency the Viceroy on the eve of his resignation will hereafter form a landmark in the history of political and literary advancement of India. Dr. Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield is famous and epoch-making in the history of English literature because of the courage with which it upholds the dignity of human nature and condemns the hypocrisy of all self-serving tyrants posing themselves as patrons of the Arts. Rabindranath Tagore's letter is destined to take a place secondary but all the more to that of Dr. Johnson's celebrated epistle and future generations of Indians will read and re-read it and feel inspired by the language of lofty moral indignation uttered by the poet against the wrongs done to his humble and beloved countrymen.

While we reproduce the above with approval we feel to find any exact analogy between Dr. Johnson's famous letter to Lord Chesterfield and that of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore to Lord Chelmsford. Johnson wrote his letter actuated by the wrong supposed or real inflicted on him by Lord Chesterfield by neglecting his claims to recognition while he was in distress and then going forward to deprive him when he was no longer in need of any patronage. Rabindranath was never in distress arising from poverty and never sought any patronage from anybody much less from the authorities represented by Lord Chelmsford. Thus while Johnson's letter was a protest against personal neglect Rabindranath's is nothing of the kind being based solely on national grounds in that it contains his

resignation of all titles and honours conferred on him by a Government with which he ceases to see eye to eye as to the manner of the administration of the affairs of his country and people.

The Uplift of Indian Womanhood

Mr. Abdul Hameed contributes a well-written article under the above heading in the June number of East and West now published from Simla. The article runs

From the beginning of time Woman has occupied a very important position in Society. She has always been in a large measure the source of strength and inspiration and there are instances in the history of all nations where women have been the types of all the highest qualities. We have Savi-^{tr} the ideal of perfect Love who conquered Death; we have Sita who is held in the highest reverence as the ideal of Indian womanhood. Women have always exerted a great influence on every race. Well has it been said "The hand that rocks the cradle is the power that moves the world." It looks impossible that a nation can be great and free if its other half is held in bondage. That is a question to which we in the India of these changing times are confronted and it looks as if in the path of our nation's destiny the words of the poet ring truer than ever.

The woman's cause is man's, they rise or sink together dwarfed or godlike bond or free.

In the main we have forgotten the high ideals of the long ago and Indian womanhood is not given the freedom and knowledge which men enjoy and that is why our national awakening is only half complete. Women are looked upon as slaves and they are considered to have no duty higher than doing the ordinary household work. They are denied the light and air of life. As for the state of the education it is very backward and one feels the position which they nowadays occupy when it is borne in mind that on education depends the realisation of the values of life, the social, moral and political issues as well as as the knowledge of their duties in home and civic life.

It is the mothers who are the main spring of all the activities of the race, the mothers who in the very laps of a race-consciousness, that have been the builders and the mainstay of empires. These are the mothers like the mother of the Gracchi, that made Rome what it was—the pride of the nations, and the wonder of subsequent ages. There is no greater duty nor nobler task for young India than the one which can be so simply expressed "Make women realise their self" for only in self-realisation lies the knowledge of God and the world. Let them feel that they are the inheritors of great ideals, and that the redemption

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of their nation depends on them. Woman's position with man's is one of equality, and both complement one another in the labours of life. This idea must take deep root in us, and will give rise to a reverence towards women which is their due. Therefore the first duty that we owe to women as well as to ourselves is the proper realisation of the place of women in society. Having done that and felt how indispensable they are to national as well as individual well-being, how handicapped societies and individuals are without the help and guidance of womankind, the next thing is to equip them so as to become of the greatest service. This can be achieved by a healthy and proper system of education commensurate with their needs. This must not degenerate into a fetish of instruction, that would be the greatest disservice we can do; rather let it aim at developing their highest qualities. When we have succeeded there, we shall have solved one of our greatest national problems, and raised society to a nobler level where men and women still walk as comrades, and the progress of the state also in every sphere will be assured.

Unless, therefore, a feeling of sacredness and reverence surrounds womanhood, and the high ideals of a golden past where women were goddesses and partakers of life, and not mere jasmine flowers, there can be no real progress. The springtide of our regeneration will not come until our women hold forth the banner of a nation's freedom. For, as the Prophet of Araby has so exquisitely said, "Under the feet of the Mother lies Paradise."

यत्र मायांशु वृजान्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवता :—where women are honoured there the gods rejoice—
—is a Hindu saying

Religious Education.

In the June number of *The Hindusthan Review* (of Allahabad) there appears an article under the above caption in the course of which the writer, Mr Doraiswamy Iyengar, B.A., says

The present system of English education in India which was established in the thirties of the last century has been found faulty in many respects and capable of much improvement. Of late it has become the fashion in India to decry this system without thought or moderation, and by every evil in the land on its head. Among its suggested defects none has been subjected to so much criticism as the absence of religious instruction. This protest against pure secular education received articulate voice during the national awakening of the last decade and found concrete expression in the movement for the two denominational universities. Just now this question has drawn upon itself an unduly large portion of national attention.

The writer continues :

The problem of religious education, though apparently a simple one, really involves many issues. It is the most perplexing education problem of modern times all over the world, as it is attended with insuperable difficulties, theoretical and practical.

The crux of it is that it raises some of the deepest controversies of the modern age which have irreconcilably divided people into hostile camps. A plea for religious education falls into three parts, a case has to be made out for the universal necessity of studying religion; next, it must be proved that religious education can be satisfactorily imparted only in public schools; lastly, an actual scheme must be devised meeting all the practical difficulties. The champions of religious education mostly devote themselves to the first of these and altogether ignore the second and the third, failing to perceive the possibility of opposing religious education on any one of the three grounds even if the other two are granted. They also ignore the difference either between religious education and religious instruction, or between religious education and moral education, and confounding all of them with one another commit serious fallacies.

Continuing the writer observes :

Several reasons are advanced to show the universal necessity for the study of religion, the most pet reason being that religion is the soundest basis for morality. On this supposition very many people have indulged in a good deal of 'cheap talk' about our present system of education. This education is described as sceptical, materialistic and debased in character, capable of producing only rank agnostics and frivolous atheists without having any living faith for later life, and almost solely responsible for the moral degeneration in the country.

The writer further argues :

Leaving aside for the present the question of the difference between morality and religion, it can be seen that the summary condemnation of the present system of education as being by nature immoral and solely responsible for all the supposed moral degradation of our nation, is hardly fair. There is no doubt that the hold of traditional morality and conventional religion on the educated youth of to-day has been largely undermined, and some signs of a little moral confusion are visible in our national life to-day. But this is the result of many causes. All over the world the modern spirit is up in arms against customary morality of any sort and India has also witnessed within herself this upheaval in the world thought. The clash between the old and the new, the East and the West, is now violently raging amidst us, and the commotion incidental to such a wholesale shaking of thought and life cannot be judged by the standard of a peaceful age. All our cherished standards of life, outlook on things and experience of the world have been thrown into confusion, and under such conditions there is scope for some frivolous, if not positively immoral, living. Westernism has implanted within us the spirit of individualism which is the great solvent of all traditions and set forms. The Age of Authority and of unquestioning obedience to it is past and the individual is the master of himself and his opinions. Modernism is also the most formidable antagonist of all kinds of formalism; it wants to have the spirit, the inner meaning, and rejects all external forms. It is just possible that our youths have given up all the external and unessential forms of moral and religious observance, and drawn upon themselves the wrath of the large body of traditional formalists. The existing system of education is the undoubted cause of the

advent of these factors, that have shaken the hold of conventional morality but it is not inherently opposed to morality itself!

Mr Iyengar goes on arguing

But is not this supposed moral depravity of our educated youths an exaggeration? Is the present system of education really so bad as is made out? It is atrocious on the part of our leaders to call the entire educated community of India by bad names when that community has successfully acquitted itself in all the available fields of national activity and has been primarily responsible for the national progress so far attained. It is also an exaggeration to call the modern system of education as sceptical and atheistic. How many of the thousands of its products have led atheistic lives? Most of these are law abiding men meek and pious. And besides even if the education is atheistic there ought to be no harm since the Hindu is said to be inherently the most religious of beings.

The writer continues

People say that the present system of education is essentially materialistic and as such imperfect as well as dangerous. A mere physical, external, animal sort of life is no doubt bad and the present education is to some extent responsible for such a kind of life. But this does not arise from the secular character of the education. Education in Europe is mostly secular but still spiritual. If by spiritual we imply the notion of otherworldliness, then the European and the Indian systems of education are both non-spiritual, materialistic and secular. But how is this dangerous or low? Are we to say that Mill, Spencer, George Eliot, Leslie Stephen, John Morley Bradbrough and Heckel are

persons of no worth because they are not spiritual in the above sense? One of the greatest leaders of modern India the late G. K. Gokhale, was an agnostic who had adopted the intellectual creed of English Philosophical Radicalism. Was India any the worse off on account of this? A distinguished student of the material sciences like Sir J. C. Bose, who has grown up, so far as his public education went in a purely secular and materialistic environment, can prove to be a more spiritual and religious man than a Pandit who has grown up in a life-long study of religion provided he has a tendency for introspection. Deep reflection on any thing may lead to the development of a philosophy of life, eminently serviceable to its author throughout his life. Those who have read the thoughtful discourses of Sir J. C. Bose can know how he has been able to draw out an altogether original and independent philosophy of life from a deep reflection on the biologic processes of nature. The cant about the materialism of our education and its danger to the country has no foundation in fact.

It is not thus proper to condemn the present system of education in India as being responsible for all the moral evils of our national life. The environment and the character of our life are more to blame for this than the educational system.

The writer concludes

Without prejudice to these considerations the contention of Mr Justice Sheshagiri Iyer may be conceded, that if the mass of the people in a country demand religious education, it must be provided for. The best agency for it must always lie outside the school.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The British Empire and The League of Nations

In the April number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* Bishop Frodsham, who is especially dubious about the operation of the mandatory system, writes about the League of Nations in the following manner:

It would be futile to imagine that all who are concerned with the formation of the League of Nations are friends of the British Empire. They may neither side with Germany nor be planning our undoing but none the less they do not consider themselves as custodians of our imperial foundations or superstructure. On the other hand there are some who believe that the British Empire will gain, in some unexplained fashion, by the mandatory system. No greater mistake could be made. And even if the British were to gain much, they would lose far more, and the whole world would share their loss, if it meant purchasing a cumbrous political machine at the cost of the new born spirit of unity and trust which has sprung up between America and the Allies—an ethical kinship which may yet prove to be the best positive product of the war.

This article has not been prompted by any prejudice against the main principle for which the League of Nations may be presumed to stand. The British Empire stands for the same principle, which is nothing less than making the world into a peaceful home for a united human family. The main difference between the League of Nations and the British Empire is that one is a theoretical venture, the other has the right to claim experimental value: the one plans from the circumference, the other works from the centre. The League of Nations is a glorious dream, but the British Empire is a solid reality. However drab in comparison with dreamland the British Empire may appear, it exists upon this much-enduring, blood stained earth as a preliminary sketch of what the whole world can become, that is, a community of all varieties of the human race bound together by ties light as air but strong as iron. The ink upon the charter of the League of Nations is barely dry, and already the draft may be pencilled over with innumerable amendments. The constitution of the British Empire has not yet been written. It is in the heart of the people—the same people who have shown their willingness to die for the Empire but who, it is complained, refuse even to be interested in the

League of Nations The British Empire is the product of gradual development and of three hundred years of practical experience It has neither outgrown its usefulness nor is it tottering to its fall It is by far the largest and most extensive part of the edifice of human society And no greater world disaster could be conceived than that the fabric of the Empire should be undermined in order to make room for an ambitious but imperfectly thought-out scheme for building a Palace of Peace which may turn out to be only another castle in Spain

How self righteous!

The Monroe Doctrine.

We are indebted to *The Review of Reviews* (London) for the following interesting extracts relating to the oft quoted Monroe Doctrine

The genesis of the famous political doctrine known as the Monroe Doctrine says Mr J G R Marriott in the April number of the *Edinburgh Review*, has been the subject of considerable dispute The theory contains in its complete form two distinct formulæ—first, abstention on the part of America from any intervention in European affairs and secondly the exclusion of European influence from the American continent and both formulæ date long before the President who gave them their name The first was explicitly affirmed by Washington in his Farewell Address in 1795 and by Jefferson in his First Inaugural in 1801 and it was not long before the second and strictly correlative formula was added to it for as early as 1808 Jefferson insisted that the object of the United States should be "to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere" The first enunciation of the Doctrine, by President Monroe, in 1823 was brought about by Canning's famous endeavour to bring in the New World to redress the balance of the Old Mr Marriott says—

By this message Canning was gravely perturbed He had got much more than he bargained for All that he desired was the co-operation of the United States in thwarting the supposed designs of the Holy Alliance and in particular of France upon the Spanish colonies What he got was a general intimation *utrisque* that henceforward the American continent would be the exclusive preserve of the American peoples, and that no further acquisitions of American soil would be permitted to European or other States

From December 1823 to December 1918 the Monroe Doctrine has been the sheet-anchor of American diplomacy Primarily put forward in reference to the Russian claim upon the North West coast and to the crisis in Spanish South America the principles enunciated by President Monroe were from the first perceived to possess a far wider application Canning's chagrin was amply justified The message no more discriminated between Great Britain and the absolutist Powers of the Continent than did the propagandist Decrees issued by the French Republic in the autumn of 1792 It was in fact as Professor Dunnig has candidly admitted the pronouncement of a great democracy just arrived at aggressive self-consciousness Its underlying spirit was in very truth antagonism so far as concerned

affairs of the Western hemisphere to all monarchic Europe Great Britain included

Japan and India—As Other See Us.

Under the above heading Mr S Kumi saka, Managing Director, Japan Spinners' Union, who recently travelled in India on business, records his views about this country and its people in the pages of the *Journal of the Indo Japanese Association*, No 24 (Tokyo), in the following words

Rather closely connected as Japan and India are in respect of thought, they are, materially speaking, truly alienated from each other While Europe, which first came into touch with India thought about the medieval age and which has even now but a very faint spiritual relation with India has got ahead of Japan in entering into close material relations with India and succeeded, after exchanges of commodities, in obtaining territorial possession Japan, to our great regret, still lags in Indian trade among such minor European countries as have the least This is needless to say due to the general trend of modern civilization of the world Had our navigation been as active since the 17th century as that of Europe and our national resources as bountiful, India would have approached Japan before Europe and Japan would have no doubt achieved as much at least as Europe did in India But our domestic conditions are too widely different from those of Europe, and our national resources too inferior to enable us to reap the same result in India It will not be however, too exaggerated a statement to say that within twenty years hence Indo Japanese relations will undergo a thorough change

The writer continues to observe under the sub caption "Religious Caste a Drag upon Indians —"

International relations depend a great deal, if not entirely, upon national feelings for national feeling plays an important role in international friendship The Indians have entertained good feelings towards the Japanese, or, more properly, show a national tendency to approach Japan But this tendency is founded not as the result of the popular feeling but upon the national faith which is more deeply rooted than feeling For, the Indians are a unique religious people, and their thought is so fundamentally religious that they can conceive nothing without religion, religion is the sum total of Indian thought And according to the religion which they embrace the caste system, entirely peculiar to India will never be changed as long as the world remains populated To the Indian eye, therefore the protection of the caste means more than that of the state For man is born in caste, and there exists no human being outside of caste And the

Thou wilt not leave us in the dust,
 Thou modest man, he knows not why,
 He thinks he was not made to die,
 And Thou hast made him—Thou art just

A Way Out in India.

To the July number of the *Asiatic Review* (London) Dr John Pollen contributes the following article under the above caption—

"The progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire" This is the declared policy which underlies the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms—and which constitutes the basis of the Bill now before Parliament.

India is to remain an integral part of the British Empire but to have a responsible Government or rather responsible Governments of its own—and the means to effect the end desired are declared to be—

(I) The increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Administration and

(II) The gradual development of responsible Self Government

This phrase—responsible Self Government—sounds well and his almost as blessed an expression as 'Mesopotamia—Angle of Vision—attitude or gesture.' It may convey different meanings to different ears or none at all to the indifferent. But the meaning evidently intended is that Indians should be responsible for governing themselves without interference on the part of Great Britain. In other words, elected Indian Representatives should be in a position to declare the lines on which the electorates in the various provinces desire to be governed—and should have the right to dictate the policy to be adopted or carried out by the Executive. This means (as Sir Francis Younghusband has pointed out), 'The gradual transference of power from the people of Great Britain to the peoples of India'—and the result will be that India will be responsible for governing itself just as Australia is responsible for governing itself. This is indeed the policy which all true well-wishers of India desire to see successful—if it can be made successful—and it is certainly the goal towards which faithful Administrators have been consciously or subconsciously working from the early days of the long ago! It was in this spirit that the late Mr J. A. Nairn, of the Bombay Civil Service wrote in the early seventies—

'Oh! men O the Western Islands fair
 Ringed white with the yeasty spume
 Declare if the wit of your forebears lives
 In the tongues that fret and fume
 Look back on the years that be dead and gone
 Speed hence on the Wings of Time
 When first your hand on the East was laid
 Like the grip of the Gods sublime!
 And say, when the spirit of England rose
 On the dust of a hundred thrones
 If her wings were clipped by a fool loud I pped
 "Mid the hustings' cheers and groans?"
 Not so—now ye have given a voice,
 Where never was voice before,
 Ye have laboured to teach the strength o' speech

From the springs of your Western lore—
 We have made the eyes of the blind to see
 And be it for life or death
 Your ear must bend to the voice that speaks
 By the fire of your English breath

Men of the Western Islands have long laboured to teach the Youth of India to use the political voice and to make repeated demand for self-government and we needs must listen now—for Reform is long overdue and (as Sir Bampfylde Fuller declares) 'a democracy cannot expect to permanently dominate an alien Empire. But the Montford proposals and the provisions in the Bill now before Parliament are so complicated so confusing and so elaborate that it is to be feared that the existing administrative machinery in India will never be able to perfect them or use them within reasonable time or in a satisfactory manner.

Thus a deadlock—or undue delay—is most certain to arise. The question therefore is—cannot some way out of the difficulty be found? Those who know Native States think it can and it seems clear 'The federal way adumbrated by the Aga Khan, is perhaps the best.' His Highness has declared that 'the problem of a Free India within the Empire can only be solved by Federalism.

Now it is asserted that certain Indian principalities are admirably administered both to the satisfaction of the politically minded classes and to the gratification of the masses of the people—and it is constantly proclaimed in the Native Press that the Rulers of these States have been able to give their subjects all the reform they desire—and many Rulers, like the Thakur Sahib of Limbdi, have protested that they are quite prepared to adopt in their States the particular changes and reforms proposed by Mr Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for British India. Why not then extend the system of Indian Principalities throughout India and permit Indian Administrators to carry out the proposed reforms on Indian lines in their own way? Why not in short establish limited Monarchies, on Montford principles in the various Provinces of India?

It may be recalled that the Aga Khan has proposed that India should be divided into eight Major Provinces roughly equal in area—and each capable of developing a National Government and that Indians should preside over these Provinces side by side with Englishmen and that in certain cases Ruling Princes of proved administrative ability should be invited to leave their own territory for five years for the greater field of a provincial administration.

His Highness very justly holds that no Federal scheme for India would be complete which did not take into account Native States for it is not too much to say that the Indian Princes are the bulwarks of the Imperial connection—and of late years some of the best known Princes have been cherishing the ideal of a constitutional and parliamentary basis for their administrations. These things being so—why not simplify and facilitate the introduction of the desired reforms into India by converting the Major Provinces into Indian Principalities under the control of Constitutional Chiefs? The Bill now before Parliament should certainly contain a clause or clauses enabling this to be done. Such a change would be welcomed by the masses of the Indian populations out of whose

situation. And it is this situation which creates our significant problems, practical as well as theoretical. The problem of individual ethics is the problem of choice. In a world in which there is possible but one course of action, no moral perplexity can exist. There is a problem of social morality because there are many of us. Were there but one individual, no social questions would arise. And in a world made up of one nation only, there would be no international disputes. The problems of science have meaning because many and various and complex phenomena call for interpretation. Without a multiplicity and diversity of facts to reduce to law and order, science itself would evaporate. And philosophy—what is it but an effort to reconstruct the meaning of a world in which many antitheses and contradictions seem to prevail? The work of philosophy consists in formulating the many problems of life and of reality and in appraising the validity of opposed solutions.

Again—

Is the State logically prior to Law, or is Law logically prior to the State? Is the will of the State ultimate, or is there an authority, legal or moral, which ranks superior to the will of the State? Is or is not the State capable of criminal acts? These questions cannot be answered without determining the character and the reality of the State. As a mere collection of detached individuals it is irresponsible, as a mystic being existing as a sort of Platonic Idea, the State transcends the moral judgments which bind human individuals; as a 'fictitious' or 'symbolic' or 'hieroglyphic' personality which is and is not an individual the State again eludes responsibility. Truly romantic is the 'double evaluation' of the group. As *Persona ficti* the State has all the privileges with none of the responsibilities of a person. But if the State is neither a collective name, nor a transcendent Idea nor a fiction or symbol, but a person in the ethical sense, or an organized individuality, as Plato conceived his Republic, then the State can sin as do individuals, and is subject to the same moral restrictions as are its individual members.

What has Japan done in the War

Baron Makino writing in the *London Daily Telegraph* of London, an article on "Japan and China. An Official View," says

We ask nothing for Japan but those things which appear to us just and equitable, and of the justice and equity of which we may be able to convince not only the representatives of the nations in the Peace Conference, but the people of the countries they represent. We have no demands to make, we merely advance certain matters for the same consideration by other

nations as we have ourselves given to them in the light of our own position and the future of the Far East. It may be necessary to go back through the history of some years in order that we may arrive at what we regard as a fair and equitable conclusion.

After detailing *in extenso* all that has been done by the Japanese in helping in the maintenance of peace and order in central Asia and in the Far East since 1905 up to the end of the War just closed which began in 1914, the Baron concludes with the following words:

The question has been asked, 'What has Japan done in this war?' I answer only by saying that Japan has done her best. It is perhaps not unseemly to state that her fleets in the Pacific and Indian oceans and in the Mediterranean traversed over 1,200,000 miles in the work of protecting transports and merchant vessels from the submarines, and we escorted three quarters of a million men rushing to the aid of France and Britain. Japan's geographical position, her resources, and the fact that the Pacific Ocean was freed of the menace which has threatened the freedom of other seas, enabled us to provide considerable quantities of war supplies and materials to Russia, to England and to France, and including loans to Russia the money expenditure has been a very considerable item in the budget of Japan. But these are small matters in comparison with the magnificent sacrifices of our western allies. The government and the people of Japan have been the loyal allies of Great Britain and France and the friends of Russia and of the United States. It is not for me here to enter into a relation of what we have done in detail. It is sufficient to say that what has been given or spent and what has been lost in the cause for which the allies have fought and won have been contributed in a spirit of loyalty and sympathy, and that we are here now to assist in the work of building barricades against war and in forging links of friendship and understanding between the nations of the East and of the West.

The British View of Irish Nationalism.

Under the above caption there appears an article in the *London Spectator* in the course of which the writer observes

Everyone with a faculty for argumentation must have despaired sometimes when he found himself opposed in a discussion to a person on whom logic had no effect for whom syllogisms did not exist and in whose mind a rationally presented series of connecting links in argument inspired nothing but some new and fantastic irrelevance. The man with the rational mind in such circumstances recognizes at length that all his rationality is of no avail that every point of learning and dialectic on which he prided himself might just as

one. Soon she caught sight of Uma and cried out in a hard voice, "So you have taken to child's play from the morning! What about the cooking pray?"

Uma at once got up with a pained face. "Mother, I have already begun the cooking. The rice is boiling, so I came out for a bit." With that she re-entered the kitchen.

The lady returned to her bedroom. This was the second wife of Shambhucharan. Uma's mother had died shortly after her daughter's widowhood. The young widow needed a guardian, so Shambhucharan married his neighbour Narottam's grown-up daughter shortly after his first wife's death. The lady came and took charge of Uma, and Uma in her turn had to take charge of the whole household. A young woman must not sit idle. She would at once take to reading novels in secret, which in their turn were sure to give rise to sinful thoughts. None except sufferers know how much anxiety a young widow craves. The only way of avoiding disaster is to keep her under strict surveillance.

Uma sat down in the kitchen with the flowers in her lap and tears streaming down her face. She had been listening to the stinging words of her stepmother ever since her own mother died. It must be quite eight years but she had not yet grown accustomed to the venom.

The flowers soon shrivelled up in the hot kitchen, but Uma had no eyes for them. She herself seemed like a sister flower, as beautiful and as tortured by the heat of her surroundings.

She came out again at the call of the mistress of the house. No scolding this time. She merely told her to cook for one additional person. Uma nodded and went away.

Bishnu now appeared with his books under his arm and in a tearing hurry. He was a pupil of the local high school. He threw down his books and cried out, "Sister, I must have my meal instantly. Our new teacher is coming, so I must go earlier than usual."

Uma began to serve him and observed, "Must you go so soon? Nothing is ready yet. But is there a new teacher? When did he come?"

"Oh, don't you know even that?" ejaculated Bishnu contemptuously, with his mouth full, "he has arrived this very day and is going to stay in our house. He has brought a letter of introduction from the Zamindar to father." Bishnu began to swallow the hot rice as fast as he could in his eagerness to start for the school. He must not miss the opportunity of triumphing over his fellow students by showing off his immense knowledge of the new teacher.

Soon after Shambhucharan himself appeared in the inner apartments for his midday meal. The new guest was with him. Uma had to serve as her stepmother never was well enough to attend to any household work. She took a peep at the newcomer. He could not be more than twenty-five and did not resemble his predecessor old Harish in any way.

Shambhucharan noticed the young man's shyness and tried to put him at his ease with courteous and honeyed words. No need to stand on ceremony with us, my dear boy, consider yourself as one of the family. He was not always so lavish with his courtesy and kindness, but this young fellow Biswanath being the nephew of his landlord was entitled to special consideration.

It might seem strange that a scion of such an aristocratic and wealthy family should take up the life of a school master. But Biswanath was never able to hit it off with his wealthy relatives. He seemed like a vigorous weed in a colony of hot-house plants. He was totally out of place in the company of his well-fed and immaculate cousins. His tall and well-knit frame and a head of unruly and unkempt hair clearly marked him out as a plebeian. He never took any pleasure in his cousins' gentlemanly pastimes of cards and the glass, but took to running, wrestling and swimming like a veritable peasant. He hated tyranny and never submitted to it. His uncle did not know what to make of this eccentric nephew of his.

As soon as he had passed the M.A. examination Biswanath gave out that henceforth he intended to earn his own living. Such a thing had never been heard of in this ancient and aristocratic house.

human being. He began to pity this beautiful young girl who drudged for the entire household and had only stinging reproofs for her reward. As he was now considered quite one of the family, they had given up standing on ceremony with him and never troubled themselves about their manner in his presence.

Uma's stepmother frequently scolded and abused her before Biswanath. The poor girl tried her best to hide her tears and humiliation from this stranger's eyes but it was hard to deceive him. His eyes used to become unusually penetrating whenever Uma was concerned and nothing escaped him. He used to get furious but he knew well enough that his anger was futile and any steps taken in her defence would but increase her sufferings. But it was hard to sit still and witness such injustice. His pity for Uma knew no bounds.

But was it pity alone that he used to feel for this girl? His behaviour seemed to be actuated by some stronger feeling. He felt helpless to defend Uma and became enraged with the whole household. Bishnu and one of his younger brothers used to sleep in the same room with Biswanath. Uma had to make the beds. Biswanath had just returned from his school when he heard the grating voice of Shambhucharan's wife. Uma! I wonder at your sense. Can't you take a little more care of that room? You ought to be ashamed of yourself. Just look at the state it is in. Biswanath stared up all at once. He rushed into the room and with a jerk flung away the whole bedding mattress and all on the floor. Bishnu's bewildered stare recalled him to himself and he went out saying, It is too warm to lie on that heavy bed.

Biswanath had gradually ceased to be a stranger to Uma. In a Hindu household there was but slight opportunity of talking to an unrelated young man but in her heart of hearts she felt him very near to her, nearer by far than those whom society called her kindred. He seldom could help her but she knew that he wanted to and her grateful heart accepted the wish for the deed.

The youngest members of the household were Nanu and Toonu. Uma's stepbrother

and sister. They used to announce their awakening every morning by a prolonged howl for breakfast. Uma had fasted the whole of the previous day as it was ekadashi, the eleventh day of the moon on which Hindu widows must not touch food or drink. So when the demand for breakfast came in its accustomed manner she was not in a state to supply it. Her stepmother immediately stepped into the arena with her most effective weapons. Uma tottered into the kitchen with her face streaming with tears. Biswanath glanced at the whole scene from his bedroom window. He wanted to smash the ugly faces of the two shrieking children and the vixenish mother. Instead of doing that he went out and came back after thoroughly tiring himself out by a long walk.

Next ekadashi came but Uma had determined that it must not make any difference. She would be ready with everything in due time even if she had to die for it. No! od's was up yet. Uma took up her pitcher and started for the river to fetch water. But as she came out she heard Biswanath whispering by the bedroom window of the two children, Nanu and Toonu just come out and see what I have brought for you. Come quick and I shall pluck those red lotuses for you which you wanted yesterday. The children rushed out in great glee, all thoughts of breakfast forgotten. Biswanath went off with them.

Uma went back to her room and flinging herself on the cold floor wept her heart out. She had been regarded as a machine ever since her mother died and left her in this cruel loveless world. But the mother had not forgotten she had sent this man to her sorrowing daughter. Uma bowed down to the earth in salutation she knew not to whom.

She was late coming back from the river with the water. Biswanath was striding along the road—he was on his way to the river for his customary swim. Uma's eyes filled with tears as soon as she caught sight of him. There seemed to be a tempest raging in her heart roused by that touch of heavenly pity. She wanted to bow down

and take the dust of the feet of this man. But shyness held her back and she stepped aside out of the way to let him pass. But he did not pass; he came and stood by her and asked, "Why have you come out so early? You certainly have not broken your fast yet?"

"Your meals must be ready before school time," answered Uma evasively.

"I am not in the habit of killing people for my own convenience," said Biswanath sharply as he walked off. "Besides I am feeling a bit feverish. I don't think I shall take anything to-day."

Uma returned home quickly. She understood well this sudden fever of Biswanath. Sorrows brought them together, joy would have kept them apart.

(2)

"Do you hear, Uma, you must be pleased to be a bit quicker to-day with your work, as my brother and sister are coming. I hope they will be able to have some refreshments when they arrive."

Uma was sitting lost in a reverie in her own room. Her stepmother's voice brought her back to the earth. She rose and went to attend to her duties.

Biswanath, on his return from the school, was rather astonished to see a man sitting on his bed and calmly smoking. His fashionable dress and carefully arranged hair clearly denoted a beau of the town. Biswanath went out after a casual glance. The young man asked Bishnu, "Is this your new schoolmaster? Seems rather high and mighty for his position. Didn't condescend more than one glance at my direction." This person was named Suresh. He was the younger brother of the mistress of the house.

He was in the habit of returning home very late for various reasons. His visit made no change in his manner of life. After the children had had their supper, Uma was ordered to put the supper of the guest in his sister's bedroom and retire. After a thought, her stepmother added, "Biswanath's supper too you can keep here. I think they would like each other's company."

Uma did as she was told, and then sat

down to her own frugal meal of puffed rice and treacle. It was nearing eleven when Suresh came back, and after a stealthy glance around, he approached the open door of Uma's room. Uma looked up startled, whereupon the fashionable young man advanced with a broad grin and said, "My dear, you don't seem to recognise me, please be a little kind."

Uma's eyes blazed. Without a word she got up and shut the door in his face with a bang. The discomfited gallant was obliged to retire, though with a very bad grace. He was not long in retaliating. He found every fault imaginable with his supper and began to complain loudly of his own ill health and the scant attention paid towards his comforts by his own family. The widowed sister, who had accompanied him, loyally backed him.

The mistress of the house was rather in a fix. It was too late to prepare anything new, but her darling brother refused to be content with what had been prepared. She was feeling a bit ashamed too of the ill manners of her own people in her husband's house and before the eyes of Biswanath, who was an aristocrat born.

But Suresh was not the person to give up. The contest ended in calling Uma out and scolding her heartily for her neglect of her duties. She should have seen that a guest of the house had what he wanted. Suresh smiled in triumph as Uma went to prepare new dishes for him at that hour of the night with her own supper unfinished.

"What a temper she seems to be in! Widows should not put on such airs. We too have to work from morning till night, but nobody can say that of us," remarked the widowed sister.

Biswanath had been hitherto sitting in amazed silence at this display of good breeding. He had been asked to take supper with Suresh and had found no way out of it. He had scarcely taken anything. Suddenly he got up and quickly went out. Suresh finished his supper alone.

Biswanath spent a sleepless night tossing from side to side. Then getting up he went out. It was already beginning to clear, so he took the road to the river. He

had hoped to find the river ghāt deserted but somebody was already there sitting on the steps. The keen breeze of the early dawn was shaking the folds of her white dress and a mass of black hair sweeping over the stone steps. Biswanath approached silently then called out Uma.

Uma had been sitting there like a statue carved of stone but at his call she broke down utterly and flung herself down shaking with inarticulate sobs. Biswanath sat silently by her, he knew no words with which to comfort her. But Uma felt his tears on her loose hair.

After a while he called again. Uma but still no answer. Suddenly a shiver went through Uma's whole frame. Whose touch was this on her hair? An electric wave seemed to sweep over her.

Biswanath did not remove his hand. He kept it where it was and said, Uma, this torture cannot go on. It is beyond me to sit still and witness it. Come with me. I am not rich but as my wife you may find something greater than riches.

For one instant Uma's senses seemed to desert her. Next moment she sprang up and with a panic-stricken glance at Biswanath she vanished like a streak of lightning. She reached her room and fell down in a swoon.

She recovered after a while. A withering sense of shame and guilt seemed to choke her. Shame on her, the wayward and false woman, to what had she brought herself? Was this then the result of all the austerities which her father had made her practise ever since her widowhood? So weak was she, so pitifully weak that a man could propose marriage to her. To her, the daughter of a Bramhin and the widow of a Bramhin to her, to whom even the thought of marriage would have been an abomination. Why had not she died before she heard such words? And what was he who can insult her so shamefully?

Uma called up all her anger and detestation to her aid and tried to harden her heart against that transgressor. But alas for the insulted conventional ideal of a woman! Whom was she trying to judge and punish? She knew well that she had no power to punish him even in her heart.

How ever much he might sin. How could she turn her heart away from the only person whose eyes had shed tears for her? She saw that she was weak and this made her all the more bitter against herself. She had not tried hard enough to conceal her sorrows and her negligence had given rise to this shocking evil. She alone was to blame and may all punishment fall on her.

Suddenly she saw Biswanath standing by her open window with a world of pain and love in his eyes. Uma sat up and panted out, Go away go away don't drag me towards sin any more.

Biswanath turned away with a white and quivering face. Another person who had been watching them closely himself unseen took himself off then as his task was done.

The eldest sister of Suresh had just left her bed and was about to sit down to her morning devotionals when her darling brother appeared before her with a broad grin. What is the matter? asked the lady.

Matter enough and to spare. I used to think that I alone was a scoundrel but I see now that there are many in the same boat.

The lady forgot everything about her morning prayers and asked eagerly, But what has happened?

You may well ask that. Now that saintly schoolmaster of yours, Suresh, settled himself down comfortably for half an hour's refreshing talk.

(3)

It was a dark and still evening. The sky was covered with dense clouds and threatening an outburst every instant. The gloom was reflected on the face of every person in the house. Everyone was engaged in his or her own work but none talked. But for all the silence a strong undercurrent of perturbation was plainly discernible. The two children were seated in the yard making mud hovels with great care.

Uma's stepmother was in whispered consultation with her sister. After a while the elder one said, Then this is settled?

The other answered, Of course.

torrent of death, the clouds still shut out all light except that of lightning, the stormy winds were howling all around. She seemed like the sad evening star, torn from her orbit by the mad storm.

Shambhucharan called sternly "Uma come away, it is time to start."

Uma got up and without a word followed her father. Bishnu rushed to her and cried eagerly, "Sister, where have you been so long?"

His father pushed him away roughly, saying, "Don't talk to your sister go away."

Soon after Uma left the village where she was born and started for the unknown world. The small female compartment of the train was crowded, there was no room to sit down. Uma stood near the door and watched the village vanish from her sight. The other lady passengers went on feeding their children and talking among themselves about household affairs. Uma's lady companion spent her time waging a battle royal with the other occupants of the compartment because they were not polite enough to offer her a seat.

(4)

It was already evening. The waters of the two rivers Ganges and Jumna mingled and rolled away together to the ocean. Pilgrims had thronged all the bathing places during the day, but now the ghats were gradually becoming deserted. Three women came and stood near one of the ghats. All wore the white garb of widowhood. The first woman was plainly and visibly a maid servant, the second was a stoutish lady with a severe and solemn face. The third was a young girl, her eyes were fixed in a bewildered stare.

The stout lady cried out in a vexed tone, "Where has that good for nothing *Panda** gone? He has been gone over an hour to

seek for a barber, when shall we return home, I wonder?"

But just at that moment the *Panda* appeared accompanied by one of those barbers who swarm in this place, as it is considered that great merit can be acquired by shaving one's head at the confluence of the sacred rivers Ganges and Jumna.

The barber sat down and opening his bag began to take out the implements of his labour. The elderly lady glanced at the girl and said "Now be quick, girl, we are very late as it is."

The girl was gazing intently at the spot where the blue waves of the Jumna threw themselves joyously on the white bosom of the Ganges. Receiving no reply to her call, the older woman advanced and dragged her roughly to the spot where the barber was sitting.

The barber took his scissors in one hand and with the other he gathered up the mass of loose hair which was trailing on the ground. The young woman trembled violently and pulled away her hair from his hand crying "Don't touch my hair." That which had been made sacred by the touch of Biswanath's hand she could not either part with or allow to be desecrated by the touch of any other person. The face of her companion nearly turned black in anger. She seemed to be deprived of the power of speech. The *Panda* looked at her infuriated face then advanced towards the girl.

The girl's eyes became suddenly frantic and panic-stricken like those of a doe brought to bay by cruel hunters. She gazed around but nothing met her eyes except cruel and pitiless looks. There was no mercy left anywhere for her.

The *Panda* was about to seize the girl when a piercing shriek shattered the silence. The girl shot past him like a meteor and sprang into the water. Once only was her face seen in the fast waning evening light, floating like a white lotus on the blue waves. Next moment the dark waters closed over her head.

* Priests in Hindu places of pilgrimage in Northern India are called *Pandits*. They serve also as guides.

THE TRIAL OF THE HORSE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

BRAHMĀ the creator was very near the end of his task of creation when a new idea struck him

He sent for the Store keeper and said
O keeper of the stores bring to my factory
a quantity of each of the five elements For
I am ready to create another creature

Lord of the universe the store keeper replied when in the first flush of creative extravagance you began to turn out such exaggerations as elephants and whales and pythons and tigers you took no count of the stock Now all the elements that have density and force are nearly used up The supply of earth and water and fire has become inconveniently scanty while of air and ether there is as much as is good for us and a good deal more

The four headed deity looked perplexed and pulled at his four pairs of moustaches At last he said The limitedness of material gives all the more scope to originality Send me whatever you have left

This time Brahmā was excessively sparing with the earth water and fire The new creature was not given either horns or claws and his teeth were only meant for chewing not for biting The prudent care with which fire was used in his formation made him necessary in war without making him warlike

This animal was the Horse

The reckless expenditure of air and ether which went into his composition was amazing And in consequence he perpetually struggled to outstretch the wind to outrun space itself The other animals run only when they have a reason but the horse would run for nothing whatever as if to run cut off his own skin He had no desire to chase or to kill but only to fly on and on till he dwindled into a dot melted into a swoon flurried into a shadow and vanished into vacancy

The Creator was glad He had given for

his other creatures habitations—to some the forests to others the caves But in his enjoyment of the disinterested spirit of speed in the Horse he gave him an open meadow under the very eye of heaven

By the side of this meadow lived Man

Man has his delight in pillaging and piling things up And he is never happy till these grow into a burden So when he saw this new creature pursuing the wind and kicking at the sky he said to himself

If only I can bind and secure this Horse I can use his broad back for carrying my loads

So one day he caught the Horse

Then man put a saddle on the Horse's back and a spiky bit in his mouth He regularly had hard rubbing and scrubbing to keep him fit and there were the whip and spurs to remind him that it was wrong to have his own will

Man also put high walls round the Horse lest if left at large in the open the creature might escape him So it came to pass that while the Tiger who had his forest remnant in the forest the Lion who had his cave remained in the cave the Horse who once had his open meadow came to spend his days in a stable Air and ether had roused in the horse longings for deliverance but they swiftly delivered him into bondage

When he felt that bondage did not suit him the Horse kicked at the stable walls

But this hurt his hoofs much more than it hurt the wall Still some of the plaster came off and the wall lost its beauty

Man felt aggrieved

What ingratitude! he cried Do I not give him food and drink? Do I not keep highly paid men servants to watch over him day and night? Indeed he is hard to please

In their desperate attempts to please the Horse the men servants fall upon him

and so vigorously applied all their winning methods that he lost his power to kick and a great deal more besides.

Then Man called his friends and neighbours together and said to them exultingly, — Friends did you ever see so devoted a steed as mine?

'Never!' they replied. He seems as still as ditch water and as mild as the religion you profess.

The Horse as is well known had no horns no claws nor adequate teeth at his birth. And, when on the top of this all kicking at the walls and even into emptiness had been stopped the only way to give vent to his feelings was to neigh.

But that disturbed Man's sleep.

Moreover this neighing was not likely to impress the neighbours as a proof of devotion and thankfulness. So Man invented devices to shut the Horse's mouth.

But the voice cannot be altogether suppressed so long as the mistake is made of leaving any breath in the body. Therefore a spasmodic sound of moaning came from his throat now and then.

One day this noise reached Brahmā's ears.

The Creator woke up from his meditation. It gave him a start when he glanced at the meadow and saw no sign of the Horse.

This is all your doing, cried Brahmā in anger to Yama the God of death. You have taken away the Horse!

Lord of all creatures! Death replied. All your worst suspicions you keep only for me. But most of the calamities in your beautiful world will be explained if you turn your eyes in the direction of Man.

Brahmā looked below. He saw a small enclosure walled in from which the

dolorous moaning of his Horse came fitfully.

Brahmā frowned in anger.

Unless you set free my Horse, said he, I shall take care that he grows teeth and claws like the Tiger.

That would be ungodly, cried man to encourage ferocity. All the same if I may speak plain truth about a creature of your own make this Horse is not fit to be set free. It was for his eternal good that I built him this stable—this marvel of architecture.

Brahmā remained obdurate.

How to your wisdom, said Man, but if after seven days you still think that your meadow is better for him than my stable I will humbly own defeat.

After this Man set to work.

He made the Horse go free but hobbled his front legs. The result was so vastly diverting that it was enough to make even a frog burst his sides with laughter.

Brahmā from the height of his heaven could see the comic gait of his Horse but not the tragic rope which hobbled him. He was mortified to find his own creature openly exposing its divine maker to ridicule.

It was an absurd blunder of mine, he cried, closely touching the sublime.

Grandsire, said Man with a pathetic show of sympathy, what can I do for this unfortunate creature? If there is a meadow in your heaven I am willing to take trouble to transport him thither.

Take him back to your stable! cried Brahmā in dismay.

Merciful God! cried Man, what a great burden it will be for mankind!

It is the burden of humanity, muttered Brahmā.

RESURRECTION OF MOTHERHOOD AND FATHERHOOD

FROM time immemorial motherhood has been regarded in this country as the highest function of female life. So much so that God has been represented

as having taken birth as a human babe to taste a mother's love.

Nandah kimakaroḍ brahman

Sreyā ebam mahodāyam

Yasodā bhā mahābhāgā
 Papau yasodā stanam haritā"
Śrīmat Bhagbat Skandha 10,
Chapter 8, verse 36

King Parikshit wondering asked Sukadeva
 O Brahman what good work Nanda
 and lucky Yasodā did so that God sucked
 or breast?

Nemam Birinchi na Bhribo
 Na Srrapā angasrayā
 Prasādām bebhure gopi
 Yattat prāpa bimukti dat'
Ibid, Chapter 9, verse 15

The favour which Yasodā received from
 the Savior was never obtained by Brahmadā,
 Sūta or even Lakshmi
 Sukadeva said

"Drono basunām prabaro
 Dharayā bhāravā s thā
 Karishy amāna adeshān
 Brahmanastamubācha ha
 Jāta yornau Mahādebe
 Bhubi Bisvesvare Harau
 Bhaktisvāt paramā loko
 Yavāṅjo durgatim tarat'

Ibid, chapter 8, verse 38

The chief of the Basus Drona in order
 to obey Brahmadā in company with his wife
 Dharā said 'Grant us that favour by which
 we, after being born as human beings may
 attain that love for God by which man
 gets salvation'

Brahma said "very well" and that
 Drona and Dharā became Nanda and
 Yasodā in Brindāban. Such is the dignity
 of motherhood or *bhatsalya* which next
 to *madhurya* or wifehood is the highest
 form of devotion extolled by poets and
 saints alike. Those who have no child
 of their own, try to realise motherhood
 or fatherhood by showering their love on
 an artificial baby Gopāl. They feed, dress
 and play with it as if it were their living
 child. This reminds me of the training the
 Americans are giving to the boarding girls
 to prepare themselves for future mother-
 hood. At first they provided each girl
 with a doll with instruction to feed, dress
 and rear them as living babes. This method
 failed as every method without reality
 or religious enthusiasm behind it must
 fail. Now they are trying to teach the

girls motherhood by putting them in
 charge of some baby brought from hos-
 pitals or some such institutions. In this
 way they are making an attempt at the
 revival of dead motherhood or resurrec-
 tion of motherhood, if I may say so.

At a meeting of the American Associa-
 tion for the Study and Prevention of In-
 fant Mortality, Mrs William Lowell Put-
 nam in her Presidential address observed

'Into few businesses in life are people expect-
 ed to enter with such a complete lack of training
 as that of motherhood—perhaps the most
 complicated occupation that exists. Men have
 evolved colleges and elaborated them into
 universities to give themselves the training
 which they need for their various forms of work,
 and women in entering the learned professions
 have very properly taken this education to fit
 themselves for their practice. Nurses are given
 a very careful and prolonged training. But
 when it comes to motherhood, what training
 have we—we on whom the whole future depends
 of those lives which come into being through
 us? Nothing at all. We do not even give our
 girls training for the common calling of home-
 maker, which happily falls to the lot of most
 women—for really a woman has to make a home
 wherever she is and I have an idea that only a
 woman can make it. I am not advocating
 doing away with the higher education of
 woman—far from it—I believe in all the educa-
 tion we get. I want not less but more of it,
 but if we must omit some things to make room
 for home-making I would cut out some of the
 things that are more remote from the children's
 daily life.'

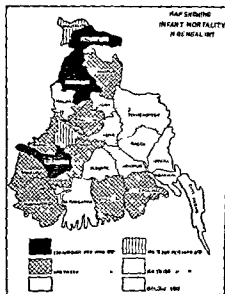
As a result of this unpreparedness for
 motherhood many preventable diseases
 play havoc among mothers and their babies.
 Realisation of the difficulties of rearing
 children has led many a modern woman
 in the west to avoid motherhood by arti-
 ficial means and their example, I am
 afraid, is being imitated in the East as
 well. They play into the hands of those
 who carry on the insidious propaganda
 of birth control. This propaganda
 consists, according to Mrs Putnam, of
 saying to people 'Do what you like
 and as much of it as you like and I'll show
 you how to get away with it.' It is
 undermining the morals of men and
 women. It is more than doubtful whether
 the poor women with large families whom
 the advocates of "birth control" pretend
 to protect are benefited by this propaganda,

as the pernicious literature does not as a rule reach them. But the more intelligent among the unmarried as well as the married quite fully understand and are led into license. The other day a canvasser of a book entitled "Limitation of family" which is largely advertised had the hardihood to consult me about the best chemicals to be used for this purpose. He came in the garb of a *sannyasi* and with an audacity more marked than his intelligence told me that His Excellency the Governor patronized this movement. The methods advocated by these mischief makers very often fail and plunge their victims into a whirlpool of distress.

Thanks to the teaching of the Sastras, the generality of our women are always anxious to become mothers. Like many of our Western mothers (I will not say sisters, for *mother* is the one dignified name intended for them by providence and which once uttered, dispells all impure thoughts) they do not fight shy of motherhood but undergo with great pleasure any treatment or operation for the cure of sterility. But unfortunately they become mothers without the preparatory training for this responsible function. As a result they lose in terribly large numbers those whom they covet most. Most of them lose their dear ones either before or after they see the light, mourn and get distracted, but are soon quieted by their elders with the old adage current among the Bengali ladies, '*Ka tak Jhanti Katak Parti*', that is to say, 'some you must, as a matter of course, lose. This dulls their sense of responsible motherhood, which can easily be resurrected if only we have a resurrection of fatherhood as well. Bring home to our women the fact how preventable diseases collect a heavy toll on infant life every year and the day of the resurrection of motherhood and the protection of childhood would be within a measurable distance.

In the whole of Bengal every year more than three lacs of children die within a year of their birth. This excludes still births the number of which is considerable. In 1917 there were 16,27,873 births. According to the American authorities a third of the pregnant women abort. So

there must have been a loss of nearly five lacs and a half of potential lives that year in addition to the three lacs already mentioned. What a wanton waste of human life which may be prevented if we know the way! In New Zealand they have brought down the rate of infantile mortality to 50 per thousand while we who boast of an ancient civilization stand aloof, unmoved and unconcerned although in our premier city Calcutta the rate is nearly 250 per thousand. The energetic Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal Dr Bentley, whose name in connection with sanitary reform will soon be a household word in this province has sketched a map of infantile mortality to evoke the responsibility of the citizens of the districts most affected.



Map showing Infant Mortality in Bengal in 1917, the black showing the most affected parts

Jalpaguree, Rangpore, Dinajpore, Burdwan, Khulna and Calcutta among others, should try to find out the special cause of this high rate of mortality. The Bengal Government has appointed a Child Welfare Committee with Sir Nilratan Sircar as the president. Let there be

Branch Committees in every District to co-operate with the Central Committee and suggest means for the prevention of infantile mortality. Will not the cry for help raised every year by sixteen lacs of babes born and five lacs and a half of babes un-

born raise the dead irresponsible motherhood and fatherhood from their grave of lethargy and set them to work for the preservation of these national assets?

SUNDARAMOHA DAS, M.B.

THE RIGHT CURE FOR AGRICULTURAL POVERTY

A PRACTICAL Scheme of Agricultural Organisation and Rural Reconstruction in Bengal is the title of a pamphlet published by the Bengal Cooperative Organisation, 6 Dacca Lane Calcutta. It contains a lecture delivered by Mr G S Dutt, I.C.S. Magistrate and Collector of Birbhum at a meeting of the Calcutta University Institute held on the 28th March last under the presidency of the Hon ble Mr Cumming Member of the Executive Council. The pamphlet deserves to be widely circulated and we desire to bring it prominently to the notice of the public. While the Press is kept constantly occupied with the sad and depressing events of the Indian political world and has scarcely any time to notice the slow march of progress in the everyday life of the people thanks to the guiding hand of an Indian Collector inspired by true patriotic enthusiasm things seem to be moving in a quiet corner of the western marches of Bengal in a direction full of the richest potentialities for bringing prosperity back among the half-starved masses of our rural agriculturists.

Mr Dutt makes certain observations on the working of the Co-operative Credit Societies in the success of which we know Government takes a keen interest which are far from reassuring and considering his high official position and the still higher auspices under which the lecture was delivered they are indeed remarkable. As the result of the working of the Credit Societies over a number of years it is found that instead of a reduction in the indebtedness of the agriculturists there has been an actual increase. He quotes the *Pioneer* in support of this somewhat unpopular but none the less true estimate of the situation and is emphatically of opinion that the true remedy lies not in this direction but in increasing the productive capacity of the cultivator by the organisation of a network of Branch Agricultural Associations affiliated to the District Agricultural Association under the guidance of the special expert officers of the Government Agricultural and Veterinary Departments. These Associations will grapple with such questions as the distribution of the selected seeds in

production of suitable implements utilisation of farm yard manure measures for dealing with insect pests and diseases the eradication or utilisation of the water hyacinth cattle-food cattle-diseases cattle-breeding crop rotations sericulture fisheries drainage and cultivation of marsh lands and the introduction of suitable crops for dry uplands etc.—The smaller the area to be served by each Branch Association the better and the aim should be ultimately to have one Branch Association for every large village. The more compact these Associations the greater is the amount of corporate and educative work that may be done by them. Mr Dutt then proceeds to describe the phenomenal success attained by agricultural organisation on this system in several European countries such as Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Belgium and Italy and also in America and Japan where the movement was started so late as in 1900 but already every village in the Land of the Rising Sun has its Branch Agricultural Association and the enormous cumulative effect of their various activities on the national life can be readily understood. Their system of consolidating small holdings by mutual co-operation and exchange in order to save time space and labour in cultivation is specially instructive to us. In all these countries the condition of the agriculturists was very miserable before the movement was started but now everywhere they are in a prosperous and flourishing condition. Besides increasing the productivity of the land such an organisation provides the agriculturists with a valuable training in combined work and by interesting farmers in their economic development gradually interests them in their social and political welfare and by generating a community consciousness in the villages leads to a natural process of rural reconstruction in the country.

The Birbhum District Agricultural Association was started about a year ago. At first Branch Association was formed for the area each Thana or Police station. This was found to be a large and Associations are now being formed on a much smaller territorial basis there being a steady increase in the demand. During the first

months ending in March last the number of Branch Associations increased from 16 to 20 and there will soon be a further increase. Each Branch Association has at present 50 to 100 members with a President and a Secretary. The annual subscription payable by each member is one rupee only. The members of some of the Branch Associations range from graduates and pleaders to the illiterate cultivator. The opportunity of common discussion and mutual observation thus afforded brings the most ignorant and illiterate member up to the level of those who by virtue of education or enterprise have shown themselves most receptive of new ideas. An ably-conducted quarterly agricultural journal the *Bhum Lakshmi* is already finding subscribers outside the district.

The remarkable hold which the movement has taken on the agricultural population of the district will appear from the following extract—

I may mention here that as a result of this activity groundnut a crop which a few years ago was practically unknown in this province but which is a very valuable crop for the high sandy soils of the western districts of Bengal now covers 1000 bighas in Burdham and a further expansion is expected shortly. Progress has also been made in the cultivation of cotton and in the process of home-extraction of groundnut oil by a simple machine. In 1918 the Branch Associations through the Agricultural Department indentated new manures seeds of superior varieties of paddy and wheat and of groundnut and other crops as well as improved varieties of

sugarcane cuttings &c worth about Rs 8 000. In the present year the indents to be made through the Department are expected to be about Rs 14 000 in value. Besides this a large amount of groundnut seeds and sugarcane cuttings of superior varieties will be available from members own plots for seed purposes. For a small district of only 1 700 square miles these are no mean figures for the first year's work.

We have space only for one more quotation—

An organism instinct with the vital forces of nation building and national reconstruction which born in Europe has nourished and raised nation after nation from the depths of despair to the height of prosperity within the short space of thirty years—the seedling whereof, transplanted in Japan only 15 years ago has furnished the Japanese with the material wherewith to build up the inner tissues of their great national life—that very organism, gentlemen has as if bidden by Nature to give Bengal her turn now taken its birth and fructified in a quiet and neglected corner of Bengal and it now invites you to sow its seeds broadcast in your land. Sons of Bengal will you or will you not accept this invitation? Sentiments of patriotism and philanthropy alone will not avail. What is needed is ceaseless and untiring effort for several years to come. The task is no easy one. It will take the best men in Bengal to fulfil this mission but I trust the best men in Bengal are there—ready to shoulder the work—and that it will be done.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

THE TWO RINGS AND RADHARANI by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee translated from Bengali by Dakshina Charan Roy. Students Library, Calcutta and Decca published by B V Dutt, 67 College Street Calcutta. Nicely printed and handsomely bound. Price Re 1.

This is really a fascinating rendering into English of two of the most fascinating novelettes in Bengali, acknowledged the most developed of the Indian vernaculars of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee who was in the course of a controversy in the early eighties of the last century characterised by the late Principal Hastie of the General Assembly's Institution (now the Scottish Churches College) Calcutta, himself a staunch Scotchman as the Walter Scott of Bengal. The translators into English of the Bengali books of notable Bengali authors are entitled to our thanks and grateful appreciation for they do

thereby indeed an immense service to the country and its people by bringing forward its literature before the world at large for literature according to the celebrated Dr William Ellery Channing of America constitutes the expression of the superior mind of the nation in writing and it is in the words of the Sage of Chelsea the Thought of thinking Souls. And if in the West to-day the opinion as regards Indians whom they hitherto on most occasions looked down upon as a semi-civilised people at their best is somewhat changed and modified for the better is it not largely if not solely due to the translation into English of the Expressions of the Superior mind of our nation and the Thought of our Thinking Souls such as that of Rabindranath Tagore? Mr Dakshina Charan Roy the translator of the books under notice therefore deserves not only our heart-felt thanks but also every encouragement from us all who have every

reason to be proud of the great performances of our great authors and master minds whose writings have done so much in raising us in the estimation of the present day civilised world

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—AN HISTORICAL ARGUMENT by Dr Pollard Printed at the Clarendon Press Oxford & published by the Oxford University Press Fiphthstone Circle Bombay Pp 68 paper cover Price Re 1

Since the promulgation of President Wilson's famous Fourteen Points about a year or so ago many things *pro* and *con* have been said and written here there and everywhere all the world over by enthusiasts and pessimists alike about the proposed League of Nations initiated by him. All the same although we have willingly been impelled to swallow a great deal of these voluminous writings of diverse writers bearing upon this by no means unimportant subject from the view point of the world's welfare we feel bound to say in bare justice that the brochure under review contains a great deal that we have not found elsewhere and it is indeed highly readable on that account. Mr Pollard though not exactly a pessimist as to the welfare of the world arising from the League of Nations does not appear to us either over-enthusiastic about its outcome and results. For instance he writes in a qualifying tone. A simple League of Nations for defence would not however provide an immediate means of solving problems which peace will leave unsettled and the future will produce. It would not directly guarantee liberty for subject nationalities nor good government for any State and it would not provide for the settlement of a single international dispute. The bare prevention of war may thus seem a poor substitute for justice. Again. The simplest form of a League of Nations will require from all of us self-restraint and sacrifice of nationalistic pride which will tax our moral qualities to the utmost it is prudent to demand

R. MALABJEA

dear. The population should be taken into consideration while determining the number and size of tanks or wells in a particular village. In a treatise like this intended for laymen, a table showing the size of a tank or well for a population varying from 100 to 2000 and a chapter on the practical difficulties in sinking wells would have been very useful. The author's patent Amu Water lift with slight modifications will render a well free from any pollution and so is strongly recommended. The author has stated nothing as regards construction of wells and tanks in rocky soils. Hence the book may be more appropriately named a Manual of District Board work in Bengal. The price appears to be high.

INDUSHEKHAR BHATTACHARJYA

MOULTED FEATHERS by J. H. Cousins Published by Ganesh & Co Madras

Mr Cousins has given to the world his songs during the present year with a lavishness that he has never displayed before. India, whose heart he has sought and found, has made him sing and the dedication of this slender volume to Harindranath Chattopadhyaya may perhaps tell of a personal factor in Mr Cousins' new found inspiration.

In a poem with a very curious title—'The Poet to his Alter Ego'—there is a touch of something which takes one back for a parallel to the group of Crashaw, Donne, Vaughan and Trehearne in the Seventeenth Century,—the Welsh mystical poets who play such a strange part in English Literature—

Yet if you the fire would find
You must pay the price in kind
Since Life's Tree must hold in dower
Wood for Crucifixion's hour
I re the skyward stair is made
For the Soul's high escalade
And the thorny circlet blows
To the Spirit's living Prase

It is difficult to refrain from continuing the

(Thou even Thou Artist of earth and sky)
I did not think I could have done
So much with such rough clay

There seems to me very little doubt that Mr J H Cousins period of inspiration lies before him and not behind. There has come something into his verse—with the new life of the East— which here and there breaks forth with distinctness. It is some truth if I am not mistaken that has not yet been fully revealed even to him self. Perhaps his new voyage of adventure to Japan where he has gone for a short time as Professor of English literature will reveal it.

C I A

I THE PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION OF B G
TILAK'S GITARAJAS by I Mangalshkar
Ind an Literature Publishers Madras 1919
Price Rs 2 Pp 305 Neatly printed and bound

Madras is to be congratulated upon its publishing houses and printing presses. Neither Calcutta nor Bombay can approach it in this respect. Lokamanya Tilak wrote his Gitarajasa to prove that the object of the Gita is to teach the philosophy of action. His book had a phenomenal sale in Maharashtra, and it has been translated into Bengali by the worthy brother of the great poet Rabu Jyotiradranath Tagore. The book under review purports to be a resume of Mr Tilak's book. Not having read the original, we cannot say how far the author has succeeded in his attempt. To rouse India from her age-long torpor and teach her that retirement from the world is not the summum bonum but a life of self-sacrificing activity is the goal of human endeavour is the highest benefit that can be conferred on her. Nobody will deny that Mr Tilak is one of the most outstanding figures in the ranks of orthodox Hinduism. His great learning has been acknowledged by western scholars. That he should have crossed the seas at the call of duty should sound the death knell of the anti-sea voyage movement. In this and in suffering repeated incarcerations for the sake of what he conceived to be the truth he has shown that he is an ideal Karma-yogi. The book under review is wordy, verbose and its English is peculiar. The author would have done well to deliver his message in his mother tongue.

II RIGHTS OF CITIZENS —by S Satiarumthi
B A B L Canesh & Co Madras The Cam
bridge Press 130 pages

The Right to Personal Freedom. Freedom of Judicial Trial. Freedom of the Press. The Right of Public Meeting. Freedom to bear Arms and to serve in the Army and Navy. Freedom to Enter the Public Services—these are the subjects discussed in the book. There is a chapter on the Rowlatt Bill and an Introduction and Appendices. In the foreword it is truly said. The rights dealt with in this book are of far greater importance than any privileges which may be

exercised by the people's representatives in the reformed councils and in transferred departments of the administration. Whatever small realisation of self-government we may obtain immediately if these elementary citizen rights can be secured we shall have freedom of movement for national development and can work our own progress without them. The most attractive schemes of reform cannot take us near to that fulfilment of national right which is our birth-right. In Appendix B we have the Declaration of Rights of the Indian National Congress and Appendix A gives extracts from a High Court and a Privy Council judgement showing the utter helplessness of the Indian Press before the whims of an irresponsible executive. It is because India does not possess certain elementary rights of citizens that the spectacle is seen in India of an Indian High Court Judge who hobnobs with Governors of provinces being insulted by a common Tommy in a railway train or an Indian barrister and leader of public opinion and occupying the highest position in Indian society being sentenced to a long term of hard labour or transportation for life for what the people consider no offence at all. We recommend this highly useful and timely publication to all who desire to have a clear grasp of the disabilities from which we suffer.

III FOOTSTEPS TO FREEDOM ISSUES —by
James H Cousins Pp 181 Neatly printed and
bound Madras Canesh & Co 1919

These are short essays on a variety of subjects literary and otherwise. They possess the author's characteristic distinction of style but some of the essays are too sketchy for publication in book form. The following extract will seem apposite to many readers who have followed recent events in the Punjab. On November 28 1914 when the poor [Irish] actor had served two months out of 1 & 2 years imprisonment for singing two Irish songs (one song—one year) Robert Bridges in celebration of the ending of the Great War sang

The good God bless this day
And we for ever an' aye
Keep our love living
Till all men north heaven's don't
Sing Freedom's harvest come
In one thanksgiving.

To which every lover of freedom will say Amen and yet wonder whether the poet laureate to the Government that puts an actor to gaol for singing songs of his native land has felt the pressure of the true footsteps of Freedom or whether the freedom of which he sings is capable of the paralytic—I grant you perfect Freedom to do what I allow you to do. But the Footsteps of Freedom move on.

IV IS INDIA CIVILISED? by Sir John
Woodroffe Second edition Canesh & Co
Madras 1919 Price Rs 80 pp 335

The first edition of the book was published towards the end of last year, and the demand for a second edition within six months of the publication of the first proves how greatly the book has been appreciated in India. We can only hope that this ready appreciation is not due to the fact, to which attention has been drawn by an Indian reviewer quoted in the Foreword that the book has proved in the hands of the unscrupulously and obtusely orthodox a weapon of offence and defence against the attacks of reason and commonsense. —We doubt whether a volume of recent essays by Rabindranath Tagore in which the reeking bloodthirstiness and inhuman greed of Western nationalism and the inhuman social abuses and practical materialism and worship of Power in Indian society have come in for equally strong reprobation would prove half as palatable to Indian readers as Sir John Woodroffe's book. The time has indeed come when we should not be put out by Western misjudgment and abuse or unduly elated by Western flattery. We should be strong enough to be able to judge ourselves as well as others with sobriety and truth, and thus we can do only when we have found our lives and have definitely taken our stand on the side of progress and development on right lines. Sir John's book should furnish the necessary corrective to Western misjudgment, and should prove more useful to Western readers than to ourselves. But as it is we fear few Englishmen will care to go through the book whereas its popularity in India has proved to be exceptional. In the Foreword Sir John explains — The character however of Indian civilisation is distinctly and pre-dominantly religious. But as to its present manifestation the distinguished Bengali scientist Sir P. C. Ray has recently written *apropos* of those writers who are ever holding up the Europeans as mere worshippers of mammon that they forget that the Hindu society as it is is thoroughly permeated with materialism. I was referring to the ideal not to present facts which as I have over and over pointed out, are inconsistent with it. I wish to insist on this point for I should indeed be sorry if anything that I have said was understood as countenancing any of the abuses into which through a descending scale of degeneracy Hindu society had fallen.

The bulk of the present edition exceeds the first by nearly 75 pages and the letter press and binding leave nothing to be desired. The matter has also been thoroughly revised and some of the criticisms on the first edition of the book have been attempted to be met in the body of the book and all quotations have been acknowledged.

THE KING'S WIFE—*by James H. Cousins*
Pittsford, Vt., Ganesh & Co. Madras, 1919.

Mr James H. Cousins has given us in this new drama a further exhibition of the great

versatility of his powers as an artist in word and song. The drama is of the ideal type, in which historical dates and facts may be left behind and the soul tragedy alone is regarded. How far such liberties can be taken with success in drama is doubtful and in this new work of the poet there is to me an Englishman, something of unreality in the close association of Queen Mira with the Emperor Akbar which is hard to overcome. But the beauty of the language of the drama is unmistakable and again and again I have come across passages like this which have haunted me with their cadence —
Oh! she has brought strange quiet on the world
The exquisite sadness of things beautiful
That is more sweet than laughter. She has made
The heart's pure conquest lightly as a breath
Because her hands are eloquent with love
While power that thunders on the stubborn will
Smiles the response—that leaps to her in joy.

I cannot refrain from quoting another passage which appeared to me among the greatest in the book —

Ah! me to have lived
Through love's pure greenness when the happy rain
Made life a full glad river to have lived
Into the dry and shrivelled after time
That were indeed poor ending to our song—
Were it the end but past our little reach
I hear invisible compassionate lips
Laugh softly and in comprehending eyes
Catch a far meaning to the shadow dance
Of children who have hurt themselves in play
And shall have sleep and waken and forget.

This pure form of blank verse (the hardest of all metres) is sustained throughout the whole play, and the words carry music with them as they flow on. I have wondered if the drama could not have been stronger for some roughnesses by way of contrast—some prose for instance when citizens are talking together—some humour broad and strong to take away the strain of the sustained idealism. But the dramatist himself knew best and his play has taken an almost lyrical note throughout.

C F A

SIR SANKARAN NAIR'S MINUTES OF DISSENT WITH
CHAMPARAN AND KAIRA APPENDIX *Ganesh & Co*
Madras 1s 8 Pp 73+63

Sir Sankaran Nair's well argued well informed truthful and courageous minutes of dissent have won him the sincere respect of not only all Indians who know anything of politics and love their country but of some Englishmen also. Messrs Ganesh and Co have done well to bring out these minutes in a handy book form. The book buying public ought to encourage them. There are some misprints in the book e.g. p. 2, transaction for transition p. 3 Roy's for Rhys p. 1 legal for regal, Diadora for Diodoros.

R C

INDIAN HOME RULE By *M A Gandhi* Second Edition *Ganesh & Co Vindras Reprinted with a new foreword by the author and a Note by C Rytigopalachar* Pp 136+viu+8 Re 1

This is a thought provoking book. Even where the reader would be disposed to disagree with the author he would on further reflection find some kernel of truth in the views of the great Satyagrahi. We are ourselves unable to endorse certain things that he says e.g. on education but we must say that we have derived much profit from the book by reading it from cover to cover.

The book is in the form of a dialogue between Reader and Editor. Editor being the Author himself. It is natural in the circumstances that Reader is not so acute a controversialist as Editor.

In reply to Reader's question 'When and how did the real awakening take place?' Editor says in part 'what you call the real awakening took place after the Partition of Bengal. For this we have to be thankful to Lord Curzon. At the time of the Partition the people of Bengal reasoned with Lord Curzon but in the pride of power he disregarded all their prayers—he took it for granted that Indians could only prattle that they could never take any effective steps. He used insulting language and, in the teeth of all opposition partitioned Bengal. That day may be considered to be the day of the partition of the British Empire. The shock that the British power received through the Partition has never been equalled by any other act.'

Mr Gandhi does not see real peace in the Pax Britannica. He holds that 'the present peace is only nominal for by it we have become emasculated and cowardly. He thinks that alone to be real peace which is brought about and maintained by the people of a country themselves.'

Mr Gandhi holds that 'we were one nation before they [the English] came to India. One thought inspired us. Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation that they were able to establish one kingdom. Subsequently they divided us.'

Regarding the need of a third neutral party to decide our quarrels he observes 'The fact is that we have become embittered and therefore quarrel and like to have our quarrels decided by a third party.'

Ancient cow killing he very pertinently asks 'Who protects the cow from destruction by Hindus when they cruelly ill treat her?' Who ever reasons with the Hindus when they mercilessly belabour the progeny of the cow with the sticks?' But this has not prevented us from remaining one nation.

Lawyers would do well to see themselves as Mr Gandhi himself a barrister at law sees them.

The book should be read by all who can think for themselves.

R C

HINDI

VARITA VILASA by *Mahavira Prasad Dimsedi* Published by the Commercial Press of Cawnpore Pages 83 Price 5 annas

This little book is the second of the series which the Commercial Press of Cawnpore have published with the commendable intention of making the inaccessible writings of this prince of Hindi writers whose name is so closely connected with the premier Hindi monthly *The Saraswati* easily available to the public. The present volume is a collection of ten essays written at different periods of time from January 1903 to April 1913 in the form of short sketches of the lives of ten famous women of whom seven are Indian and three British. The language is simple and the book can be safely recommended for both boys and girls.

MANUSHYA KE KARTAVYA by *Krishnaanarajana Laghate B 1 LL B* Published by *Narayana Prasad Iroda B 1 Patkapur Cawnpore* (To be had of the publisher and also of the author at *Hewett Road Allahabad*) Pp 128 Price 6 annas

This is a Hindi translation of Mazzini's *Duties of Man*. It is only the first part of the book once published in 1909 and the second part is promised soon. The original is well known in this country. The translation is good and the only pity is that the publishers have not brought out the complete book at one time.

HINDI LINGA VICHARA by *Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi* (To be had of *Chaturvedi Bhola Nath Sarma & Mukhtar Ram Calcutta* and *The Hindi Books Agency 126 Harrison Road Calcutta*) Pp 18 Price 3 annas

This paper was read at the ninth session of the Hindi-Sahitya Sammelan at Bombay (1918). It deals with the genders of Hindi words and contains many points which deserve the attention of Hindi writers. As the author has pointed out much of the confusion which prevails at present in Hindi in the matter of treating certain words as masculine or feminine would disappear if proper attention were paid to the rules of grammar and the authority of Hindi writers were duly respected. But when he asks us to use such words as *बेटा* *बहन* *बहन* and *बहन* as masculine he is counting too much upon the credulity of his readers.

'MELA DEVA'

GUJARATI

SHARINJALI (શરિનજી) by *Jayashankar P Joshi* printed at the *Sayani Vajaya Press Baroda* Cloth bound Pp 31 Price Re 0-4-0 (1919)

The subject matter of this little poem and the occasion of its composition are so sorrowful that one does not feel oneself at liberty to say all he has to say about it. The death of the writer's wife, in memory of whose last days spent by the husband and their children together, in a bungalow at Visnagar, has prompted him to pour out his feelings in verse, and description of the innocent babble of the young ones, is one of the best portions of the book. To express the sense of the word "topheary," in Gujarati, we say that the turban is larger than the head. Something like this has happened in this case. The bare text, printed on about 14 to 15 pages, is hedged round with a preface, an અવગાન, and a યોગદાન, where two other writers, have in the spirit in which they have carried the high sounding herdings of their performances, expatiated on the different aspects of a composition, which is cast in no unusual or extraordinary mould. They try to put a factitious importance, and serve more to overload some of the feeling and simple verses, than lift them up to the gaze of the reader. The best portions should be read as they are.

PRASANG RANG (પ્રસંગ) by Dr Natwarlal Fakirbhai Sheth, M B B S, Touring Medical Officer, Dohad. Printed at the Jaina Printing Press, Surat. Paper cover. Pp 41 (1919) Unpriced.

There are about 28 small sections in this book, consisting of Gazals (verses) addressed by a pining lover to his Beloved. We find nothing in them, which would take them out of the ordinary rut of such emotional outpourings. Perhaps growing age would mellow the feelings of the youthful composer.

(1) CORBETT NO UPADESH, (કોર્બેટ નો ઉપદેશ) by Chhaganlal Harisal Pandia, B A, Educational Officer, Junagadh, printed at the Arja Sudharak Press Baroda. Cloth bound Pp 180 Price Re 0-15 0 (1919).

(2) KAROLIA, કરોલોયા by Bhanusukhram, N Mehta, B.A., printed at the Ar, a Sudharak Press, Baroda. Cloth bound Pp 156+4 Price Re 0-15 0 (1919).

(3) GIRDHAR, by Jagmandas D Mody. Printed at the Jagrati Press, Baroda. Cloth bound Pp 126 Price Re 0 15 0 (1919).

These three books are further additions to the Sayaji Sahitya Mala, whose managers do not seem to be taking any rest at all, since addition after addition is being promptly made to its existing numbers. Mr Bhanusukhram seems to be a facile princeps at the work, because not a batch of books sent to us passes without his having a name in it. This time he has selected 'Spiders.' (2) (Karolia કરોલોયા) We fail to understand why his choice has alighted on that

little creature which is always inviting unsuspecting flies to walk into its parlor, in preference to frogs, or beetles, or bats, for the matter of that, as they are all equally useful (?) members of creation. Of course, this is not his own composition. It is a translation of Warburton's "Spiders", which he has embellished with his own notes and observations. We only hope the reading public would betray as much enthusiasm in reading it as the translator betrays in translating it. Frankly, is the magnificent amount of two lacs meant to be frittered away on such treatises, and or is it meant for a better purpose? Corbett's advice to young men (1) is translated by Mr Pandia, and it would be presumptuous on our part to find fault with the execution thereof. But what a role for the gifted translator of the immutable Kadambare to play? It is said that if Bana had written his unique work in Gujarati he would have done it as well as Mr Pandia's translation. For that gifted scholar, now to descend to translate Corbett, or write short stories, fit for juveniles, is something like misapplication of energy and intelligence. Precedents are not wanting. Sir Conan Doyle has also taken to Magazine story writing for children. But surely, looking to the dearth we have in our literature of sound writers and scholars, Mr Pandia should have been selected for some more sound and intelligent work than translating Corbett. The third book is the biography of an old Gujarati poet Girdhar. There was room for just such a book, and though not an ideal work, still it is sure to be useful. The writer Mr Mody seems to have a quaint idea. He thinks he has got poetic fertility, and that he traces to a poet, who flourished 200 to 300 years ago, simply because he belonged to his caste and his native place. The book betrays signs of labor and assiduity and is written by one who takes great interest in its subject matter.

K M J

MARATHI

1. NITISHASTRA PRAVESH OR INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF ETHICS by Mr V M Joshi, M A, Professor Indian Women's University at Higne Poona. Published by the author. Pages 15+527 Price Rupees Four.

The present is an original work, expounding the several theories on the subject, closely examining them by the scientific method of criticism and establishing certain principles which guide or ought to guide the conduct of an individual as an individual and also as a member of society. The book is divided into 16 chapters, which comprise such valuable and much-discussed subjects as the relation subsisting between religion and morality, Free Will, Conscience, Intuity, influence of Heredity, theory of happiness, Immortality of the soul etc. The author has dealt with these subjects in a fairly impartial and critical

manner and has by means of familiar illustrations succeeded in carrying home to his readers several truths which when thoroughly imbibed ought to make him pause and reflect before judging. The special merit of the book is that it is not a mere compendium of Western thought on the subject. The author has taken pains to compare with it Indian thought embodied in Sanskrit works and this feature of the work greatly enhances its value. His exposition of the subject of Morals is quite up-to-date and leaves nothing to be desired except that in some places the work of condensation is carried to excess thus leaving his reader rather bewildered. But I can very well understand the difficulty of the author. To attempt to expound and discuss innumerable theories of thinkers in a volume like this is undoubtedly a difficult task and I have to congratulate the author on the measure of success he has achieved.

It is a pity that such an important and bulky volume on a subject which associates with itself hundreds of names of writers and a fairly large number of divisions should go without an exhaustive index. When will Marathi writers revise its value and usefulness and make it a necessary adjunct of their works?

POONA

V. G. Apte

THE PRESENT ABNORMAL DEATH RATE IN POONA
by *Shankar Ramani and Ira Bhagawat* LCE Published
by S. B. Salasrab dike Budhwar Peth Poona City
Pp 20 price annas 22 919

This is an address delivered by Mr. Bhagawat at Poona. It is now published in book form with maps, diagrams and charts. The author has taken for the basis of his observation a period of 18 years from 1901 to 1919. During the first half of this period the death rate in Poona was lower and in the second half higher than that of other cities in the Bombay Presidency. During the first half of this period only in two years the number of annual deaths in Poona was higher than 4000 and during the second half only in two years was it lower than 4000. Then the author considers the sanitary conditions obtaining in Poona before and after 1910. He admits that poverty and consequent low vitality is one of the principal causes of this abnormal death rate but as it is common to the whole country he does not consider it at great length. So far as Poona is concerned there is no marked change in the conditions necessary for the maintenance of the city's health except in drainage. It is the defects in the construction of drainage that have brought about this abnormal increase in the death rate. It must be noted that the work of the construction of new subsoil drainage was begun in 1910 and completed at the end of 1915. Many extracts are given from the opinions of experts to the effect that ordinary gutters are better than all constructed subsoil drainage. The reader's attention is drawn to the fact that from

1865 to 1910 (45 years) 8 or 10 different schemes were brought forward for approval and the Municipality spent fifty thousand rupees on them. The total amount spent on the construction of new drainage is rupees eighteen lacs and fifty thousand with the result that the death rate before the construction of the new drainage was 34 per 1000 and after the reconstruction it came to 40. The author suggests the ways and means of remedying the defects in the new drainage. His estimates for this improvement vary from Rs 70,000 to five lacs according to its nature, permanency and extent.

The book is brimful of useful information. The charts, maps etc. in the absence of fuller explanation will not be understood by ordinary readers. A more detailed treatment of the subject is highly desirable. Many misprints have remained undetected. The price is a little too high.

G. A. WALVEKAR

SANSKRIT ENGLISH

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS (Nos 109 to 111 July to September 1918) Vol. xxii Part I. *Studies in the First Six Upanishads and the Isa and Kena Upanishads with the commentary of Sankara by the late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyaratna and published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini office Bahadurganya Allahabad* Pp 152 Price Rs 4 Annual subscription Rs 12 as 12 (Foreign £1 4s)

Of all the classical Upanishads the *Isa* is the most difficult to understand. The *Anandasrama* edition contains seven commentaries and the views of some of them are diametrically opposite. The interpretation of Sankara and his followers is most unsatisfactory. The book under review gives the translation of the text according to Sankara and Ananta with their commentaries in English. The author has also given the summary of the doctrines of the Upanishad as interpreted by the Advaita School of Sankara, the Visistadvaita School of Ramanuja and the Dvaita School of Madhva.

In the notes given by the author the meaning of all the important words has been discussed. The book is indispensable to those who cannot read the different commentaries on this Upanishad.

It contains also the translation of the *Kena*-*Upanishad* and of Sankara's commentary. The views of the schools of Ramanuja and Madhva have also been given.

The studies in other Upanishads (*Katha Prasna Mundaka and Mandukya*) are brief but useful.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS (Nos 112 to 114 Oct to Dec 1918) Vol. xxii Part II. *Studies in the Vedānta Sūtras by the late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyaratna Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini*

office Bahadurganjy Alahabad Pp iii+124
Price Rs 3 Annual subscription Rs 12 12s
(Foreign £1 1s)

In this part the author has given the translation of 27 Sutras of the 1st Pada the meaning of all the words of the Sutras and an independent commentary.

It contains also the interpretations of Sanakya, Ramanaaya, Madhva, Sikantha Ballava charya and Nimbarka.

It is a valuable production

TRUTH REVEALED OR PROHIBITS OF LIFE AND DEATH AND MOKSHA by Sri Vinayanda Brahmachary Benares Published by Govindachandra Mukhopadhyaya, B A. Munshigunja, Lora office Darca Pp iii 275+2 Price Re 1-4

Disappointing

MAHACHANDRA GHOSH

Acknowledgments

- (1) AGRICULTURAL JOURNAL OF INDIA VOL XIV, PART III
- (2) INDIAN EDUCATION IN 1917-18 Superintendent of Government Printing India, 8 Hastings Street, Calcutta Price 12 as or 1s
- (3) ADDRESS OF THE DEWAN OF TRIVANCORE TO THE SRI MULAM POPULAR ASSEMBLY FIFTEENTH SESSION 1914
- (4) ANNUAL REPORT ON THE CONDITION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE JAILS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER 1918
- (5) THE REPORTS ON THE WORKING OF MUNICIPALITIES IN BENGAL FOR THE YEAR 1917-18
- (6) REPORTS ON THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION IN CENTRAL PROVINCES DURING THE YEAR 1917-18

(7) THE SOCIAL SERVICE QUARTERLY REVIEW FOR APRIL 1919

(8) THE INDO PORTUGUESE REVIEW 1919

(9) CITIZEN SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE Annual Report, 1918-19

(10) THE BENGAL HINDU UNIVERSITY Annual Report for 1918-19

(11) THE PRIMAVERIA NOTE ON THE RESEARCH WORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS DRUGS OF THE GWARIOR STATE 1918, by Professor M. J. Gajjar, M.A., I.C.S., M.C.E.—Really an interesting booklet worth the study of all interested in the subject

(12) SOME REFLECTIONS TO SUPPORT THE HON. MR. PATIL'S HINDU MARRIAGES (VALIDITY) BILL, by K. R. Daphary

(13) A SCHEME OF INDUSTRIAL FELLOWSHIPS FOR INDIA by M. J. Gajjar, Bombay, 1918—A highly interesting brochure which will repay careful reading

(14) PERPETUAL AND CALPNDAR by Ram Lal Jiwaram Accountant Engineering Department B. B. & C. I. Ry., Bandikui Price Rs 4—This as its name implies a useful publication and should be for reference kept on every office table

(15) A DEFICIENCY OF HINDUISM by Annie Besant—a booklet written for Hindu boys

(16) THE ROWLATT ACT—ITS ORIGIN AND SCOPE, published by Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press 11, Pleinstone Circle Bombay Price Rs 2—It is a defence of the Rowlatt Act which, however, has given rise to a much controversy throughout the length and breadth of the country

(17) ANNUAL REPORT ON THE POLICE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TOWN OF CALCUTTA AND ITS SUBURBS FOR THE YEAR 1918

(18) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CIVIL HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES OF THE UNITED PROVINCES for the year ending 31st December 1918

THE HISTORIAN SPEAKETH*

"INDIA has done much for me, and now, before my working days come to an end I should like to do something for India"—these are the words with which Mr Vincent Smith ushers this little book into the world. One should have

supposed that the scholar who has dwelt so much among the past glories of this ancient land would, like Max Muller and others, have discharged his debt to India, which he acknowledges with such apparent sincerity, in the only honourable sense in which the expression is usually understood. But Max Muller did not 'eat the salt' of India and was not a member of the Heaven-born service, so in the name of 'hard facts' and 'a candid statement of realities' he did not treat us, in the words

* Indian Constitutional Reform viewed in the light of history by Vincent A. Smith I.C.S. (Retired) author of The Early History of India and The Oxford History of India &c Oxford University Press 1916 Price 3s 6d Pp 118

of Shakespere, to the equivocation of the friend that lies like truth' The object of Mr Vincent Smith's book is not the pursuit of truth for its own sake, as befits an eminent historian, but he acts here as the faithful henchman of Lord Sidenham, whose 'powerful support' is often invoked in support of his views, and as the literary champion of the Indian Civil Service, which he extols to the skies and is never tired of calling a *corps d'elite*, whose 'very existence is threatened by the Montagu Chelmsford scheme of Reforms (vide the last paragraph of the book.) We have read of learned German professors who were not ashamed to prostitute their talents in the service of a godless militarism. It was left to the historian of Ancient India to play a similar role in the cause of bureaucratic rule in India. While unable to deny the existence of popular assemblies in Vedic India which elected kings and of nations in Northern India who enjoyed forms of republican government up to the fifth century A.D., and while admitting that 'the conception of the king as servant of the State was one of the basic principles of political thought in Ancient India' the author lays down that the autocracy which even Mr Montagu and Lord Chelmsford desire to preserve for the Government of India has already a long history' and that "All parties are agreed that nothing like 'responsible government' now exists or ever has existed in India. Mr E. B. Havell whose historical insight far surpasses that of Mr Vincent Smith, shows everywhere in his recently published *History of Aryan Rule in India* how thoroughly false is this view of Indian history. In his very Introduction he says

'It will be a surprise to many readers to discover that the Mother of the Western Parliaments had an Aryan relative in India showing a strong family likeness before the sixth century B.C., and that her descendants were a great power in the state at the time of the Norman Conquest

the case with any other empire in the world' Mr Havell had no axe of his own to grind, no vested interests to serve, nor any *corps d'elite* to save from threatened extinction and so his truth differs as the poles asunder from Mr Vincent Smith's brand of the same article. Indeed, Mr Smith is even prepared to show that 'even in Western communities responsible government has not been an invariable success' but, as he puts it, 'there is no need to go into the question' In this he is certainly wise for Western communities would make short shrift of our learned historians' arguments and deal rather unceremoniously with his pretensions if he were to make the attempt. It was necessary in the interests of his clientele, to put a most sinister interpretation upon religious differences in British India,—they are seldom heard of in the Native States—and so in spite of the admission that 'the sentiment striving for political unification undoubtedly is a living and potent force', and that most indigenous rulers have shown statesmanlike tolerance for all creeds, Hindu Moslem riots must needs be dragged out of the limbo of oblivion and ancient history ransacked to furnish one or two instances of petty persecution or religious strife. That a countryman of Buckle and Lecky and Sir Hiram Maxim (vide *Li Hung Chung's Scrap-Book*) and one speaking the same language as Draper and Motley did not feel ashamed to talk of the religious persecution of Indians, which pales into utter insignificance in the presence of the appalling atrocities perpetrated throughout Europe in the name of religion for centuries, is a fair indication of the temper which our historian of ancient India brought to bear on the discussion of his subject. And yet Mr Vincent Smith does not hesitate to take the authors of the Report to task for having 'shown little regard to the lessons of history.' We do not favour the caste system, and regard it as inequitable and unjust. But when Mr Smith trots out the bogey of caste and in his anxiety to 'visualise the magnitude of the institution' includes the majority of Muhammadans among the followers of the caste system,

we cannot help raising a note of protest in the interests of the same truth to which Mr. Smith appeals. This truthful historian quotes Manu as if his injunctions have now the binding force of the Penal Code and speaks of the majority of Indians as being under the heel of a tyrannous Brahmin oligarchy. Europeans professing Christianity do not follow the social laws and ceremonial rules laid down in the Old Testament though it is a part of their scriptures. But these same Europeans seem unable to imagine or conceive that among vast multitudes of Hindus in extensive regions of India the caste rules laid down by Manu and other law-givers are in great part not observed even now and that even those rules which are now followed are gradually losing their hold. Anglo-Indians also pretend tacitly to believe that caste rules are as rigid in the Punjab for instance as they are in Madras. The innocent hope of the authors of the Report—a hope which in the case of the depressed classes shows every sign of realisation—that those incidents of it [the caste system] which lead to the permanent degradation and ostracism of the lowest castes will tend to disappear is according to Mr. Vincent Smith characterised by stupendous rashness and a perilous delusion which disfigures the Report for when caste distinctions give way Hinduism will perish. Reading the passages where the learned historian has been at pains to prove the necessity of the caste system for Hinduism to exist at all—a doctrine which at any rate in the present rigid form of that institution is denied by a large section of enlightened Hindus—it would almost seem that Mr. Smith is rather nervous lest the hold of caste on the mass of the Hindus should relax in any way and he seeks to clinch his argument by laying down two propositions viz. that so long as Hindus continue to be Hindus caste cannot be destroyed or even materially modified and that its tyranny in the words of Mr. William Archer will have to be broken before India can become a nation among modern nations but he very generously leaves us to draw the conclusion i.e. so reluctantly desists from his

major and minor premises to wit that India will never be a nation. It is wonderful to think of the amount of research work in reactionary literature which the historian has gone through for he displays an admirable command over the speeches and writings of men like Dr. Nair, Mr. Archer, Sir Harry Stephen Lord Sidenham *et hoc genus omne* and of newspapers like the *London Spectator* and so acute is his observation that he does not even forget the little affair about the disenfranchisement of the Burdwan Municipality in far off Bengal and draws conclusions so entirely satisfactory to his bureaucratic imagination from it.

At the very outset Mr. Vincent Smith falls foul of Mr. Montagu for describing the pronouncement of August 20 1917 in grandiose style as the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history and he is careful to point out that it has no pontifical character and aroused no interest in the British public and remained practically unnoticed in England that the Report binds nobody that Parliament and the public should not be juggled out of their rights to free unfettered discussion of both principles and details. Mr. Smith's discussion is no doubt unfettered for he has made the most liberal use of the vocabulary of vituperation as well as free in the sense of being totally untrammelled by justice equity and good conscience and like all fossilised Civilians in spite of his reputation as a historian he shows an absolute lack of reason and a grasp of the true lessons that history has to teach on reactionary Governments. To take one instance. According to Mr. Vincent Smith among passages filled with platitudinous exhortation or impracticable idealism in the Report is one where its authors say that in deliberately disturbing the contentment of the masses they were working for their highest good and that only by suffering will a people learn the faculty of self help. It is difficult says Mr. Smith to comment with restraint on such a dangerous doctrine. And why? Because The Prime Minister's ideal of a happy a prosperous and a contented people is the true one for

India as for England. To borrow Mr Smith's own language it is difficult to comment with restraint on such intellectual dishonesty if not blindness and transparent subterfuge. In speaking of the placid pathetic contentment of the masses as the soil on which Indian nationhood will not grow Mr Montagu it is hardly necessary to point out was not referring to the kind of contentment to which the Prime Minister had alluded as an ideal to be aimed at. The one is the contentment of the lower order of animals who do not even know why and when they suffer and are totally helpless in the presence of antagonistic forces their contentment such as it is is indistinguishable from apathy or indifference, a certain callousness to the buffets of fortune to which they are accustomed and proceeds from downright ignorance and sheer despair being diametrically opposed to the contentment of the full grown man in complete possession of his inheritance. If Mr Vincent Smith does not see the difference it shows that even the most intellectually distinguished members of the Indian Civil Service are innocent of the A B C of political philosophy. And mark the *suggestio falsi* of the quotation from the Prime Minister as if the present order of things in India makes for a happy a prosperous and a contented people. Mr Montagu is an astute politician must have perceived that the isolation of the Indian village community and the peaceful rural organisation which all historians tell us let the legions thunder past and left the Indian peasant unaffected to pursue the even tenour of his ways had as a matter of fact been rudely disturbed by the impact of Western civilisation and that the villages of India were being more and more drawn into the vortex of world forces political and economical prices had gone up the villages were feeling the pinch as much as the towns the schoolmaster was abroad and vernacular newspapers in spite of the Press laws and modern ideas along with them were slowly forcing their way into the villages and consequently the riot was beginning to get discontented with his lot and to reason in his own

instinctive blundering way about the why and wherefore of things. Mr Montagu therefore deemed it wise to take him in hand educate him and guide and control his activities so that he might not burrow underground and bring about a disastrous explosion. It was not in the interest of the Indians alone that Mr Montagu wrote his Report. He made too much of the difficulties in the way and with a view to conciliate reaction in opinion at home and in India subscribed only too readily to illiberal and pessimistic views on the extent to which reform was feasible so as to draw upon himself and Lord Chelmsford the criticism of the Sydenhamites quoted by Mr Smith that they absolutely admit the most striking facts opposed to their notions and then ignore them when they come to make concrete proposals.

Mr Smith is full of contemptuous irony for the vain visions in the nature of a dream or mirage by which the authors of the Report are said to be misled and their fantastic expectations impracticable idealism the faith that is in them. Yet when it suits his purpose he does not hesitate to say that the magic power of sentiment has been too often ignored by unimaginative statesmen. He entirely approves of His Highness the Aga Khan's suggestion that the Viceroy should be appointed from among the members of the royal family in order to utilise [exploit would be the more appropriate word] the fervent Indian sentiment of loyalty to His Majesty's person. Its adoption would go a long way towards abating the natural dislike for foreign rule. And in this connection—and this only—Mr Smith says that the fact that the heart of India is passionately set on self-expression as a nation should be recognised. While English constitutional writers like Walter Bagehot may describe the King as an ornamental figurehead and a popular writer like Mr Wells in his latest novel Joan and Peter may preach the most violent anti-monarchical sentiments while the Tsar of all the Russias may be foully done to death and the Kaiser may be solemnly arraigned before a London tribunal the traditional Indian loyalty to a person

th one hand are immediately withdrawn
ch the other just as in the Reform Bill
roduced in the House of Commons the
ceptions take away the path and the
row from the spirit of the rules which
k so generous and liberal without the
viso by which they are cabined and
fin d

If the English nation deliberately makes
its mind to grant to India the utmost
eticable measure of self government or
lf determination to use a still more
hionable phrase [so the word so much
requisition among British statesmen
ng the most trying period of the War
already being sneered at though the ink
the peace treaty is hardly yet dry] it is
t easy to see how fiscal autonomy can be
used This sentence we suppose was
ited for the special behoof of the Labour
mbers of the Parliament whom such a
spect may be trusted to scare away
om the programme of Indian Home Rule
o which they have given their general ad
erence Our Muhammadan brethren are
ought to be warned by trotting out the
ogee of prohibition of cow killing—the
oon which according to this truthful his
orian Hindus would value above any
conceivable reform in political institutions
(When did the Hindus make Mr Vincent
Smith the keeper of their conscience that
he should dogmatise in such cock sure
fashion on their wishes and aspirations?)

But to proceed If India could and
should be governed under the conditions of
ordinary democracy which vest supreme
power in the majority it is unquestionable
that the prohibition in question would be
promulgated at the earliest possible
opportunity

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is well
known as an orthodox Brahmin He is so
impressed with the vital importance of
Hindu Moslem unity that as President of
the last Delhi session of the Indian National
Congress in the course of his impromptu
closing address he expressed his prepared
ness for the sake of such unity to witness
cow killing however great the pain it
would cause him as an orthodox Hindu
This speech was listened to without a sin
gle note of dissent by a vast audience which

was preponderantly Hindu The occurrence
of cow killing riots in a few towns and
villages in India annually is generally
made too much of Ordinarily such riots
do not occur even in half a dozen places in
the vast Indian empire and even in the
case of the notorious Arrah riots perhaps
only 50 or 100 villages at the utmost were
affected Considering that India contains
722 490 villages and towns even a
hundred or two are insignificant numbers
not to speak of the half a dozen or so
places where cow killing disturbances
usually occur Though the author has not
tried to note and record so recent an event
as the disfranchisement of the Burdwan
Municipality he seems not to have heard of
any recent Hindu Moslem rapprochement

Everywhere the appeal is for a strong
and powerful executive swift and decisive
in action—in executive after the heart of
Sir Michael O'Dwyer whose successful
administration of the Punjab will leave an
impression in the minds of the people placed
under his benign rule not to be forgotten
for generations to come

The important British community
rightly demands adequate recognition of
itself as carrying weight in the national
councils far greater than that indicated by
its mere numbers If the same argument
were advanced on behalf of the educated
Indians who are of the people Mr Smith
would we suppose be the first to protest
on behalf of the silent masses of India
India badly wants the Service with its high
standard of ability its expert training and
its noble tradition and so forth But does
it really? the appalling backwardness
of India in education sanitation public
health scientific development and in fact
in almost everything three hundred
millions of Asiatic people mostly ignorant
superstitious fanatical and intensely
suspicious these are the authors own
words who boasts that his whole adult
life of fifty years has been dedicated to
India do they look as if they just fit his
self-confident assertion that India badly
wants the Service? Does it not strike him
that India could not very well be worse off
without the Service if after more than a
century of Civilian rule and the expenditure

THE PRESS ACT AFTER THE BESANT APPEALS

BY ST. ANNE SACH

have been discussing with some legal friends the effect that the judgment of the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council delivered on May 13th in Mrs Besant's appeals will have upon the administration of the Press Act in India. They all agree that while that case did not give the opportunity of testing the constitutionality of the Act it is bound to strengthen and to consolidate the position of the magistrates in India who may be called upon to administer the Act and of the High Courts in India to which appeals may be preferred against orders made by the magistrates.

Mrs Besant's solicitor Major David Graham Pole who is a member of the Ancient Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Court of Scotland (incorporated by Royal Charter in 1779) and who has large practice in the House of Lords and Privy Council must have wished to raise the constitutional issue for one of the leaders whom he briefed was Mr J Robertson Christie K. C. one of the best known constitutional lawyers. A considerable portion of the case handed in by him to the Privy Council dealt with that aspect of the question.

Mr William Ingram the Junior Counsel for Mrs Besant who I believe has the largest privately owned Indian law library in Scotland and who in conjunction with Major Graham Pole spent nearly two years in working up the case told me shortly after the appeals had been filed that the Act had been so very loosely drawn up that its provisions practically destroyed the privileges granted. As it stood it threw the onus entirely upon the person

whom officials chose to proceed no how honest the intentions and how less the character of the writer. In very wide was the wording of Section 3 of the Act that the highest trial

in India could not afford a writer relief even though what he wrote was free from taint of sedition and though it might be too tame to appear in the most Tory of Tory newspapers in Britain.

The special Counsel retained in behalf of Mrs Besant to deal with the constitutional issue was not however given the opportunity of raising that issue. The Lordships of the Privy Council sat under the Act and therefore they could not consider whether or not it was *ultra vires*.

Had a different course been followed it might have been possible to test the legality of the measure. A suit might have been filed in Madras by Mrs Besant against the Magistrate who ordered the seizure of her security for the recovery of the sum seized. In that case however it might have been difficult to take the matter right up to the Privy Council which as a rule does not entertain appeals involving amounts below Rs 10 000 while the security confiscated was only Rs 2 000.

Major Graham Pole had however engaged Mr W H Upjohn K. C. one of the ablest and most independent leaders of the British Bar who had taken the trouble to become thoroughly conversant with every detail of the case and who was able to make the utmost use of every possible opportunity that presented itself. In an argument that lasted several days he submitted to their Lordships of the Privy Council that grave injustice had been done to Mr Besant when on May 28 1916 the Magistrate in Madras had thought fit to withdraw the dispensation originally granted to her on Dec 2 1914 absolving her from the necessity of depositing security under Section 3 of the Press Act and required her to deposit Rs 2 000 as security which she did under protest and later on August 28 1916 declared that the security deposited by her had been forfeited and

that all copies of her paper New India containing certain articles declared by the Governor in Council to contain objectionable passages were forfeit to the crown. He further submitted that her petitions and applications made to his Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Madras had been wrongfully dismissed. He contended that the act of the Magistrate in cancelling the dispensation without giving her a hearing was judicially bad.

The last point was really one of the most important raised by Counsel—important not merely for Mrs Besant but for the cause of liberty of the Press in India for which Mrs Besant was fighting first and last and not for herself. But unfortunately their Lordships of the Privy Council held that in the last analysis the act of the Magistrate was only the withdrawal of a privilege which need never have been granted. It was not like a condemnation in which case justice requires that the person to be condemned should be first heard. It would have been however more discreet and it would have removed an occasion for comment and complaint if the magistrate had given the appellant some opportunity for making her observations before the privilege was withdrawn. It might have been a wiser discharge of his duty as an officer. Their Lordships having said this declared their inability to go any further.

Time alone can tell whether or not the Magistrates will take the very broad hint thrown out by their Lordships as to the wisdom of giving some opportunity for making observations before the withdrawal of that privilege. But even a layman can see that the expression by the highest tribunal to which Indian cases can be taken of the opinion that it is not incumbent upon a magistrate to give a hearing to such a person confirms and consolidates the powers enjoyed by the Magistrates in India under the Press Act.

In yet another way the judgment confirms and consolidates the powers enjoyed under the Press Act. Their Lordships were confronted with the puzzle offered by the Press Act as to whether or not an article containing comments upon

a measure passed by the Government or an administrative or other action of Government or upon the manner of the administration of justice was made without bringing or attempting to bring Government into contempt and brought the press owner within the wide net of the law.



Mr. William Ingram, who has one of the largest junior practices at the Scottish Bar. In conjunction with Major (Sir) Hamilton, he devoted more than two years to working up Mrs. Besant's case for the Privy Council.

On behalf of the Crown the India Office Counsel had urged that in considering whether or not an article or a passage from an article made the press owner liable under the Act it was necessary to consider (1) the want of education in India (2) the existence of numerous vernaculars (3) that the Government was foreign (4) that the rulers had no direct responsibility (or even relation) towards the governed and (5) the resulting difficulty that fault could not be found with a Government so established without making it both hated and contemptible to the immense population that it controlled. He argued that what may be innocent in Britain may be highly



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Major David Graham-Pole, Mrs. Besant's solicitor. Major Pole is a member of the Ancient Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Court of Scotland, and practices in the House of Lords and Privy Council.

seditions in India, because the Indian mind was not developed, and because the requirements of the Government of India were peculiar.

Their Lordships of the Privy Council, while refraining from directly expressing any opinion in regard to these contentions, definitely affirmed that they could not interfere with the conclusion arrived at by the Court in India in regard to the construction to be placed upon the natural tendency of the printed passages complained of by the Government. Their reason for doing so was that "the Judges in India with a far closer knowledge of the character of the people likely to read the articles, have better means of judging than Lordships in England."

Any one can realize that this is a highly pronounced pronouncement.

When it is remembered that the Press Act is very loosely drawn up, that the judicial has not yet been separated from the executive function in India, that the orders made by the Magistrates under the Press Act are now declared to be made in their executive and not in their judicial capacity, and that the judgment passed by a local Government in regard to the character or intention of a certain article or set of articles carries with it a great measure of prestige, the importance of the judgment delivered by their Lordships of the Privy Council will be realized. We Indians have always believed that in carrying a case from India to Britain, we were able to secure an independent judgment that, in the existing circumstances, could not be expected in India. The meaning of the Privy Council judgment in the Besant Case, unless my lay mind is incapable of comprehending it, is that we shall have to be contented with what we can get in India.

There are, in my opinion, two ways of looking at this matter. One of them is to feel unhappy at the restriction of an opportunity greatly prized by us. The other is to feel that the more India is allowed to be self-contained in regard to her purely domestic affairs, the better it will be for her, at any rate, in the long run.

The reader may, of course, urge that the Government of India is not responsible to Indians, and that, for years to come, there is very little likelihood of its being made responsible to the sons of the soil. That may be true.

But is not that an argument in favour of the organization of the movement to secure full Dominionhood for India with as little delay as possible? We must insist, that, as subjects of the British Crown, we must be given an unambiguously worded charter of liberties, that the anomaly of the combined judicial and executive functions be removed, and that Indians shall have a voice in the appointment and control of the judiciary in precisely the same way that the British have such voice and control. That, I think, must be our goal, and we must press forward to it with firm faith in our destiny, and the British goodwill.

CLEANINGS

Another step toward the Talking Movie

Many thousand inventors noting that the phonograph and the moving picture have both reached a high degree of perfection have asked why they can not be combined so that in moving pictures may talk as well as move and many of them have patented devices to make movies talk. Talking pictures have even held the stage for considerable periods and have been interesting if not convincing. But up to date nothing of the kind has been good enough to achieve commercial success. The trouble is in synchronization—making the phonograph record in line with the picture register so exactly that one shall never get the least bit ahead of the other or lag behind.

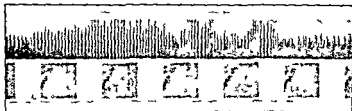
The difficulty about this has been that the phonograph record and the moving picture film are essentially different things secured by different machinery and exhibited in a different way. A step toward a solution of the problem has been made by Eugene Lauste, a French inventor who played an early part in the development of the moving picture. Lauste has devised a method of photographing a sound record moving picture film so that and his movements can not help synchronizing. If this invention reaches the commercial stage we may have the talking movie in a form where it may be worth while. See a writer in *The Scientific American* (New York, December 22).

The problem simple as it appears is not the most difficult one for one thing, there is the question of evolving suitable means of synchronizing the pictures and the sound is for it is obvious that they must be kept in step. And even if this question is satisfactorily answered the amplified sounds from the conventional phonograph are far from realistic. Lastly how is one going to secure a continuous record for a film 1,000, 2,000 or even 3,000 feet long?

The Lauste talking picture system replaces the usual phonograph with a photographic method of recording sound and a selenium cell and telephone system forgetting the sounds from the photographic record. No stylus of any kind is used in fact there are no mechanical movements used in reproducing the sound other than the constant moving of the film in front of the selenium cell. The sound waves are said

to be reproduced with utmost fidelity and since they are placed on the same film as their corresponding images the synchronism between the two is absolute and rigid. Furthermore the sound records can be made in any length just as motion picture films can be made in practically any length.

In making a talking picture of a scene by the Lauste method the players are not obliged to talk into a horn as is customary when phonographs are employed. Sensitive microphones are distributed about the scene either out of range of the camera or suitably camouflaged to record the sounds and the players not being constantly surrounded by huge horns that they are



A STRIP OF NEGATIVE TALKING PICTURE FILM

With the sound record above the picture images

been registered for utterances as well as for actions are naturally better able to do full justice to the respective roles.

The sound waves impinging on the microphones are transferred to a circuit which includes a storage battery and a highly sensitive string galvanometer. The string or wire of the galvanometer is suspended in the field of powerful electromagnets and the slightest fluctuation in the current passing through it causes considerable distortion. A beam of light from a powerful arc lamp rigidly mounted at the rear of the camera passes through the galvanometer and in a greatly magnified form throws a shadow of the wire on the steadily moving film behind a narrow horizontal slot. The wire being so arranged that one side of the exposed film is always in the shadow the developed film shows a straight edge and a series of peaks quite suggestive of a profile map of a mountain range.

The camera for talking pictures is large and complicated for it must record both the pictures and the sound. The front is devoted to the usual mechanism while the rear includes the arc lamp and the galvanometer. The

of the film is intermittent at the rate of twenty images per second while through the sound recorder it is continuous. It is not feasible therefore to reproduce images and sound records side by side. Mr. Lauste hastens to assure us that this is no disadvantage and that even splashes in the film do not noticeably affect the result. The writer goes on:

"The galvanometer is the heart of the sound recorder hence the inventor has given considerable attention to its design. In the earlier form he used a single wire [but] in a more recent

principle which the inventor can not make public it present receives a current of constantly varying strength from a second circuit. This current is converted into sound waves, which in an amplified form are propagated throughout a large theater.

Public exhibitions of the new talking pictures were given in England at various times during the past few years and even the most exacting of English critics have credited Mr. Lauste with a marvelous system of recording sounds. At the present moment the inventor is busily engaged

in repairing his equipment which have been rather badly handled in the journey to America so that exhibitions are not possible as yet.

While in its present state of development the talking picture system just described is claimed to be ready for the public, Mr. Lauste is the first to admit that many refinements remain to be made to bring the system still closer to the ideal. Indeed he has developed an ingenious system of flickerless cinematography which employs no shutter but blends one picture into the next.

Together with the sound recorder these two contributions appear to be

a big step toward the ultimate goal of motion pictures.

—The Literary Digest

A Crop that makes its Own Weeder

The use of waste material to assist production in the very industry that cast it aside is an interesting feature of sugarcane growing in Hawaii. The first stage of this development was the discovery that sugarcane will push its way through paper of sufficient thickness to choke down weeds. The second was the utilization of the fibrous waste from the crushed cane to make paper for this purpose. In the tropical countries where sugarcane flourishes weeds spring up overnight in numbers and strength that will choke off any crop with ease. The expense of keeping them down is by no



Illustrations with this article by courtesy of The Scientific American New York

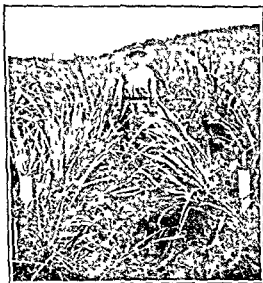
MAKING A TALKING MOVIE

Note the microphones placed about and the receivers worn by the camera man enabling him to listen in

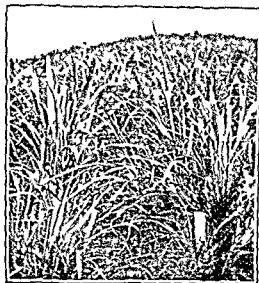
form two wires are used. The resulting sound record is a double row of peaks.

A strong source of light is gathered into a sharp beam and projected through the sound bearing section of the film and upon a selenium cell. As the film is rapidly moved in front of the selenium cell the resistance of an electric current passing through it is altered in proportion to the amount of light falling on the sensitive material which as is well known has the property of changing its resistance according to the degree of illumination. By using two rows of sound peaks the inventor uses a larger area of the selenium cell resulting in much better results.

The rest of the reproducing process is simple. A sensitive relay is used in circuit with the selenium cell while a loud speaking telephone of special design and operating on a pneumatic



Cane grown in the natural way



Cane grown with the aid of paper

SUGAR CANE FOUR AND A HALF MONTHS OLD SHOWING HOW THE PAPER INCREASES THE GROWTH
In each case the man stands at same distance from the camera

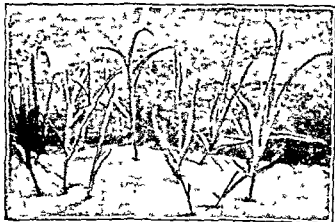
means the smallest item of the cost of production and their presence or absence often makes the difference between a profitable and an unprofitable year. Mr. C. F. Eckart of a Hawaiian sugar company therefore began experiments looking to weed-control.

Weeds between the cane rows could be controlled by spraying after which followed a demonstration that the weeds could be smothered by strips of paper asphalt impregnated to withstand weather and handling.

Knowing that cane shoots are tightly rolled up sharp-pointed and spear-like, Mr. Eckart conceived the idea of using paper over the cane rows being careful to have the paper of the proper construction to hold the weeds beneath while the cane by gentle pressure could puncture the covering. Considerable acreages have been under experiment and several interesting developments have taken place.

The paper in yard widths is placed over the rows and kept there by bamboo peg-stones and field litter. As the cane shoots come up those

striking the paper at or near right angles puncture the covering and grow vigorously. The other shoots make tentlike elevations at which points paper is slit after five or six weeks during which time the cane does not suffer although the less hardy weeds are exterminated.



Illustrations by courtesy of The Scientific American, New York
THE PAPER SUPPRESSES WEEDS WHILE THE CANE SPROUTS THROUGH

And the paper is made from the waste fibers of the cane itself.

Beneath the paper moisture is conserved and the temperature is from 70° to 80° Fahrenheit warmer than above it so that under such humid conditions the cane growth is abnormally rapid while at the same time all weed seeds germinate. The weeds spring up blinched in the dark only to smother since their soft tops provide no means for breaking through the paper. By the time the paper must be slit the weeds are no more and as the paper disintegrates the cane is so far advanced as to command the situation.

This method effects a labor saving of from 30 per cent to 70 per cent and an increase of some ten tons of cane per acre equivalent to more than a ton of raw sugar.

There is a second chapter to this story affording an unusual example of waste utilization. The paper required in row making, as the use of paper on cane rows is called had to be brought long distances while a fibrous material bagasse or the cane from which the

sugar has been pressed is produced on the spot in excess of fuel requirements. To make a suitable paper from this bagasse presented a new problem. For while many good papers have been made from this raw material none has had the characteristics required for this special use.

The problem has been solved by an American chemical research company and a mill is being erected in the Hawaiian plantation which now supplies the paper exactly suited to the requirements from the bagasse. This is accomplished with a saving exceeding 50 per cent of the cost of the paper previously used.

Summed up the achievement is the utilization of a wasted material to found a new industry the product of which reduces the cost of growing sugarcane and at the same time produces an additional ton of raw sugar on each acre of the plantation in question.

—The Literary Digest

NOTES

To Be and To Have

In different climes and ages men have had before them two objects or ideals—to be good and wise and to have much. History does not show that any nation in any age had before it only one of these ideals to the utter exclusion of the other. But it is equally plain that in different climes or in different ages very much greater stress has been laid on the one than on the other. It is this difference of stress which characterises the differing civilizations of the East and the West. For it cannot be denied that no country or nation can be said to be without those who value the riches of the spirit above all earthly possessions or those who value worldly greatness and possessions more than the treasures of the spirit.

Plain Living and High Thinking

Wordsworth's phrase plain living and high thinking expresses the essence of the ideal of Indian civilisation. But plain living is not equivalent to extreme poverty. A state of indigence in which no thinking

is possible except to what a man shall eat is not generally compatible with high thinking. This is very well illustrated by the following paragraph taken from the *Indian Witness*—

There is little thinking of any kind possible to those who are half-starved. The thoughts of the physical thoughts of something to satisfy their hunger and sustain their strength. Journalist, professional men and great intellectual of many walks of life confessed that while starving in German war prisons their whole thought and conversation from morning to night was of something to eat. If you would get men to think of the eternal and spiritual things you must see to it that they are relieved of the dire necessity of thinking continually of temporal things. Recently a preacher in a famine area was greeted by his audience with the statement that they wanted nothing but food.

In India there are millions of men who have not got to go to German war prisons to realise what it is to think and talk from morning to night of only something to eat. With them the process is lifelong. In order therefore that we may be able to make the ideal of plain living and high thinking a reality the material condition of the country must be greatly improved. But while

engaged in this work of economic improvement, we should never allow ourselves to forget that material progress is only a means to an end. The goal to be placed before the country is that every one should have such food, clothing, and housing accommodation as would enable him to lead a healthy and moral life and such means and leisure as would enable him to educate himself and his children and to taste of the pleasures of the intellect and the joys of the spirit.

India's Poverty

Many Indians and many foreigners have spoken of the poverty of India. Specially convincing must be the testimony of those who while not taking up the other cries of the politically aspiring Indian intelligentsia agree with them in believing that India is poor. We shall quote two such recent testimonies.

General Sir O. Moore Creagh's recently published work entitled *Indian Studies* is not a pro-Indian book. Such a book contains the following paragraph relating to the poverty of the Indian people —

It is idle to talk of education or other measures of social reform when whole families in those parts of India I know have to work day and night to eke out a bare existence. Even in normal years the grain disappears before the harvest is over and then the fight with hunger and the illness it causes commences. There are millions who even in good years fail to get a full meal, and they would die in droves if a bad one were it not for public relief. The peasant digs, sows and reaps; the rain falls and the crops prosper and are reaped but no sooner is the harvest ours than the crops divide! The land lord, be he government or a great landlord takes the lion's share, the village shop-keeper and the village servants are paid from what remains when the producer has nothing left. He again gets credit for his food and seed for the next crop from the village shop-keeper, which costs him dear and he goes home to plough and live in hopes of better times which never come. When after years of toil and favourable crops he may have got clear of the village shop-keeper, the settlement officer pounces on him and skins off all profit by taxing him on a rigidly defined standard which throws him into the hands of the village shop-keeper once more.

The Indian Witness is an organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its politics

are the politics of Anglo-Indians. And missionaries can if they choose, see the real life of the people of India much more than Anglo-Indian officials or Anglo-Indian men of business. For these reasons what this paper says about the poverty of India should carry conviction. It says

How poor is India? Those who are fond of statistics will be most impressed with the statements that India's average daily earning per person is between an anna and an anna and one half and that the average wealth of India per capita is about ninety rupees. We know that there are many people in India who earn much more than an anna and one half a day, so there must be a great many others who do not earn so much. We also know that there are many in India who possess much more than ninety rupees, so there must be many others who possess much less. Otherwise the average of ninety would not be possible. Mark Twain was certainly seeing straight when he characterized India as being the land of dreams and romance of fabulous wealth and fabulous poverty of splendor and rage of palaces and hovels of famine and pestilence. The only difficulty is that the fabulously wealthy are comparatively few.

How poor is India? It will do little good to compare the average earnings of her people and their per capita wealth with the earnings and wealth of the peoples of other nations. Comparisons are odious. The real meaning of the anna and one half average daily earning and of the rupees ninety average wealth is best understood when they are considered in the light of their purchasing power. The anna and one half will purchase very little more in India to-day than it will anywhere else in the world and less than it will in many places. Wheat for food and cotton for clothing are just as expensive in India as in prosperous America. Milk in India is as expensive as it is in many other countries that are far more able to buy milk. How many babies will die in India this year because there is no proper food for them? We know of one wee baby in India whose milk diet costs five or six annas every day. How far will the anna and one half go?

How poor is India? Her great infant mortality and mortality that is not infant her millions of barefooted people millions of half-naked people millions of people who have but one meal or less of the coarsest food per day and her millions in famine relief camps or suffering without the camps all bear testimony to the insufficiency of the anna and one half for daily needs and of the rupees ninety as a fortification against the day of famine to say nothing of providing capital for productive industry.

The question is then asked, 'Why is India so

agriculture and education until the Indian Government is nationalised

The Choice of Crops

Those who take interest in such questions know that as far as that is practical the influence and pressure are brought to bear on peasants and farmers to grow more of crops which are required for the advantage of exploiters and foreign countries than those which India requires for her own advantage and use. This can be remedied only by the possession of political power by Indians. Our notes on Mobilization of Indian's Agricultural Resources pp 641-643 M R for December 1918 and pp 94-95 M R for January 1919 may be referred to clearly understand what we mean.

Areas under Cultivation

The figures supplied by the Director of Statistics showing the total area area cultivated and uncultivated area under irrigation area under different crops &c in British India in the agricultural year 1917-18 give food for thought.

The total area sown in the year 1917-18 was 200 million acres (including 3 million acres cropped more than once) the same as in 1916-17. This total area may be classified under the two main heads food crops (219 million acres) and non food crops (46 million acres). Of the food-crops the area under wheat increased by nearly one and a half million acres in 1917-18 that under gram by one million acres and that under barley by half a million acres. The decreases are mainly under bajra (2½ million acres) jowar (¾ million acres) rice (one-third million acres) and other food grains (one million acres). Among the non food crops the main increases are under cotton (1½ million acres) and sugar (¾ million acres) and rape and mustard (one-third million acres) while the area under sesamium decreased by about two-thirds million acres and groundnut by one-third million acres. The total area irrigated decreased by 2 million acres as compared with that of 1916-17. As compared with the previous year the area under food crops at the end of the last agricultural year June 1918 was 148 per cent more than in the pre-war year owing to the increase on account of war demands for wheat and gram. In regard to non-food crops the increase in the same period was 10 per cent chiefly on account of the demand for oilseeds and good quality fodder crops. The per capita acreage of foreign countries is also of interest. The figures for the United States of America Canada the United Kingdom France and Germany before

the War were as follows: United States of America 2.97 Canada 3.98 United Kingdom 1.039 France 1.49 Germany 0.94. The figures for India before and at the end of the War were 1.02 and 1.10 respectively.

Every country should in the first place produce what it requires for its own consumption and then produce if possible what other countries require for their consumption. And out of what a country produces only the surplus after reserving its estimated consumption should be allowed to be exported. But in India both the production of particular kinds of crops and their export are controlled with greater regard for the requirements of foreigners than is just and humane; the consequences being scarcity, famine, malnutrition, widespread disease and ignorance. Only self rule can remedy these evils.

One of the economic causes of our inability to keep in the country a sufficiency of the food we produce is our want of money. Foreign manufacturing peoples have more money and can pay higher prices for food grains than we can. Unless therefore we develop manufacturing industries we shall never have enough food though we may produce enough. But manufacturing industries can in the circumstances of India be developed on an adequate scale only if we have self rule.

The Question of Export

In normal times and in abnormal times too like the present of high prices and of famines food is allowed to be exported out of India without attention being paid to what Indians think of India's requirements. It is pretended or believed that we do not even understand whether we are hungry or how hungry we are—and of course we do not understand how the export and import of food should be controlled. A recent letter contributed to the *Bengalee* by an official incidentally placed the public for the first time in possession of the information that Great Britain had undertaken to supply Sweden with large quantities of Indian wheat. Was not the War fought for making the world (minus India, Egypt etc.) safe for democracy and was not this undertaking given without the

knowledge and consent of the producing country, in right democratic style?

The remedy lies in self rule

Production of articles other than food

In addition to food, India should produce also her clothing, and all other things which are necessary for leading healthy, beautiful and enlightened lives. No doubt, no country can produce every thing which its inhabitants may require, but India is so large a country and possesses such a large variety of climates, fauna, flora and physical features that it is possible for us to produce almost everything we require. And our productive activity should have this wide range not only to remove our poverty, not only to add to our wealth, but in order also that we may be better and more perfect men by developing all our capacities and in order that we may acquire and keep up that feeling of self-respect which economic independence and interdependence on equal terms with other countries can produce.

Without manufacturing industries we cannot even conserve our stock of food. So long as wealthy manufacturing countries can pay higher prices for the food we produce than we can pay and so long as we are obliged to sell part of our food stock for the money wherewith to purchase foreign cloth and other necessities, the food we produce must in great part find its way to foreign countries, leaving us hungry. These considerations prove that we can not do without the Swadeshi movement.

Flourishing manufacturing industries pre-suppose technical and industrial education, control over customs duties, tariffs, railway freight, &c., state encouragement, banking facilities, and organisation of capital. Most or all of these conditions depend for their fulfilment on the possession of self government.

Mysore Iron Scheme

We are glad to learn that the work in connection with the Mysore iron scheme is being pushed through at Benapur. The sites for the location of the workmen's quarters, offices, factories, etc., have been

selected under the guidance of Mr Perin, the American expert. An informal conference of the Mining Engineer, the special officer of the Iron scheme, the Conservator of Forests in Mysore, and the District Forest Officers of Kadur and Shimoga and one or two others, is now threshing out at Bangalore the problem of the fuel supply required for the works. This problem of the fuel supply will be understood from what appeared in our last December number, p 641. There we gave an extract which said that an interesting experiment was being tried in Mysore, and that the government of that progressive state had decided to erect a charcoal blast furnace and appointed Mr Perin as their consulting engineer. It was further stated

'He has placed orders for the equipment in America and the undertaking is to be constructed and managed by the Tata Iron and Steel Company. It is proposed to fell and transport timber from the vast forests of Kadur and Shimoga, and convert it into charcoal at Benapur. Iron ore will be mined at a distance of twenty five miles and a high grade charcoal iron produced. It is also intended that acetate of lime, alcohol and other by products be extracted. Calcium carbide may also be manufactured, with the breeze or such portions of the charcoal as cannot be used in the furnaces.'

There will thus be considerable wood distillation industries.

The Mysore Durbar has provided more than Rs 21,00,000 for this scheme during the current year.

Industries in Gwalior

The Leader publishes an article on 'Industrial Gwalior,' which is a memoir on the economic position of the Gwalior State and a description of the principal industries carried on there, prepared by the inspector general of commerce and industry under commands of His Highness.

During the short period that the industry and commerce department has been in existence efforts have been made to prove the commercial possibilities of the dry distillation of wood, thymol manufacture, extraction of turpentine and resin and commercial utilization of indigenous drugs. To the credit of the department we have as many as 115 factories, although, in the beginning strenuous efforts were needed, years of hard labour to quote the official in charge—to popularize ginning factories, presses and cotton

skill. The success of the Gwalior workshops and leather factory is a record of persevering work carried on unmindful of expense with the sole object of establishing an 'example industry'. Gwalior Workmen were imported from Agra and Cawnpore and put big advances, and systematic training of the local people was undertaken with the result that they have now nearly one thousand workmen all of the state working in all branches of saddlery, harness and boot making. The average annual profit of the concern is represented by half a lakh of rupees. As yet no systematic efforts seem to have been made in starting on any large scale the iron and steel industry which is the coming industry of India. Gwalior had at one time iron foundries capable of turning out wonderful works like the 24 feet long gun which can now be seen in the Jai Vilas Palace. This gun is described as a magnificent piece of welded metal made in 1602 and was used in the reduction of the Gwalior fort by the Marathas under their Scindia leaders and is called Faleah Lashkar. The rocks of the Vindhyan series contain iron in the form of hematite and magnetite. A State with the resources of Gwalior ought to be able to lead the way even for the Tatas at Jamshedpur.

Other activities have also been summarized.

It is a credit to the industrial activities of Gwalior, such as they are that when during the war the call came from the munitions department for bolts, nuts and rivets the Gwalior workshop undertook their manufacture. Drught poles, telescopic stands and other articles were also executed. Large supplies of pack mules, saddlery, harness, boots and shoes and other leather goods were supplied by the leather factory. The chemical laboratory in Gwalior started to analyse and classify the raw and manufactured products of the State is doing splendid work laying the groundwork for new chemical manufactures. The results so far attained fully justify the keen foresight and affectionate regard for the well-being of the subjects by his Highness who realized the potential greatness and value of chemical and technical research for the growth of industries. Two research scholarships have been sanctioned by the Darbar for the investigation of indigenous drugs. The statistical department which is a useful handmaid to the industrial department is rapidly rising in efficiency. Forest industries which all over India have obtained a great impetus during the war and as a result of the activities of the munitions department have come in for particular attention. Turpentine on a commercial scale could be made as also lac, tannin, extracts, rubber, aloes, silkworm rearing, rose oil, these and other industries await the serious handling of the Government. Silviculture, in itself is a vast subject and the Gwalior State is about to associate a forest economist

with the conservator of forests. Reclamation of land ravines brought into existence by the destructive mounds of rivers is seriously taken in hand. The areas covered by ravines constitute excellent agricultural lands. Raw materials for the manufacture of cement occur in various parts of the State and now that the war is over, the State might take up the work.

Aid is given to small industries also.

Korea's Declaration of Independence

Korea came under the yoke of Japan ten years ago. Ever since that time, she has been ruled by the Japanese military governors with severity. The dawn of peace however gave her a new gleam of justice and roused her with the principle of self-determination. So that, imbued with the new idealism of liberty, she drafted her declaration of independence, of which the following is a translation.

We the people of Korea hereby declare the Independence of Korea before all nations, assuming that this would be generally recognised by them.

We declare this with a united voice of twenty million people in the name of justice and humanity. We are no mean people having the long history of a distinct and self-governing nation through the long, forty-three centuries. It is a most solemn duty of us to secure the right of free and perpetual development of our own national character and ability, adapting ourselves to the principles of the reconstruction of the world.

It is nearly ten years since we were for the first time in our history put under the yoke of another nation and made a victim of the cursed militaristic imperialism of the world. Since then, how much our spiritual development has been hampered, our national dignity injured, and how many opportunities have been lost to make a contribution to the civilization of the world.

Oh fellow citizens! The most urgent and the greatest duty for us is to secure our national independence in order to wipe off the injuries to get rid of the present sufferings, to remove the future threatening, to stir up the national spirit and vitality so long suppressed under the unjust regime of Japan and to leave our children an eternal freedom and perfect happiness instead of a bitter and shameful inheritance. We shall fight to the last drop of our blood in the great cause of Liberty.

What the Koreans next proceed to say, shows that they were not in a revengeful mood when they made their declaration of independence.

We do not blame Japan for breaking treaties in which she so often solemnly pro-

guarantee the independence of Korea. Nor do we complain of her for calling our land a colony and treating us as slaves. Because it is unnecessary for us to find fault in others but in ourselves. We do not mean to take such measures as to avenge ourselves upon Japan. All we desire to do is to right wrongs done to us not by the Japanese nation but by the few of her statesmen who were led by the old aggressive policy.

The results of the Japanese annexation of Korea are thus described —

See the actual outcome of the annexation which was made in 1910 without free consent of the peoples concerned. A bitter and unconcealable animosity is growing deeper and deeper between these two peoples though it has been glossed over with a tranquil appearance caused only by heavy pressure and with series of statistics most of which have nothing to do with our concerns. It is clear to see that the two nations must and ought to enter into a new relation of good friendship so that they would enjoy a permanent happiness and to avoid further perils on both sides. Moreover in view of maintaining the peace of the Far East the independence of Korea is not without a deep significance. It is not only because the unjustly subdued twenty million people of Korea may prove a source of incessant alarm but any longer occupation of Korea by Japan is likely to provoke more suspicion and fear against Japan in the mind of the four hundred million people of China whereas the true friendly relation between the peoples is the basis upon which any eternal peace of the East will possibly be established. Could the international peace be expected without the perfect harmony of the eastern nations?

Babu Bhagwan Das on The Hindu University

Babu Bhagwan Das M A, of *Seva Shram Benares* has published two articles on the Hindu University in *New India* July 7th and 8th from which we quote below. He is a gentleman of high culture with as profound a knowledge of Sanskrit philosophy as of modern thought and learning — an accomplished writer a deep thinker and a sane judge of men and manners. A gentleman of independent means and a student by taste and temperament he long served the Hindu University in its chrysalis stage of the old Central Hindu College and has been elected to several of the academic and administrative bodies of the new Hindu University since its foundation in 1916. He has also been twice chosen as *Honorary University Professor*. He has no axe of his own to grind. The opinion

of such a man on the present condition of the Hindu University must have great weight. It strikes one that, though the items dwelt upon by Babu Bhagwan Das and 'Inside View' are not the same in every detail, the impression produced by the articles of the two writers is substantially the same.

Babu Bhagwan Das first of all proves that 'all is not right with the Benares Hindu University.' Indeed he goes so far as to say that 'it is not an ideal fraternity of philanthropists requiring only quiet and steady work but sodden with intrigues and party politics.'

Those who are in his opinion, responsible for this state of things have not, he appears to think forgotten to employ the usual methods for preventing even the attempt at reform. As he plainly puts it,

Indeed it would be almost truer to say that there has been a conspiracy of silence in the Press as regards the affairs of the B H U. I could not get some letters signed by me in full published in the U P in January 1918 and had to send them to other provinces where they were published by the *Umrta Bazar Patrika*, *New India* and the *Bombay Chronicle*. Apparently there was in the U P a strong notion that any criticism of the B H U is sedition and disloyalty and that nobody can wish well to the B H U unless he whole-heartedly praises its existing management. Things must have become very bad indeed when even the Press of the U P thinks fit to give space to even anonymous criticisms of that management.

Among the root causes of the mischief he gives the first place to Mr. Malviya's manner of doing things — or, more correctly of leaving them undone and practically though he does not say or suggest intentionally standing in the way of others doing them.

It stands to reason and even to common sense that a residential University should have a residential head and much more so a residential University in the making in its earliest feeble infancy liable to many infantile troubles. But the B H U has dispensed with any and every such thing so far. The first Vice-Chancellor lived a hundred miles away. The second fifteen hundred. He gave clear and fair warning before election that he could not give more than a part of the year to Benares and he did better than his promise. But he failed to make any impression upon the root mischief partly because even the time that he did give

was not enough and largely because Pandit M. M. Malaviya could not time his visits to Benares concurrently with the Vice-Chancellor, and could not develop another and even more necessary kind of concurrence i.e. of views and of mutual trust between himself and the latter. As 'Inside View' has pointed out with facts and figures the present Pro Vice-Chancellor Pandit M. M. Malaviya himself is able to give very little time to Benares. He seldom exceeds seldom even works up to the traditional pilgrim's limit of three nights at a place, in his visits and these take place at intervals of weeks. And now that he is the Acting Vice-Chancellor also since the resignation of Sir Saswaswami Aiyar the consequences to the work are so much the more perplexing for he is not stationary even at Allahabad, his home (so that work could go to him if he could not come to the work) but is ubiquitous—all over India. No blame to him at all—on the contrary he is bearing an Atlas burden on his shoulders—but all the blame to our luckless and most miserable Motherland which cannot produce another being fit to be trusted by him to really share and lighten his mighty labours!

Out of the lack of a residential head then all the other mischiefs arise.

As regards the imagination and the plans of Mr. Malaviya, Babu Bhagwan Das writes—

Our guiding spirit our presiding deity or at least genius the soul of the whole concern and its master is its solitary bread winner and holder of the purse-strings has an exceedingly rich and vivid imagination which pounces and fastens upon a new idea almost every day and rapidly develops it into a glorious structure of sunset clouds but then his ardour cools and the idea shrinks back into its inherent diminutiveness and is put aside. It is, no doubt this very vivacity of imagination which has infected the country with the idea of the Hindu University and made its foundation possible. But the excess of it now is a humiliate. What is wanted now is steady continuous sober plodding on a level, much below that of the bright imagination let us grant readily and sincerely but equally indispensable in the total scheme of the universe. If the prime founder of the business would only realise his limitation as well as his capacities distinguish between what or rather how much he can do (as indeed no other can at the moment) and what he cannot do though he insists on doing it (as others realise painfully, though few venture to express their minds frankly to him) then the B. H. U. would progress better and more quickly.

Babu Bhagwan Das gives direct evidence that Dr. Gangadhar Jha's resignation of the membership of the various University Lodge was not due to dif-

ferences with Sir Saswaswami Aiyar, as has been asserted by some apologists of the present regime. 'The statement is wholly wrong, as I know firsthand, it was due to the general condition of affairs which made it impossible for him to be of any use and for which Malaviya's absence from the scene of work combined with his disinclination to let anything at all important be done in his absence is the main cause.'

The following passage from his articles gives one the impression that the various university bodies have made the University a sort of talking machine hall.

At present many are the meetings of many of the B. H. U. bodies which after three or four hours of industrious talking simply end in postponements of most sometimes all of the agenda items. Things are half-discussed and dropped and taken up again and dropped again indefinitely. The shirking of one full and conclusive discussion in the beginning entails a perpetually recurrent waste of time afterwards. See the minute books and the files of notices of meetings and agenda papers.

An illustration is given from the meeting of the Executive Council on the 22nd June, which was adjourned after an "addled" meeting on the 14th.

After three hours—from 5 p.m. to 8 p.m. and more—of preliminary talking part of it relating to a matter not on the agenda at all it was decided that six copies of the budget had been placed in the members' hands at that meeting itself and no time allowed for previous conning over (—it appeared that a week was required by the rules—) the whole thing was postponed to the 12th July so it goes on. An important question of principle whose continued mismanagement is likely to aggravate the corruption of spirit from which the B. H. U. is suffering is being shirked in this fashion. And travelling expenses are paid to outside members attending these meetings. One court meeting is estimated to cost about three thousand rupees and a Council or a faculty meeting may cost hundreds.

Legal quibbles hair-splittings of words, catch phrases invented by men engaged in executive office or forensic law or party politics to suit their own special purposes are often heard at meetings of the administrative bodies of this educational institution where the whole atmosphere should be that of the patriarchal joint family, the guru kuli, the Teacher's family home. At a recent court meeting a member pointed out, with reference to an objection raised by another, that the latter's remedy lay in a suit in the law courts.

Want of space forbids us to give more

extracts from Prof Bhagwan Das's exposition of the situation. We shall only quote some of his paragraph headings to indicate his diagnosis of the case —

Harplazard our principles and drift our policy
Our lack of proper heedful heart
Our ignorance of what we want to do
Our safe policy of non-committal
Our keeping the public out
Our wish to repress criticism
Much talk and little work
Our waste of public money
Our slighting of the mass opinion spirit
Our Red tapism
Our insistence on blind faith and caste
nepotism
Our penny wise and pound foolish finance.
Our worst symptom—the unrighteous spirit
Manipulation of procedure at will

Our own Impressions.

We have no first hand knowledge of the affairs of the Benares Hindu University. And it is not possible for us to constitute ourselves into a committee or commission of enquiry. At the same time it is also not possible for us to dismiss as unreliable the statements of men who have been long known as honourable and truth loving. We can judge of the state of things at the Benares University only from what has appeared in the Press from what has been brought to our notice and from the results of our inquiry on the few definite and specific points mentioned below.

(a) Have the morning periods of work at the C. H. C. been invariably of 40 minutes each and the day periods of 48 minutes each or were they on some days changed to 45 minutes or any other duration?

(b) Was the starting point of the College work changed during the last year only from season to season and not from time to time as detailed by *Inside View*? Was the starting point changed oftener than seasonal changes would necessitate?

(c) Was sufficiently early notice given to every member of the teaching staff of the changes in the starting point?

(d) Did any member of the staff complain of the conditions of his work under the shift system?

These were questions the answers to which would not be affected by personal opinion but these would be mere state-

ments of fact. We have no desire to enter into details, nor to quote in full the replies we have received. Suffice it to say that on these points the replies confirm the statements of *Inside View*. On other matters we leave the reader to decide for himself.

The *Modern Review* was, we believe the first among Indian journals to describe and advocate the Gary plan of teaching two sets of students by shifts. But our support of the plan was conditional. We laid down the condition that neither the staff nor the students were to be overworked or inconvenienced in any way. We have evidence to show that some professors really were inconvenienced by the shift system as adopted by the Hindu University. We have evidence also to show that science students have been placed at a disadvantage by it. The reasons can be guessed from what Prof N. C. Nag has written in his letter to the *Searchlight* —

Oftentimes Chemistry students have to carry on an experiment from one day to another and they have to leave their apparatus etc. on the table. The coming in of a new batch of students in the place is not possible in the practical class. There must be separate accommodation for the science students in the practical class.

We have independent evidence to show that on account of the lack of this separate accommodation for each science student unfinished experiments have had to be started anew. This is a real disadvantage. A piece of writing becomes interesting if the writer throws some personal feeling into it. We have tried to write on the affairs of the Hindu University in as cold and therefore uninteresting a manner as we can. For we regret to observe that party feelings and prejudices generally divide those who have or have had anything to do with this University though we presume there must be some who have been able to keep up a neutral judicial attitude. For this reason we wish to avoid even the appearance of belonging to any party.

In a new institution which is also a new experiment some degree of slowness of progress is inevitable—it may even be desirable. We cannot say whether the slowness of the Hindu University has exceeded this limit.

Some appointments we understand could not be made because for one thing the gentlemen whose services were desired demanded very much higher salaries than the salaries attached to the posts which they now hold. It may seem unavoidable but it seems to us that the excessive salaries paid to foreign officers have made the demands of our own men higher than they ought to be in a poor country like India.

Ideals and their concrete realisation cannot there is no harm in bearing in mind always be made to keep pace with each other. The Peace Treaty falls far short of the idealism of so great a man as President Wilson.

A great reconciler a high minded broad hearted peace-maker is required. The Hindu University is an all India institution. It has brought together many and many in future years bring together many more workers with different upbringing and differing University and provincial traditions and predilections. Some one there must be at the head of the University who while utilising to the full the broadening effect of the good that there must be in those different traditions &c. would be able to rise superior to their narrowing and dwarfing influence.

A Noble Gift to the Indian Women's University

Mr V. R. Lande Sub-Assistant Surgeon originally of Nagpur died two years ago at Jinja, Uganda East Africa after serving the Government there for about fifteen years. His poverty compelled him to take to medical studies without completing his secondary education. His property in Africa and India amounts to nearly Rs 55,000. He executed a will 5 days before his death setting aside a large portion of his estate for educational and charitable institutions. According to the law of Uganda however, no immovable property can be assigned to charitable purposes unless the will is made one year before death and deposited in some place provided by law for safe custody within six months of the execution. If the two widows and the mother of Dr Lande had not given their consent the will would have been inopera-

tive. They have however nobly come forward to accept the terms of the will and have executed a release deed relinquishing all their rights over and above what has been left to them in the will. The Trustees of the Indian Women's University are Dr Lande's Trustees in India. The African Trustees were required to send all the proceeds of the Estate there to the Indian Trustees and Rs 39,000 have been received from them. Indian dues have yet to be recovered. About Rs 8,000 are to be given to four different institutions and after giving to the widows and the mother what is left to them the Women's University is likely to get Rs 15,000 now and about Rs 15,000 later on. This last sum is to be invested and the allowance of Rs 30 a month to each of his widows is to be given out of the interest thereon.

The Indian Women's University is deeply thankful to the late Dr Lande and the noble ladies for the very liberal help they have given to this movement.

Hingne Budruk D. B. Karve,
Pooné City. Organiser Indian Women's University

The Press Association of India

The Press Association of India has sent the following cable to the Prime Minister the Secretary of State for India and Lord Sinha Under Secretary of State for India —

The Press Association of India begs to invite attention to the repression of the Indian Press under the Press Act 1910 resulting in the suppression of legitimate expression of Indian opinion and creating a great alarm in the public mind. The Act since its enactment has penalised over 750 presses and 300 newspapers demanded securities amounting to over £40,000 and proscribed over 500 publications. Owing to the demand of security over 203 presses and 130 newspapers have not been started.

Since 1917 the Act has been even more rigorously administered. Leading influential Indian English journals like the *Amrita Bazar Patra*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Hindu*, the *Independent*, the *Tribune*, the *Punjabee* and leading vernacular papers like the *Basumati*, the *Swadeshimtran*, the

Under the 'Hindus' the Bharat Mitra have been subjected to its rigours. Several Indian newspapers are arbitrarily barred from the different provinces. On the other hand violent provocative writings in the Anglo Indian Press are entirely immune. Government refused last September an open inquiry into the operation of the Press Act urged by Indian members in the Imperial Council. Legitimate criticism on the Rowlatt Act, the Punjab Martial Law and other grievances is crippled by executive action. Influential journals are disappearing because of the existing Act and its administration. The unventilated expression of public opinion is bound to drive discontent and unrest underground. The extreme and unjustifiable severity to which journalists are subjected is painfully evidenced by the arbitrary deportation of Mr Horniman, Editor The Bombay Chronicle and President of this Association. The Association presses for the repeal of the Press Act urgently.

The Press Act Supremely Reasonable

The following telegram has appeared in the daily papers —

Bombay July 18.

At the Esplanade Police Court Bombay before the Chief Presidency Magistrate Mr Maldeo N. Desai appeared to make a declaration as publisher of Young India. When asked by His Worship to deposit a security of Rs 1000 Mr Desai submitted the following statement — I have been advised not to give any security apart from what has already been taken from the keeper of Young India as in the opinion of those including myself who are responsible for conducting the journal extraordinary endeavour has been made to keep its columns pure and undefiled by any seditious or even hostile taint. Every endeavour has been made to serve both the Government and the public fearlessly but with due regard to every interest. I can only express my very deep regret that Government has been unable to appreciate the service that Young India has rendered to it during critical periods and has been so ill advised as to ask for any security being given by the publisher. After reading the statement His Worship said no security was taken from the printers. Mr Desai said he meant the keeper of the press.

The Magistrate — You say the keeper of the press has deposited Rs 1000.

Mr Desai — Yes.

The Magistrate then ordered that Rs 1000 should be deposited subject to the proviso of Section 8 (1) of Act I of 1910. His Worship further ordered that if a change in the place of printing were made he would have to deposit a further sum of Rs 1000.

Mr Desai's truthful and courageous statement extorts respect.

The last sentence in the above extract which we have italicised shows conclusively how supremely reasonable the Press Act is. The Magistrate says in advance that if a change in the place of printing were made 'the publisher 'would have to deposit a further sum of Rs 1000'. It is taken for granted that a mere change in the place of printing would make Young India more seditiously inclined than it already is in the opinion of the Magistrate! How absurd and ludicrous! And this is Law!

Indian Women's University

A FEW FACTS AND FIGURES

1. This University was formally inaugurated on 3rd June 1916 at the first meeting of its Senate in the Fergusson College at Poona.

2. Dr Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Principal P. P. Paranjpye are its Chancellor and Vice Chancellor respectively.

3. The Mahila Pathashala (Women's College) and the Mahilashram (Girls High School) both of Poona, are the only institutions working under the guidance of the University.

4. There are sixteen students in the college and one hundred in the school. The staff of those institutions contains four M.A.s and 4 B.A.s of the Bombay University.

5. The first convocation of this University was held on 15th June last at which Mrs. Barubai Shende the first graduate of the University received her degree of G.A. (Graduate in Arts) at the hands of the Chancellor Dr Bhandarkar. This lady has joined the staff of the above-mentioned institutions.

6. The Senate of the University consists of 60 Fellows who are representatives of six electorates. Affiliated schools and colleges elect 15 patrons elect 10 members of Graduates Electorate elect 15, members



Mrs. Harubai Slade
First Graduate Indian Women's University

of the Educated Ladies' Electorate elect 10 members of the General Electorate elect 5 and the Senate co-opts 5 making in all 60. Twelve Fellows retire every year automatically and their places are filled up by new elections retiring members being eligible for re-election.

7. The present Senate contains 6 ladies and 54 gentlemen. According to places 28 belong to Poona 11 to Bombay 2 to Gujarat 2 to Baroda State 1 to Sind 1 to Punjab 2 to Central India 1 to Bhopal State 1 to Bengal 3 to Madras Presidency 2 to Mysore State 1 to Carnatic and 4 to Deccan. According to professions 24 were or are professors of colleges 13 Head Masters and Inspectors 8 leaders of doctors and 17 others.

8. It is a national university. All

authority is centred in the Senate which is made up of the representatives of the people. Any graduate can become a member of the Graduates' Electorate by contributing Rs. 10 annually and any person can become a member of the General Electorate by contributing Rs. 5 annually. The list of eligible voters prepared for the election in last April contained 2000 names nearly. People from different parts of India have got themselves enrolled as members.

9. Indian vernaculars are given the first place in the scheme of studies and English is made a compulsory second language.

10. The movement is supported mostly by the educated middle class. The permanent fund of the University consists of 3½ per cent Government Promissory notes of the face value of Rs. 1,50,000. Annual subscriptions come to Rs. 10,000.

11. Although there is only one high school and one college working under the guidance of the University at present it is hoped that more institutions will spring up later on. Similarly though Marathi is the only vernacular which has been made the medium of instruction it is hoped that provinces with other vernaculars will take up the idea. One lady from Gwalior passed the Entrance Examination of this University in April 1918 with Hindi as her medium of examination. Prof. Kurre the Organiser of the Indian Women's University has expressed his readiness to exert himself to organise a school and college that would give instruction through the medium of Hindi if no workers in Hindi speaking provinces come forward either to start an independent Women's University or to found an institution to work under the guidance of this University in the next few years.

Poona 14th July 1919. A Maratha

The more truly independent educational institutions of the type of the Indian Women's University we have in our midst the more hopeful would our future be.

The Meeting of Laila and Majnun

Laila and Majnun were children of two different strains of wandering tribes in Arabia. They were brought up together like two

respectable papers contained about the same statements that the Pratap did. I submit that it was a relevant plea in order to establish the defendant's *bona fides* with a view to show that he had reasonable grounds for believing the statements he published. The second statement made by the accused is. It cannot be denied that most who were killed or wounded were innocent. Lala Radha Krishna in his petition pertinently observes that the Delhi authorities themselves took this view and in order to provide for the innocent sufferers in the riots opened a public fund. Let me add to this that no attempt was made by the Crown to show that even one man had wounded among the crowd was guilty of violence himself. The court seems merely to have relied upon the fact that those who were killed were members of a violent and dangerous mob. That fact does not necessarily prove that those actually killed were guilty of violence nor has the accused in his articles complained that the innocent suffered with the guilty. His complaint naturally was that the firing was at all resorted to.

The rule under which the accused was charged has been also examined.

It is now necessary to examine the rule under which the accused was charged. Lala Radha Krishna was charged under sub-clause (a) of subsection 1 of rule 25. In order to establish the guilt of the accused it is necessary to prove—

- (a) That the statement is false
- (b) That the accused has no reasonable ground to believe it to be true
- (c) That it is published with intent to cause or it is likely to cause fear or alarm to the public

It has been made abundantly clear in the foregoing that the statements have not been proved to be false and that even if they were it has not been proved that the accused had no reasonable ground for believing them to be true. On the contrary the defence statement gives clearly the grounds of his belief and lastly the Prosecution never proved that there was any intent to cause fear or alarm or that there was likely to be any fear or alarm caused. The judgment however says without going into the question whether he intended to cause fear or alarm to the public we are satisfied that the publishing and circulating of these false statements did actually cause fear and alarm to the public. Lala Radha Krishna observed on this point. The prosecution witnesses were unable to cite any specific instances of such alarm having been caused by the articles in question.

Mr. Gandhi concludes

The judgment takes no note of the antecedents of Lala Radha Krishna of the fact that

although there was not the slightest reason for expressing regret for anything he had written he expressed it in his statement to the court for any unconscious exaggerations and of the very material fact that the error if error it was was corrected by him as soon as the official *communiqué* was published and that he published too the Civil and Military Gazette version. This seems to be a question of manifest injustice.

Another fact which shows the action of the Prosecution in a very unfavorable light is has been thus stated in the *Mahratta*—

The case was launched on 6th June under Rule 25 of the Indian D O R A against Lala Radha Krishna after he was officially warned by the Press Advisor to the Punjab Government on the 10th April, i.e. some 56 days after the statements were published in the *Pratap*. This means that the Government had seen the articles they objected to before the date of the warning and had then thought that a simple warning would have the desired effect. But not content with what they themselves thought proper and adequate then they resorted to prosecution in June and have thus ridiculed their own previous judgment.

Other Panjab Sentences

The sentences passed on Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal and some other leading men of Amritsar and on Messrs. Duni Chand Rambhaya Dutt Harkishan Lal and other leaders of Lahore are most astounding. The judges who tried these persons had the same peculiar notions of what constitutes conspiracy, rebellion and war as those which actuated Sir Michael O'Dwyer in getting Martial Law proclaimed in the Panjab. They could not apparently free their minds from the influence of their surroundings, and were, therefore, manifestly not fit to try these cases. And in fact such cases ought never to be tried by martial tribunals.

Taking the words rebellion and war in the senses in which they are used and which are found explained in authoritative English lexicons we must say that it has not been established that there was any rebellion or war in the Panjab. And supposing there were it has not at all been established that leading men like Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew and Messrs. Harkishan Lal, Duni Chand and Rambhaya Dutt had participated in that sort of rebellion and war.

That these persons took counsel to

gether to carry on organised agitation against the Rowlatt Act was in the opinion of the judges a criminal conspiracy. If that be so then any kind of conference or meeting private or public for purposes of deliberation or consultation for settling any programme of constitutional agitation is conspiracy. We have read the Lahore judgment from the first line to the last but nowhere could we discover any proof of any criminal conspiracy of which the Lahore leaders were guilty. A conspiracy of a different kind though not one which the Indian Penal Code can take cognizance of seems indeed to have been hatched in the Punjab a conspiracy of which the object it is presumed was that whatever extension of political rights the people of the other provinces of India might have under the Reform Scheme the Punjab must politically remain what it is. Now it is probable that it was intended that the Punjab should make progress backwards by the curtailment of peoples rights. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was guilty of this conspiracy — who else was is not known.

Were it not for the tragic consequences of these trials some passages in some of the judgments would be considered highly comic. For instance in an Amritsar judgment the fact that one of the accused started a platform ticket agitation and wrote intemperate letters to the railway authorities in connection therewith is gravely brought forward as establishing and enhancing his guilt. He was instrumental in stopping a cricket match. Could rebelliousness go further? The opening of *langarkhannas* or free kitchens for the poor during the shopkeepers' strike in Lahore has been pressed into similar service by the Lahore tribunal. It too was an act of war! But pray in what respect illegally did it differ from the Strikers Unemployment Funds in the West out of which the unemployed are helped during strikes and lock-outs?

The Lahore judges have given it as their opinion that the object of the Lahore leaders was to overawe the Government by *hartals* &c. and thereby bring about the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. Now the object

of all constitutional agitation is to bring pressure on the Government in furtherance of a legitimate public object and this pressure is justified so long as there is no physical force no violence no armed resistance or any intention or suggestion thereof. It has not been shown that the Lahore leaders either intended to use any physical force or had any connection with any rioting or other act of violence which might have taken place. Should Government dislike the inconvenience resulting from constitutional agitation and therefore feel inclined to avoid providing occasions for such agitation in future surely it must be an abuse of language to describe the object of constitutional agitation to be to overawe the Government.

It is too late in the day for any tribunal military or civil to try to make out that any form of passive resistance (call it *Satyagraha* or by any other name) is criminal. It is and would remain legitimate and constitutional in spite of what Anglo Indian or British judges may choose to say. For British justice though often the best is not always the best or the only variety of justice. The ideal and standard of justice and the ideal and standard of what is legitimate and constitutional are independent of what some British judicial and executive officers may think or say.

Hartals (shopkeepers' strikes) and every other similar form of self-chosen and self-inflicted loss suffering and mode of public mourning are immemorial rights of the people which no British or other man made pronouncements or laws can abolish or deprive of their legitimacy. Surely it would be intolerable slavery if we could not have even the liberty to suffer for a cause!

Much is made in the Lahore judgment of the fact that the crowds were dispersed by firing on more than one day. But that a crowd was fired upon does not in itself show that the men forming the crowd were violent and dangerous were in the wrong or constituted an unlawful assembly. On the contrary what has to be proved first of all is that (a) the crowd was violent and constituted an unlawful assembly (b) that other means had been tried

buds growing side by side with affection and love secretly treasured in their hearts. They hoped and dreamed that one day they would be united in wedlock and live only for each other. But this was not to be. They were separated from each other. Laila was married to a wealthy person. The disappointment of Kais was so great that he became mad—*Majnun*. He thought only of Laila, he spoke only of Laila. He wandered into the wilderness till he became a living skeleton and even wild beasts took pity on him and became friendly to him. In the meantime, however, the husband of Laila died and she sought the love distracted *Majnun*. But the return of Laila was too late. *Majnun* did not recognise her. Laila spoke of her insatiable love for him, but *Majnun* described to her the Laila he adored—his beloved Laila of the past. Then their eyes met and *Majnun* recognised her. But this was only for a brief moment, instantly his madness came back and he rushed away into the desert, and once more they were separated, to be united only on the other side of death.

The picture represents Laila speaking to *Majnun*. Two of her attendants are standing behind her. The camel driver in the foreground is making fire.

Early 18th century. Collection of Mr S. N. Gupta.

Naturalisation of the Exotic

It is a somewhat trite though common argument employed by Anglo-Indians and Tory Britishers to cry down our political aspirations or to assert that we do not possess certain moral qualities, that there are no current old vernacular words to describe certain liberal and popular political institutions or to express those moral qualities. One might retort that, as the words "government", "democracy", "representative government", "franchise", "parliament", &c. are all derived from languages foreign to the British soil, a time there must have been when the things denoted by these words did not exist in Britain, yet these things have grown up and taken root there. Similarly one might argue that "gratitude" is not an indigenous British

word, the thing originally did not exist in Britain, and it was subsequently that its want was felt and so the thing and its name was attempted to be transplanted to British soil. Seriously speaking, many exotic animals, plants, ideas and institutions have been naturalised and have flourished in new habitats. This process of conscious and unconscious naturalisation has gone on throughout historical and pre-historic ages. Very often the exotic has partially or completely supplanted what was indigenous. That what has not been or is not, can not merely for that reason be, is a most foolish argument.

Punjab Affairs.

Whatever may have been the case in former ages, at present the English language is so highly developed and its vocabulary is so rich that whatever Englishmen do and think and feel and intend, may be adequately described and characterised in English words. Therefore, it would not be right to say that it is not possible properly to describe and characterise recent events in the Punjab and the policy pursued in that unhappy province by its rulers and the rulers of India. There is quite an abundant stock of words in the English lexicon to correctly describe and characterise those events and that policy. And though English is not our vernacular, our knowledge of it, too though defective, might suffice for such true description and characterisation. But on account of the Press Act, such true description and characterisation may not seem advisable,—particularly in the case of those newspapers and periodicals which do not possess presses of their own.

The 'Pratap' Case.

This is a case in which Lala Radha Krishna, editor of the "Pratap", was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment, which has been reduced by the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab as an act of mercy. Even if he had been released as an act of mercy, the wrong done to him would not have been wholly undone, for he ought never to have been prosecuted at all. In cases of injustice like this if the accused

person were set free, if it were declared that he was wrongly prosecuted and if he were compensated for whatever pecuniary or other loss he had sustained then alone it could be said that as much justice had been done to him as was possible under the circumstances.

Mr M. K. Gandhi has subjected the charge sheet and the judgment in this case to detailed criticism. He says

In my humble opinion the judgment is a travesty of justice. The case is in some respects worse even than *Baba Kalmath Roy's* case. There are no startling headlines in the *Tribune* case. The accused has been sentenced not on a section of the Indian Penal Code but on a rule temporarily framed as a war measure.

He examines the indictment as follows —

Let us turn to the indictment. Now a charge-sheet should contain no avoidable inaccuracies and no innuendoes. But we had that the indictment contains material inaccuracies. One of the three statements claimed by the Prosecution to be false is that the accused said in his paper that they (the crowd) were fired at in Delhi without any cause. Now this is a dangerous inaccuracy. The passage in question reads they were at least from their point of view fired at without any cause. The words italicised have been omitted from the charge, thus giving a different meaning to the writing from the one intended by the writer. From the third item too the relevant portion which alters the accused's meaning in his favour has been omitted. The third count contained the people thrown stones and bullets at the time when the authorities had already taken the initiative. The relevant and qualifying sentences in the article from which the above is extracted are: But it is possible that somebody among the Police officer (before they resorted to firing). Even admitting this to be true we say that the wisdom and prudence of the authorities demanded that some other method than firing guns should have been adopted with a view to suppress this disturbance. This sentence with the portion italicised again alters the whole meaning. If such an omission was made by a defendant it would amount to suppression and he would rightly put himself out of court. Done by the prosecution the omission has proved more dangerous than suppression. The Crown by a material omission in its charge sheet has succeeded in bringing about an unjust conviction as it appears to be.

In the *Gandhi* case in Sindhi the Prosecution charged Mr Jethmal with sup-

pression *veri* for bringing the Government into hatred and contempt, and the trying magistrate observed —

What are we to think of the good faith of a writer catering for a considerable body of Sindhi readers who having at his hand the materials from which he could have compiled a true and faithful account of the events at Delhi deliberately set out to garble those materials so as to put the action of the authorities in the worst possible light? It has been proved that he deliberately omitted from more or less responsible accounts of the occurrences certain statements. What was his intention in so doing? There can be no doubt that it was to hold up to hatred and contempt the authorities responsible for maintaining law and order.

The application of these observations to the charge-sheet in the *Pratap* case is obvious.

Nor is this all.

The last paragraph of the charge contains an unpardonable innuendo. The accused has published a number of seditions and inflammatory articles but the Crown prefers to proceed under Rule 23. The suggestion that the accused has written seditions and inflammatory articles could only be calculated to prejudice the defence. I have never seen an indictment so loosely drawn up and so argumentative as this. In a properly constituted court of law I venture to think that it would have been ruled out of order and the accused set free without having to enter upon any defence.

Mr Gandhi then criticises the judgment.

The judgment too I am sorry to say leaves the same impression on one's mind that the charge does—an impression of prejudice and haste. It says The prosecution have also established that each of these statements is false. Now I have I hope already demonstrated that two of the statements in the indictment could not be proved to be false for they are statements torn from their context and incomplete. No amount of evidence to prove the falsity of such incomplete statements could possibly be permitted to injure the accused. There remain only two statements to be examined. The first statement is By the evening of the 31st March forty Hindus and Mussalmans had been killed. Now it would be quite clear to anybody perusing the judgment that even now it is not known how many persons were killed. I suggest that the deciding factor in examining the falseness or otherwise of the above statement is not the number killed but whether any people were killed at all. If anything could then alarm the people it was the fact of firing not necessarily the number killed. And the fact of firing is not denied. As to the number the newspapers including the Anglo-Indian press had different versions. The learned Judge dismisses the plea that other

to disperse it and that these failing (c) they had to be fired upon. The Lahore tribunal has reversed the process and partly from the fact of the crowd having been fired upon appears to have taken the conclusion for granted that there was rebellion and war in Lahore. And if there was the Lahore leaders were guilty of waging war though there was no direct or indirect proof of their complicity.

The Case of Babu Kalnath Ray

That a man who ought never to have been prosecuted at all and if prosecuted who ought never to have been convicted and punished has had his sentence reduced *in act of mercy* does not from the public point of view in the least lessen the injustice done to him. Of course so far as he is personally concerned the reduction of his sentence is a relief to him and to his relatives and friends. But in the interests of justice and of popular rights an endeavour should be made to get the sentence pronounced on him reversed by a higher tribunal. The appeal to the Privy Council must therefore be pressed. Not that we expect that his conviction would thereby be certainly quashed. But all legal means must if possible be tried to obtain justice. We would therefore urge all lovers of justice to contribute to the Kalnath Ray Appeal Fund and send their subscriptions to Dr Prankrishna Acharya (56 Harrison Road Calcutta) who is the treasurer.

Appeals to the Privy Council

We do not know whether any appeals to the Privy Council have been preferred in any of the cases of conviction of the popular leaders in Amritsar and Lahore but it may be presumed that there will be a few. Should any appeals be successful even then the price of such success must be considered. If it were absolutely certain that Privy Council appeals always ended in the vindication of justice it should not be lost sight of that the expenses which have to be incurred are a very heavy fine. But the prospect of obtaining justice by such appeals is by no means certain. In the first place to err is human and those to whom appeals are preferred in England

are human beings. In the second place they are not all above racial and political bias.

Nevertheless where pecuniary circumstances permit Privy Council appeals may be advocated as part of our publicity campaign.

P.S. We are pleased to learn in this connection that the Privy Council has granted leave of appeal to twenty one Indians convicted by Court Martial at Lahore in connection with the riot at Amritsar on April 10th. The appellants contended that the alleged offences were committed before the establishment of Martial Law therefore they should have been tried by the ordinary courts. Lord Haldane in announcing the judgment said that without expressing any opinion on the facts of the case they were bound to advise the Sovereign that there should be a scrutiny of what had been done in order to avoid chances of miscarriage of justice.

The Independent understands appeals have also been lodged or are about to be lodged in the Lahore Conspiracy case (K. E. Is. Harkishan Lal and others), Amritsar Conspiracy Case (K. E. Is. Kitchlew and others) and Gyanwala Leaders Case (K. E. Is. Amarnath and others). It is expected leave will be granted in all these cases. Sir John Symon leading Counsel has been returned on behalf of the appellants.

The Hon. ble Pundit Motilal Nehru has received a cable from his solicitors in England informing him that Messrs Bugg and Ratanchand's petition in the Amritsar National Bank case for special leave to appeal from convictions and sentences passed by the Martial Law Commissioners was heard by the Privy Councillors on the 23rd July. Their Lordships granted leave.

An Addendum

After the article entitled 'Some Thoughts on the Yellow Peril' had been printed for the present issue we received the following note to be appended to the sentence on page 129 ending 'we trust and believe that Mr Montagu's great deed will not be too great for the age in which we live' —

'The text of Mr Montagu bill has come to hand since this article was written. Though not satisfied with several features of it—notably the handling of the question of the Budget and a curious vagueness in other matters which it would have seemed safer to define—the writer is still convinced that Mr Montagu is standing courageously for that spirit of justice in which lies the hope of the world and that any defects are due—not to his intention but to the forces with which he is forced to contend. S E S

The Crewe Committee's Report

The Crewe Committee's Report on the re-organisation and re-constitution of the Secretary of State's Council &c. has been published. We have not received a copy but find the greater portion of the majority report with the minutes of dissent submitted by Prof A B Keith Mr B N Basu and Sir J B Brunyate published in the daily papers.

Some of the principal recommendations of the Committee with which we find ourselves in general agreement are embodied in the following passages of the Report—

It appears to us that the conception of the Reform Scheme leads naturally to the acceptance of the principle which we here state in general terms that where the Government of India find themselves in agreement with a conclusion of the Legislative Assembly their joint decision should ordinarily prevail.

Following the phraseology of the Joint Report we recommend that the Governor General should be instructed that save in the case of absolute necessity no measure should be certified for enactment by the Council of State without previous approval of its substance by the Secretary of State on the ground that the legislation proposed is essential in the interests of the peace order and good government of India. We note that the words employed in clause 20 (4) of the Government of India Bill regarding certification by the Governor General in Council are the safety tranquility or interests of British India or any part thereof which appear to be of somewhat wider import than those in the Joint Report.

In order therefore to give proper emphasis to the legislative authority of the Assembly we recommend that whenever legislation has the support of a majority of the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly assent should be refused only in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to Parliament

for the peace order and good government of India or paramount considerations of Imperial policy require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly.

In examination of the Budget and in criticism of general administration the Legislative Assembly can express its views only by means of resolutions and these will continue to be advisory in character without legal sanction. The Government may accept a resolution either because they agree with it from the outset or because they decide to defer to the opinion of the Assembly. Where for any reason reference to the Secretary of State is considered necessary we recommend that a joint decision of the Government of India and a majority of the non-official members of the Assembly reached by discussion of a resolution should be given the same degree of authority as similar decisions on legislative proposals and that the principle we have stated in paragraph 13 should be applied in these cases also.

in so far as provincial action comes under the cognisance of the Secretary of State either directly or through the Government of India he should regulate his intervention with regard to the principle which we have sought to apply to the working of the central Government namely, that where the Government had themselves in agreement with a conclusion of the legislature their joint decision should ordinarily be allowed to prevail.

The principle that we would lay down is that in addition to the salary of the Secretary of State there should be placed on the Estimates (a) the salaries and expenses (and ultimately pensions) of all officials and other persons engaged in the political and administrative work of the Office and distinct from agency work (b) a proportionate share determined with regard to the distinction laid down in head (a) of the cost of maintenance of the India Office, the exact sum payable under heads (a) and (b) to be determined by agreement between the Secretary of State and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury from time to time. Any arrangement made under this scheme would supersede the adjustment agreed to between the India Office and the Treasury as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure over which Lord Welby presided. The India Office building and site and other similar property paid for in the past by Indian revenues and now held by the Secretary of State for India in Council would continue to be Indian property.

We support also the recommendation advising the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State but we cannot support the appointment of an irresponsible and merely Advisory Committee in its stead. The reasons for opposing such a Committee have, I have put forward by Mr

in his minute of dissent. He concludes his observations on this subject by saying

I am therefore opposed to an Advisory Committee with no responsibility and no statutory functions. If it should be decided that for some time at least a Council or an Advisory Committee is necessary, I should prefer a Secretary of State in Council and to make it easy for the Council to disappear when the time comes without having to wait for a Parliamentary Statute. I should accept the recommendation of Professor Keith that the King in Council whenever he is so advised may make an order transferring the functions of the Secretary of State in Council to the Secretary of State and abolishing the Council. Nor do I see much objection to accept as an alternative the suggestion of Sir James Brunyate that the Council should at the end of the 1st period of 10 years cease to exist unless the Parliamentary Commission reports in favour of its continuance.

We think there is great force in Mr Basu's contention that the power of veto at present possessed by the Council should be retained.

If the final Parliamentary decision now be in favour of an Advisory Committee distinct from the Secretary of State the Committee should have statutory powers so that the difficulties I have suggested as likely to arise may be avoided, and so long as the revenues of India are by Statute vested in the Secretary of State and can be dealt with by him irrespective either of the Government of India or of any popular control in India. I would not abolish the veto of the Council the veto has, it is true never been exercised, but its existence must have a restraining influence and must strengthen the position of the Secretary of State against the Cabinet. The abolition of the veto may create unnecessary suspicion in India as an attempt to remove the last obstacle to the inroad of the British Treasury on Indian revenues especially in view of the fact that the non official Indian element in the body which would advise the Secretary of State is about to be strengthened.

As regards the composition of the Council or the Advisory Committee, we endorse the views of Mr Basu. Regarding the Indians to be appointed Mr Basu says

The Report recommends that not less than one third of the body should be Indian public men selected from a panel and leaves it open to the Secretary of State to appoint other Indians representing special interests or possessing administrative experience. In my opinion having regard to the altered circumstances the necessity of restraining the officials when they are tempted to overstep the limits of their

spheres of stimulating, advising, and guiding the popular governments, of harmonising the relationship between the official and non official Provincial Governments and between the Government of India and its Legislative Assembly, the authority which will have the final decision cannot be safely constituted with less than half its members as Indians. I would, therefore recommend that half of the number should be Indians and I am prepared to concede, though this is neither desirable nor essential, for I am sure Indian electorates will elect men possessed of the requisite qualifications, that not less than two thirds of this number should be selected as recommended in the Majority Report, the rest being nominated by the Secretary of State.

Half the number of members being thus suggested to be Indians, regarding the other half Mr Basu observes —

As regards the other half it must be evident from the nature of the duties that the Council or Advisory Committee will have to discharge, that it should not consist wholly of officials. The official experience will be primarily and efficiently represented in the despatches that will come from the Government of India and also in the permanent departments of the India Office, this experience while essential in matters of ordinary administration in which the Secretary of State will interfere less and less is not of the same value when he has got to deal with important matters of policy or constitutional usage involving decisions of critical questions between the official governments and the popular elements. Under these conditions it is not only not desirable but may even be embarrassing to have a preponderantly official element in the Council of the Secretary of State. What is wanted is not a reduplication of the Indian official point of view but a broadened outlook from the Indian and British points of view. The Indian point of view will be secured by the increased representation of the non-official Indian element. The British point of view can only be secured by the introduction into the Council of a new element, namely Englishmen taken from the public life of England. I would therefore recommend that room should be provided for such association by laying down that not more than one-third of the members should be officials who had held office in India, the rest being men of British experience nominated by the Secretary of State. To my mind a Council so constituted will be an ideal flywheel for the new machinery we are setting up. If we revert to the old constitution of an overwhelming official preponderance in the body which will advise the Secretary of State we shall be courting grave risk. I see no sufficient reason why the members of the Council of the Secretary of State should be as now excluded from sitting in Parliament. There would be obvious advantages if they were allowed to do so especially if they become a merely advisory body.

The majority of the members of the Committee have opposed the proposal to establish a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs. We are in favour of the establishment of such a

committee, and of its retention until India gets full Dominion government. The fears of the Crewe Committee of excessive parliamentary interference in the affairs of India are entirely groundless. Hitherto, what has been every M.P.'s business has been no M.P.'s business. The actions of the Indian Executive in India and Great Britain must be subject to scrutiny, control, and reversal, if need be, somewhere and by some persons. Seemg that it is proposed to keep the supreme Government in India practically autocratic for an indefinite period and that even in the Provinces popular control must, if the Reform Bill passes as it is, be for an indefinite period more nominal than real, parliamentary control must be made more real than it is at present. And the only way to do so is to appoint a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs. The observations of Mr B N Basu on this subject are so statesmanlike that we quote them in full inspite of their length.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

16 This is a feature of the Montagu Chelmsford Report which has met with universal and unqualified approval in India. The Majority Report has raised an objection to it which it considers fundamental, namely, that an increasing interest taken by Parliament in Indian affairs might encourage a tendency to interfere, and might militate against the object of the reforms, which is gradually to transfer control to the Legislatures in India. We have to bear in mind, however, that this objection, specially in the Central Government, is remotely in prospect and we shall have a long way to travel before reaching it. In the meantime all the more vital concerns of Government will remain vested in an official executive. This executive will have a very difficult part to play. It is casting no slur upon it to say that it is not properly trained or constituted for its new role. Hitherto, it has held all the threads of administration in its hands, it has been all the source of power and the instrument of its effective use in all directions. Henceforth, while it will still exercise the paramount functions of government, and consequently retain its position of unchallenged supremacy in what are justly regarded as the attributes of power namely, the enforcement of law and order, it will have in other branches of administration to take a subordinate place as executant of the will of the people whom it is controlling and governing in a different sphere. The Civil Service has shown great adaptability in the past, and I hope its fabric will respond to the new conditions in a spirit of loyal co-operation. But the whole situation requires careful supervision and guidance not alone by the Secretary of State but by Parliament itself. Parliament is now deliberately transferring some of its power to the Indian legisla-

tures and has reserved to itself the determination of the future stages of further transference until India has secured self government within the Empire. Therefore until that goal is reached, India would not only not fear any tendency in Parliament towards taking an increasing interest in her affairs, but would urgently want it, and would welcome any means to secure it. We cannot at the present moment give Parliamentary representation to India, though India, which is still governed by Parliament, stands on a different footing in this respect from the Dominions, and therefore the only way to secure in Parliament some knowledge of and interest in Indian affairs is by means of a parliamentary Committee, which will be annually constituted with importation of fresh blood and will thus in the course of a few years give the House of Commons a fairly large number of members with some acquaintance with Indian affairs. Even if this Committee, like the Committee of Public Accounts, deals with the preceding year it will be able by its annual reports to place before Parliament a resume of some of the most important aspects of administration in India, in a form essentially different from the present official reports on the moral and material progress in India. The British public will have the inestimable advantage of having a picture of India in outline, presented by an independent body of men who are dissociated from both the official and non-official elements in India and are the chosen representatives of the British people and the Indian public will have access to an authority which it will regard more or less as impartial.

In his remarks on the India Office staff also Mr Basu makes clear the Indian point of view.

17 As regards interchange of the superior staff between England and India, I do not appreciate any very great difficulties. The higher officials in the India Office may and should from time to time be sent out to India to serve or assist in the Secretariat and their place taken here by Indian officials who should be of Indian descent, if available. I would not claim any special privilege for the Indian, but it is only fair that when the Indian is equally qualified, he should have preference, not because he is an Indian but because the British element will, in the very nature of things, be preponderantly represented in the India Office staff. This will be a matter of arrangement which will grow into a system and so arranged as not to affect the prospects of the home officials. As regards Indians being allowed to take a responsible part in the higher control of the Office, I think it should be definitely laid down that there should always be an additional Indian permanent Under Secretary of State. Ordinarily he should not be an Indian official. With an Indian non-official member in all the Provincial Executive Councils, and probably more than one minister in all the provinces, with also not less than two members in the Executive Council of the Government of India, it will be easy to combine non-official training with administrative knowledge in a non official Indian selected for the post.

In the above we demur to the words not because he is an Indian. Where general qualifications are equal an Indian should be preferred to a Britisher because he is an Indian and because the India Office is meant for the management of Indian affairs. Until the whole world is internationalised or at least until throughout the British Empire only merit is taken into consideration but not race or nationality a fully qualified national must everywhere have preference in the affairs of his country.

Sir James Meston on Democracy in an Eastern Country

In Reuters cabled summary of Sir James Meston's evidence before the Joint Committee we find him stating that the Government of India fully appreciated the gravity and magnitude of their responsibilities of creating for the first time in history a democracy in an eastern country. What is the exact meaning of this claim of creation? Does it mean that it is the Government of India who are creating a democracy for the first time in any eastern land? That would be clearly a wrong claim. For Japan, China and the Philippines have all had for years more or less developed democracies previously created. If it is meant that it is the British Government which is establishing a democracy for the first time in the eastern land called India that also is not historically true for even Mr Vincent A. Smith can be quoted to prove that democracies not less developed than those of any ancient land existed for centuries in ancient India.

And what a democracy it is which the Indian Reform Bill proposes to establish in India!

Work of India's Delegates in England

Readers of Indian newspapers know what the different bodies of delegates are doing in England to press on the attention of Englishmen what powers over their country's affairs Indians want. It would have been of great advantage if they could have presented a united front. But it would seem as if that was not to be.

Could not the delegates agree to make their demand

thing at least namely as regards at least the introduction of the principle of popular control over some subjects under the Government of India? In other words in addition to provincial affairs the principle of diarchy should be applied to all India affairs also. Indian ministers being in charge of transferred subjects and executive councillors in charge of reserved ones and all the subjects being transferred in a decade or two to Indian ministers responsible to the representatives of the people. If in affairs of the gravest moment to the people touching their lives liberties health and economic condition they are to be subject to an autocracy we do not see why they should go into raptures because in the provinces Indian ministers may be appointed and dismissed at the pleasure of the Governor because their salaries are to be a matter of bargaining because their advice may or may not be accepted by the Governor because the revenues are first of all to be commandeered by the Government of India and by the Provincial Governments for their reserved subjects and only the crumbs left are to be given to the ministers for their transferred subjects to be supplemented by fresh taxation if the provincial Governments agree to it because the Indian and Provincial Governments are to have full power and machinery to pass whatever laws they like and to prevent the passage of whatever laws they dislike because the Government of India would continue to have arbitrary power to make use of the old Regulations relating to deportation declaration of martial law &c. and so and so forth.

The Indian Daily News is quite right in observing

There is no one apparently there to get information as to precisely what is meant by the Reforms except that there is to be a so-called democracy to be driven on by the Government like ticka garatts. No one asks Sir James Meston whether he proposed to give the country the control of the Press Act or of the tariff or of the police or of the introduction of Martial Law at any moment and though we know inferentially that all these subjects are to be reserved these are precisely the matters over which the mind of India has been so perturbed and the main cause of the unrest apart from the economic causes.

What we want.

Both Moderates and Extremists agree in holding that in the long run India must have full self-government in all provincial and all India affairs. The parties differ only as to what should be demanded now and as to the steps which should lead to complete self rule and the period which the gradual attainment of self rule should occupy. There is also another point of difference. If the kind and degree of self government proposed to be given to us for the present do not appear satisfactory to us and if the givers practically say 'Take this or you get nothing' should we run the risk of losing the little that is offered by standing up for a substantial measure of self rule as the first instrument or should we make a very respectful *salaam* and say 'Garib-parwar you are very merciful'. We confess we are not adepts in the arts of political bargaining or of political begging. But our natural inclination is to demand something substantial something which will lead inevitably to full self-government within a definite period. We believe that the 'Take this or you get nothing' attitude is camouflaged that it is not really optional for the British people to give us political liberty or withhold it from us and that if we really deserve a thing and mean seriously to have it we must get it. It is also our belief that whatever little may be given to us now may be used by our opponents for about a generation to prevent our getting more by these opponents continually demanding. Prove by your performance that you deserve even what you have got before you agitate for more. Therefore from this point of view it is better to have nothing than to have something inadequate something which will not irresistibly and within a definite period lead to autonomy both in the provinces and in the whole of India.

Both Moderates and Extremists have too readily agreed to exclude the Army and the Navy (which does not yet exist) from the sphere of the self government which we want. We know this readiness has sprung from a desire to prevent

and allay all suspicions of our harbouring separatist or rebellious intentions. But can Home Rule ever be a reality without the opportunity and the power of Home Defence? So long as the Indian Army is not both manned and officered mainly by Indians the taunt will be flung in our face that a people who cannot protect and defend their hearth and homes certainly do not deserve Home Rule and cannot keep it if given to them. But if we be content to exclude the Army and the Navy from the purview of our political demands how and when are we going really to nationalise the Indian Army and Navy? And what about the financial aspect of this exclusion? Out of 86 millions sterling budgetted for the current year by the Government of India 41 millions are for the Army (and 24.2 millions for railways). These items absorb 75.38 per cent of the total revenues. From the remaining 24.62 per cent we can safely challenge even a legislative assembly and ministers to whom all subjects have been transferred to adequately improve sanitation irrigation agriculture industries education and science.

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar

On this the 29th day of July Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar breathed his last. To-day we remember him with love, gratitude and reverence for all that he did and suffered for Hindu widows for all that he tried to do for *Kulin* Brahmin girls and women the victims of a polygamous system of marriage for all that he did to rouse the social conscience of the Hindu public for all that he did for famine stricken men women and children for all that he did for the education of girls for all that he did for the cause of Sanskrit and general education for all that he did for Bengali literature for the manhood that was in him and the tender heart of a woman which lay concealed within his tough exterior. It is a great pity and a shame that the most courageous and humane thing which he did in life—the re-introduction and legalisation of the re-marriage of child widows—continues to be looked upon with disfavour most of all in the province of his birth.

Peace Treaty Has Not Brought Peace to Europe

Though "military war" has ceased between the Allies on the one hand and the Central European powers on the other, the Peace Treaty does not contain any provisions for the prevention of economic war between them, on the contrary, some of the terms are in effect a declaration of economic war, which, when the parties are ready for it, may lead to "military war." This is not all. Actual fighting is still going on between different parties in Russia, in and on the borders of Poland and Rumania and Hungary, &c.

Besides this there is disastrous class war in England and other countries, as in the coal mine areas in Yorkshire in England, resulting in the flooding of mines worth millions of pounds. Other industries have also been affected.

Where the essentials of peace are not in the heart of man, external machinery and arrangements can not bring it about.

Death of Dr T. M. Nair

By the death of Dr T. M. Nair, the "Non Brahman Movement" of Madras loses its bulwark, and India loses a strong personality—a man who, during the greater part of his public career served her well and right manfully and who only latterly gave up to party what was meant for all his countrymen. He rendered effective service to his fellow-citizens in connection with the Madras Municipal Corporation. It is generally believed that his taking up the cudgels against Mrs. Annie Besant led her to deflect her almost unsurpassed energies to the field of Indian politics. If this belief be correct, Dr. Nair's active campaign against her produced a good result which he did not intend it produce. No sane man, no lover of humanity and of India, can approve of the virulence and hatred of Dr. Nair's anti Brahmin campaign. At the same time, no fair minded man can fail to observe that it is the unjust, unrighteous and inhuman character of the Hindu social system in the South which is primarily responsible for this virulent hatred. The non Brahmin movement will not have been brought into vain if it leads the Brahmins

and other high-caste people in the South to recognise in practice the common and equal humanity of themselves and the so-called low-caste and non caste people.

"Hindus" in America

By now several natives of India have become naturalised citizens of the United States of America. Naturalisation in a free democratic country can give our countrymen there that fullness of opportunity to show what stuff they are made of, which is denied them in their motherland. In a free country like America it is practicable, too, to speak and write the whole truth about India, which is not possible in India. For these reasons naturalisation in America ought to receive an impetus.

We are glad that the political ardour of our countrymen in America has found an outlet and an embodiment and organ in 'The Indian Home Rule League of America', and *Young India*. Revolutionary propaganda is unwise and futile, and unrighteous, too, when it advocates murder. The mature and wise judgment of Lala Lajpat Rai could not have taken shape in any other kind of united political activity than a Home Rule League. In connection with the League Dr. Hardiker has been delivering lectures in many states and cities and forming branches and enlisting new members. His activity, as described in *Young India*, the monthly organ of the League, is very praiseworthy.

Colonel Yate recently asked a question in the British House of Commons relating to Lala Lajpat Rai's so-called misrepresentation of British rule in America. True representation is as Britishers and Anglo Indians see themselves, misrepresentation is as patriotic Indians and impartial foreigners see them.

Many of our readers are writing to us to know the address of the Hindustan Association of America. It is 116 West 39th Street, New York City, U. S. A.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose's circular letter to the Press, printed elsewhere suggests a duty which we owe to our country. As in many other things, so in this the progressive Indian states like Mysore, Baroda, Travancore &c. may take the lead.

Gwahor has been forging ahead in industrial activity. There is much to learn in America about industrial education and enterprise. Why not send a deputation there to observe enquire and report?

Mr Shafi's Appointment

As the immediate cause of Sir C Sankaran Nair's resignation was the Government's Punjab policy, it is in the fitness of things that his successor has been found in Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, whose ardent and wholehearted admiration of and homage to O'Dwyerism found public expression in the banquet &c given to the outgoing Punjab satrap. It does not much matter that his appointment has not been hailed with delight even by his own community, and that he has never given any proof of zeal for the improvement and spread of education, the subject of which he is to be in charge. He opposed Mr Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. The surprise is not that a Shafi has been appointed but that a Sankaran Nair was appointed. Some people have observed that if according to the principle of turn and turn about a Musalman was to follow a Hindu, why was not Sir Abdur Rahim appointed? But it is forgotten that that gentleman wrote a very patriotic and very just minute of dissent to the Public Service Commission Report. And Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla and Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan too were not quite safe men. Government could not take any risks.

China and Japan

Since the signature of the Peace Treaty, Japan has reiterated her promise to the Allies to restore Shantung to China and only retain the economic control of the railways and the Kiaochow concession. It is believed that the Chinese delegates in Paris will eventually sign the Versailles Treaty. It is stated that the late Austrian concession at Tientsin will revert to China.

The Chinese Government is expected soon to sign the Peace Treaty after the explanation from the Peace Conference that Japan's pledge to restore Shantung to China was not given to China alone but to

all the Allies. The Japanese will withdraw troops from Shantung but will retain the economic control of railways and the peninsula. She will also receive the possession of the German concession of Kiaochow.

We are sure the Chinese are able to see through this economic camouflage. Economic dependence is not less injurious and humiliating than political dependence. And the protection of economic interests has in the history of empire building nations not rarely furnished the occasion and excuse for military enterprises. History may repeat itself in China in this respect. And why is Kiaochow to go to Japan? China was and is an Ally. Why is she to be treated like a conquered enemy country in any matter?

Influenza and the Paucity of Doctors

The recrudescence of the influenza epidemic has led the provincial and Indian Governments to issue communications and suggest the taking of precautions &c. But there is no mention of the need of increasing the number of doctors. Of course it takes years to train up young men and women into doctors. But influenza is not going to disappear this very year, nor is it the last and only epidemic afflicting India. Plague has been here for well nigh a quarter of a century. Influenza may follow suit. It is imperatively necessary to immediately establish a good many medical colleges and schools. But unfortunately they are not pet bureaucratic or imperialistic schemes or hobbies. So the treasury is empty.

Indians in South Africa

It is with pain and resentment that Indians have learnt that their countrymen in South Africa have again to face the necessity of another strenuous passive resistance campaign. They are about to be deprived of the trading and land-owning rights which they enjoyed even under the Boer regime. Representations made to and by the Government of India have up till now proved ineffectual—because India is not self-ruling. As the community is thus threatened with deprivation and ultimate destruction, a session of

the South African Indian Congress has been convened for the 3rd instant to confer on the taking of some concerted action. Meanwhile the Indians are signing the agreement to disregard the civil laws in South Africa as long as any law imposing any class distinction or disability upon the British Indians remains on the statute book. Our sisters and brethren there have our deepest sympathy.

We are pained to learn that in East Africa too, attempts continue to be made to injure the trading and other interests of Indians, though it is their efforts from before pre-British days, which have made East Africa what it is.

Famine Prices Everywhere

Famine may not have been declared everywhere but famine prices rule throughout the country. Prices were very high last year too but this year there has been a further rise as the following figures compiled by *Commerce* will show —

The wholesale prices of food grains and pulses in India at the middle of March 1919 increased by 63 per cent (unweighted average) according to a return issued by the Department of Statistics as compared with this time last year. The weighted average price of rice in India advanced by 60 per cent. The increase in the great rice producing provinces was 68 per cent in Bengal 96 per cent in Bihar and Orissa 51 per cent in the Madras Presidency and 39 per cent in Burma. Among the minor provinces the rise of 78 per cent in the North West Frontier Province 73 per cent in Assam 67 per cent in the Central Provinces and Berar 64 per cent in the United Provinces and 59 per cent in the Punjab is noticeable. According to the figures that have been issued by the department for May 1919 the wholesale prices of cereals and pulses in India at the end of that month were more by 3 per cent as compared with the previous fortnight. The price of wheat rose by 4 per cent but there was no fluctuation in the unweighted average price of rice the weighted average showing a rise of 3 per cent. Of the inferior grains maize advanced by 10 per cent barley by 4 per cent and jawar and bajra by 1 per cent each. Gram showed a rise of 6 per cent and arhar dal 1 per cent. There was a rise of 5 per cent in raw sugar (gur) and 1 per cent in ghu while the price of salt showed a fall of 1 per cent. The marked provincial fluctuations are an increase of 11 per cent in wheat in Bengal 13 per cent in barley in Bihar and Orissa 34 per cent in maize in Burma and 18 per cent in Bihar and Orissa 21 per cent in gram in Bengal and

15 per cent in the North West Frontier Province. On the other hand there was a noticeable fall in the price of rice in Bombay (12 per cent) and Madras (11 per cent) and in the price of salt in Bihar and Orissa (16 per cent). At the end of May 1919 wholesale prices of food grains and pulses in India advanced by 85 per cent (unweighted average), as compared with the average of the prices which ruled at the corresponding date in the last three years. The weighted average showed a rise of 97 per cent. The price of rice rose by 61 per cent. The increases in the chief rice-producing areas were 70 per cent in Bengal 121 per cent in Bihar and Orissa 43 per cent in Burma and 35 per cent in the Madras Presidency. Wheat prices increased by 63 per cent. In the principal wheat growing provinces the Punjab showed a rise of 58 per cent the United Provinces 69 per cent the Central Provinces and Berar 90 per cent and Bihar and Orissa 99 per cent. The price of barley rose by 64 per cent (unweighted average) the weighted average showing a rise of 85 per cent. The noteworthy increase was in Bihar and Orissa (133 per cent) and the United Provinces (85 per cent). There was an advance of 119 per cent in the price of jawar and 116 per cent in that of bajra in India. Gram prices showed a rise of 93 per cent the noticeable percentage increases being 126 in Bihar and Orissa 121 in the United Provinces 116 in Bengal and 105 in the Bombay Presidency. The price of arhar dal advanced by 89 per cent in India it rose by 187 per cent in Delhi 152 per cent in the Central Provinces and Berar 138 per cent in the United Provinces and 103 per cent in Bihar and Orissa. There was an increase of 38 per cent in the price of ghu and of 65 per cent in that of raw sugar (gur). The rise of 168 per cent in raw sugar (gur) in Sind Baluchistan is striking. The price of salt rose by 5 per cent in India although it declined in the Bombay Presidency (18 per cent) Bengal and the Madras Presidency (6 per cent) Delhi (5 per cent) and in Assam (2 per cent). The market rice was in the North West Frontier Province 55 per cent and in the Punjab 35 per cent. Prices in the United Provinces remained unchanged.

The situation is very serious and calls for not only temporary palliative measures but for lasting remedies as well. First of all the causes have to be studied dispassionately and then remedies thought of. As to the causes non official Indian opinion is not likely to coincide with official views. Those amongst our public spirited persons famous or obscure who are interested in economic inquiries and competent to undertake them are earnestly invited to study this vital problem. It is a question of life and death for our people.

But it is to be hoped no one will follow the example of Maharaja P. K. Tagore who said at a recent conference in the British Indian Association rooms

We have all seen how about two months ago Col. Frank Johnson at Lahore had succeeded by virtue of the exceptional powers conferred upon him under Martial Law in bringing down by a stroke of his pen the prices of meat, wheat, milk and even vegetables. Gentlemen if the choice lay between Martial Law and semi-starvation I am sure the great majority of the population of this Presidency would gladly and gratefully welcome the former without a moment's hesitation.

Was it a joke or was it merely the animal in man that spoke?

A B Patil's Security Case

Though we are not surprised we are sorry that the bench of three High Court Judges who sat to hear the *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* appeal against the forfeiture of its security of Rs. 5,000 have upheld the order of forfeiture. We are not competent to call in question the correctness of their judgment from the legal point of view but we have no doubt that if the law has been correctly expounded it is a bad law going against the spirit of political progressiveness. Laws should be such as would allow all speaking and writing which do not suggest or directly incite to the use of physical force against Government. There can be no effective criticism of any system of government or its officers and measures which does not directly or indirectly produce some dislike or repulsion. What degree of dislike or repulsion may be styled contempt or hatred it is not always easy to say.

Commendable Industrial Plans

It has given us pleasure to learn from the papers that the honorary secretaries of the Indian Industrial Conference are making efforts to extend the usefulness of that body in three important practical directions.

It is intended shortly to publish a revised edition of the Directory of Indian Goods and Industries which was compiled by Messrs. Mudholkar and Chintamani some years ago. A list of Indian and foreign experts who are capable of rendering assistance to the capitalists and others in starting new industries or reviving old ones is also being compiled. Thirdly it is intended to organise a commercial museum in

Bombay to display samples of indigenous and foreign industrial products, models of machinery, raw material and art ware. About Rs. 12,000 only are stated to be needed to achieve the objects in view and an appeal is made to the public for help.—*The Bombay Chronicle*

A Labour Meeting in Madras

Madras has been making headway in one democratic direction leaving behind backward provinces like Bengal. When the Calcutta postmen struck in order that their grievances might be remedied they received no help from their politically minded countrymen but on the contrary Boy Scouts and members of the Calcutta University Infantry Corps were encouraged to work as strike breakers. In Madras they do things in a different way.

Under the auspices of the Central Advisory Labour Board a public meeting was held at the Gokhale Hall to enlist public sympathy with the cause of labourers in general and with that of the labourers thrown out of employment by Messrs. Addison & Co. and Hoe & Co. in particular.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari proposed the Zaminder of Kumaramangalam to the chair and in doing so observed that it might seem curious that a Zaminder should be asked to preside over a labour meeting but it should be remembered that in this country Zaminders were near relations to workmen on the soil. The Zaminders were the feeders of the country. It was a peculiar feature of social arrangements in this country unlike in any other country that in the midst of barriers of castes and position the greatest and best democracy prevailed.

We only call attention to the significance and the vital need of such meetings. For details one should read *New India* and the *Hindu*.

Mr. Gandhi Postpones Civil Disobedience

It has often been urged in these pages that armed fights for freedom are out of the question in India. Two of the chief means recommended to be adopted for winning freedom are intellectual and moral suasion and civil disobedience. The best means is of course to make ourselves physically, intellectually and morally equal to any class of men in the world.

There is in India no greater master of the art of civil disobedience than Mr. M. K. Gandhi. As he thinks it necessary in the present circumstances of the country to keep civil disobedience in abeyance there is nothing more to be said. Some Anglo-

Indian papers have insinuated that the warning of grave consequences conveyed to him by Government may have made him nervous. They do not know of what metal he is made. Some Indian papers have exhorted him to give up thoughts of civil disobedience for good. We think that is a futile unnecessary and rather prickly and officious exhortation.

Report of the Sadler Commission

The Report of the Calcutta University Commission has leaked out. Some of its recommendations have appeared in a Madras Anglo Indian paper from which other papers have copied. It is greatly to be hoped that this leakage does not prove the unfitness of any class of men to govern themselves or any other persons.

As for the recommendations which have been published as all the recommendations are most probably interrelated comments on any of them had better not be made till the Report itself is before us.

Scholarships for Oriental Women at the University of Michigan

The scholarships for oriental women at the University of Michigan U S A are known as the Barbour Scholarships. They were established in June 1917, through the generosity of the Honorable Levi L. Barbour of Detroit. The income of \$100,000 is devoted to these scholarships and the income is such that the University maintains ten scholarships of the annual value of \$500 each (1 dollar is equivalent to a little more than 4s). Their purpose is to provide for the care support maintenance and schooling in the University of young women from oriental countries including Japan China India Russia the Philippines and Turkey. No exact number is allotted to any country. Applications for these scholarships should be made in writing to the President of the University of Michigan Ann Arbor U S A Accompanying the applications certificates of character and certificates showing scholastic attainment and fitness for university work should be filed. The scholarships are awarded by a committee consisting of the President of the University the Dean of the College of Literature Science

and the Arts the Dean of Women and the Dean of the Medical School. There is sharp competition for the scholarships. Many more applications are filed than can be granted. The amount of scholarship (\$500) does not include travelling expenses and adds President H. B. Hutchins in his letter, from which the above particulars have been taken 'I think it advisable that one should have some money in addition to the \$500.'

In a letter to the editor of this Review President H. B. Hutchins says that these scholarships have already been awarded for the coming University year, 1919-1920. 'If any Indian ladies desire to become candidates for them for the year following 1920-21, I would suggest that they forward to the President of the University credentials showing their training and fitness for work in the University.'

Danger of Leaving "Revolution" Undefined

The Mahratta has brought to notice the danger to the public of leaving the word revolution undefined in the Rowlett Act. When the Rowlett Bill was under discussion in the Legislative Council many a member pressed the Government to define what is called 'a revolutionary movement' but the Government refused to do so on the ground that the meaning of revolution was perfectly plain. It is rightly contended that though the dictionary meaning of war and rebellion too are perfectly plain yet in utter defiance of these meanings and of common sense as well it has been held that there were rebellion and war in the Punjab and on that assumption martial law was proclaimed there and terrible sentences pronounced on many men which give a shock to the moral sense and the sense of justice and humanity and take one's breath away. What guarantee is there that in spite of the meaning of revolution being plain regions will not be officially declared to be in a state of revolution without there being any revolution there in the usual sense of the word.



COME O COME TO MY LAKE IF YOU WOULD DIVE IN
THE WATER *The Gardener*

By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Anilprasad Sarbadhikari

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WHOLE

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THE RUNAWAY

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

1

MOTI Babu *Zamindar* of Katalia was on his way home by boat. There had been the usual forenoon halt alongside a village mart on the river and the cooking of the midday meal was in progress.

A Brahmin boy came up to the boat and asked, "Which way are you going, Sir?" He could not have been older than fifteen or sixteen.

To Katalia, Moti Babu replied,

"Could you give me a lift to Nandigram on your way?"

Moti Babu acceded and asked the young fellow his name.

"My name is Tara," said the boy.

With his fair complexion, his great big eyes and his delicate, finely-cut smiling lips, the lad was strikingly handsome. All he had on was a *dhota*, somewhat the worse for wear, and his bare upper body displayed no superfluity either of clothing or flesh—its rounded proportions looked like some sculptor's masterpiece.

"My son," said Moti Babu affectionately, "have your bath and come on board. You will dine with me."

Within a minute, Sir, said Tara, with which he jumped on the servants' boat moored astern and set to work to assist in the cooking. Moti Babu's servant was an up-country man* and it was evident that his ideas of preparing fish for the pot were crude. Tara relieved him of his task and

neatly got through it with complete success. He then made up one or two vegetable dishes with a skill which showed a good deal of practice. His work finished, Tara after a plunge in the river took out a fresh *dhota* from his bundle, clad himself in spotless white and with a little wooden comb smoothed back his flowing locks from his forehead into a cluster behind his neck. Then, with his sacred thread glistening over his breast, he presented himself before his host.

Moti Babu took him into the cabin where his wife Annapurna and their nine-year-old daughter were sitting. The good lady was immensely taken with the comely young fellow—her whole heart went out to him. Where could he be coming from, whose child could he be, a poor thing, how could his mother bear to be separated from him?—thought she to herself.

Dinner was duly served and a seat placed for Tara by Moti Babu's side. The boy seemed to have but a poor appetite. Annapurna put it down to bashfulness and repeatedly pressed him to try this and that, but he would not allow himself to be persuaded. He had clearly a will of his own, but he showed it quite simply and naturally without any appearance of wilfulness or obstinacy.

When they had all finished, Annapurna made Tara sit by her side and questioned him about himself. She was not successful in gathering much of a connected story, but this at least was clear: that he had run away from home at the early age of ten or eleven.

* Servants belonging to other provinces do not as a rule understand the necessities of Bengali culinary art. Tr.

at this lack of response. She felt she would like to feed and clothe and care for this homeless waif till he was made thoroughly happy. But somehow she could not find out what would please him. When a little later the boat was moored for the night, she bustled about and sent out servants into the village to get milk and sweetmeats and whatever other dainties were to be had. But Tara contented himself with a very sparing supper and refused the milk altogether. Even Moti Babu, a man of few words, tried to press the milk on him, but he simply said "I don't care for it."

Thus passed two or three days of their life on the river. Tara of his own accord, and with great alacrity, helped in the marketing and the cooking and lent a hand with the boatmen in whatever had to be done. Anything worth seeing never missed his keen glance. His eyes, his limbs, his mind were always on the alert. Like Nature herself, he was in constant activity, yet aloof and undistracted. Every individual has his own fixed standpoint, but Tara was just a joyous ripple on the rushing current of things across the infinite blue. Nothing bound him to past or future, his was simply to flow onwards.

From the various professionals with whom he had associated, he had picked up many entertaining accomplishments. Free from all troubling, his mind had a wonderful receptivity. He had by heart any number of ballads and songs and long passages out of the dramas. One day, as was his custom, Moti Babu was giving a reading from the Ramayana to his wife and daughter. He was about to come to the story of Kusha and Lava, the valiant sons of Rama, when Tara could contain his excitement no longer. Stepping down from the deck into the cabin he exclaimed "Put away the book, Sir. Let me sing you the story." He then began to recite Dasrathi's version of the story in a faultless flute-like voice, showering and scattering its wonderful rhymes and alliterations all over. The atmosphere became charged with a wealth of laughter and tears. The boatmen hung round the cabin doors to listen, and even the occupants of passing boats

strained their ears to get snatches of the floating melody. When it came to an end, a sigh went forth from all the listeners, alas, that it should have finished so soon!

Annapurna with her eyes brimming over, longed to take Tara into her lap and fold him to her bosom. Moti Babu thought that if only he could persuade the lad to stay on with them he would cease to feel the want of a son. Only the little Charu, their daughter, felt as if she would burst with jealousy and chagrin!

3

Charu was the only child of her parents, the sole claimant to their love. There was no end to her whims and caprices. She had ideas of her own as to dress and toilet, but these were liable to constant fluctuations. So whenever she was invited out, her mother was on tenterhooks till the last moment, lest she should get something impossible into her head. If once she did not fancy the way her hair had been done, no amount of taking it down and doing it up again would be any good—the matter was sure to end in a fit of sulks. It was the same with most other things. When, however, she was in a good humour, she was reasonableness itself. She would then kiss and embrace her mother with a gushing affection, and distract her with incessant prattle and laughter. In a word, this little mite of a girl was an impossible enigma.

With all the fierceness of her untamed heart Charu began to hate Tara. She took to tearfully pushing away her platter at dinner, the cooking was done so badly! She slapped her maid, finding fault with her for no rhyme or reason. In fine she succeeded in making her parents thoroughly uncomfortable. The more interesting she was with the others, found Tara's varied accomplishments to be, the angrier she became. Since her mind refused to admit Tara's merits, how should she not be wild when they became too obtrusive?

When Tara first sang the story of Kusha and Lava, Annapurna had hoped that the music, which could have charmed the beasts of the forest, might serve to soften the temper of her wayward daughter. She

asked her. And how did you like it Charu? A vigorous shaking of the head was all the reply she got which translated into words must have meant 'I did not like it and I never will like it so there.'

Diving that it was a pure case of jealousy the mother gave up showing any attention to Tara in her daughter's presence. But when after her early supper Charu had gone off to bed and Moti Babu was sitting out on deck with Tara Annapurna took her seat near the cabin door and asked Tara to give them a song. As the melody flooded the evening sky seeming to enrapture into a hush the villages reposing under the dusk and filling Annapurna's tender heart with an ecstasy of unutterable love and beauty Charu left her bed and came up sobbing.

'What a noise you are all making mother I can't get a wink of sleep!' How could she bear the idea of being sent off to bed alone and all of them hanging round Tara re-veling in his singing?

Tara for his part found the tantrums of this little girl with the bright black eyes highly diverting. He tried his best to win her over by telling her stories singing songs to her playing on the flute for her—but with no success. Only when he plunged into the river for his daily swim with his *dhoti* lifted short above his knees and tightened round his waist his fair supple limbs cleaving the water with skilful ease like some water sprite at play her curious gaze could not help being attracted. She would be looking forward every morning to his bath time but without letting any one guess her fascination. And when the time came this little untought actress would fail to practice her knitting by the cabin window with a world of attention only now and again her eyes would be raised to throw a casual seemingly contemptuous glance at Tara's performance.

They had long passed by Nandigram but of this Tara had taken no notice. The big boat swept onwards with a leisurely movement sometimes under sail sometimes towed along through river tributary and branch. The days of its inmates wore on like these streams with a lazy flow of unexciting hours of mild variedness. No

one was in any kind of hurry. They all took plenty of time over their daily bath and food and even before it grew quite dark the boats would be moored near the landing place of some village of sufficient size against a woodland background lively with the sparkle of fireflies and the chirping of cicadas. In this way it took them over ten days to get to Katalia.

4

On the news of the *Zamindar* Babu's arrival men palanquins and ponies were sent out to meet his boat and the retainers fired off a salvo startling the village crows into noisy misgivings. Impatient of the delay occasioned by this formal welcome Tara quietly slipped off the boat by himself and made a rapid round of the village. Some he hailed as brother or sister others as uncle or aunt and in the short space of two or three hours he had made friends with all sorts and conditions of people.

It was perhaps because Tara acknowledged no bonds that he could win his way so easily into others' affections—anyhow in a few days the whole village had capitulated unconditionally. One of the reasons for his easy victory was the quickness with which he could enter into the spirit of every class as if he was one of them selves. He was not the slave of any habit but he could easily and simply get used to things. With children he was just a child yet aloof and superior. With his elders he was not childish but neither was he a prig. With the peasant he was a peasant without losing his brahminhood. He took part in the work or play of all of them with zest and skill. One day as he was seated at a sweetmeat seller's the latter begged him to mind the shop while he went on some errand and the boy cheerfully sat there for hours driving off the flies with a palmyra leaf. He had some knowledge of how to make sweetmeats and could also take a hand at the loom or at the potter's wheel with equal ease.

But though he had made a conquest of the village he had been unable to overcome the jealousy of one little girl and

All of a sudden Charu announced that she also must and would learn English. Her parents at first took it as a great joke and laughed heartily over their little one's latest caprice. But she effectually washed away the humorous part of the proposal with a flood of tears, and her helplessly doting guardians had to take the matter seriously. Charu was placed under the same tutor and had her lessons with Tara.

But studiousness did not come naturally to this flighty little creature. She not only did not learn herself but made it difficult for Tara to do so either. She would lag behind by not preparing her lessons but would fly into a rage or burst into tears if Tara went on to the next one without her. When Tara was through with one book and had to get another the same had to be procured for her also. Her jealousy would not allow her to put up with Tara's way of sitting alone in his room to do his exercises. She took to sterling in when he was not there and daubing his exercise book with ink or making away with his pen. Tara would bear these depredations as long as he could and when he could not he would chastise her but she could not be got to mend her ways.

At last by accident Tara hit upon an effective method. One day as he had torn out an ink-bespattered page from his exercise book and was sitting there thoroughly vexed about it Charu peeped in. 'Now I am going to catch it,' thought she. But as she came in her hopes were disappointed. Tara sat quiet without a word. She fidgeted in and out sometimes edging near enough for him to give her a smack if he had been so minded. But no lie remained as still and grave as ever. The little culprit was at her wit's end. She had never been used to begging pardon and yet her penitent heart yearned to make it up. Finding no other way out she took up the torn-out page and sitting near him wrote on it in a large round hand. 'I will never do it again.' She then went through a variety of manoeuvres to draw Tara's attention to what she had written. Tara could keep his countenance no longer and burst out laughing. The girl fled from the room be-

side herself with grief and anger—She felt that nothing short of the complete obliteration of that sheet of paper from eternal time and infinite space would serve to wipe away her mortification!

Bashful shrinking Sonamani would sometimes come round to the schoolroom door hesitate at the threshold and then take herself off. She had made it up with Charu and they were as great friends as ever in all else but where Tara was concerned Sonamani was afraid and cautious. So she usually chose the time when Charu was inside the Zenana to hover near the schoolroom door. One day Tara caught sight of the retreating figure and called out. 'Hullo Sona is that you? What's the news how is Aunt?'

'You haven't been to us for so long and Sonamani. Mother has a pun in the back or she would have come to see you herself.'

At this point Charu came up. Sonamani was all in a flutter. She felt as if she had been caught stealing her friend's property. Charu with a toss of her head and her voice pitched shrill cried out. 'For shame Sonamani. To be coming and disturbing lessons. I'll tell mother. To hear Tara's self constituted guardian one would have thought that her sole care in life was to prevent the disturbance of his studies! What brought her here at this time the Lord might have known but Tara had no idea.'

Poor flustered Sonamani sought refuge in making up all kinds of excuses whereupon Charu called her a nasty little storyteller and she had to shik away owning complete defeat.

But the sympathetic Tara shouted after her. 'All right Sona tell your mother I'll go and see her this evening.'

'Oh! Will you?' sneered Charu. 'Haven't you got lessons to do? I'll tell Master masai you see if I don't!'

Undeterred by the threat Tara went over to Dame Cook's quarters one or two evenings. On the third Charu went one better than mere threatening. She fastened

* Respectful way of addressing or referring to a teacher of English. Tr.

shed in the rainy night with the light of the arms of his great world mother placed
the village which had stolen back to in her serene unconcern

Translated by
SUNDARANATH TAYLOR

SIVA OR MAHADEV

BY THE SISTER NIVEDITA

EVERY well born Hindu boy is taught that his ancestors have not always lived in India. The people's own name for themselves is Aryans and they believe that they came into the Peninsula from the North across the mountain passes of the Himalayas. Indeed there are still a few tribes living in the Hindukush called the *Lill Kaffir* or *Lur Lok* because they are of pale complexion. The original stool of the Hindus probably have been left behind on the Southward march of their countrymen.

At any rate the stories and present religion of the people have grown up since they crossed the mountains. In early days they had no images. Neither had they temples. They had open spaces or clearings and here they would gather in crowds to perform the Fire Sacrifice. The fire was made of wood borne to the spot on the back of a bull. And there were priests who recited chants and knew exactly how to pile up logs—for this was done in geometrical patterns very carefully arranged—and how to make the offerings. This was the business of the priest just as it is another man's work to grow corn or to understand weaving. He was paid for it and used his money to support his wife and children.

As far as we can go back however Hindus have always believed that if a man wanted to be *religious* he must give his whole life up to that. A good man may manage a home and family and business they say. But if a man wants to be musical he gives all his care and thought to music if clever to study. And is it easier to know Truth than to do these

things? So you see they have a very high ideal of what being religious means. But where do you think they expect a man to go in order to become this? The musician takes his place before some instrument—does he not?—the piano or the organ or the violin. And the student goes to school or college. But to become religious the Hindu would send a man into the forest! There he would be expected to live in a cave or under trees to eat only the wild roots and fruits that he could find in the wood and to wear pieces of the bark of the white birch for clothing. This is a curious picture that you see now with your eyes shut is it not? But it is not finished. You see the idea is that a great part of religion consists in quieting the mind. And being alone without any need to think of food or clothes or home in silence amongst the trees and the birds must be a great help to this. But it goes further. What would become of a man's hair living far away from other men without brushes and combs and scissors? It would grow thick and unkempt would it not? And so great masses of hair coiled up hastily and fixed on the top of the head are amongst the best marks of religion in these forest dwellers. They are expected to bathe constantly even to wash the hair but they can not spare time from meditation to make it beautiful. Now and then we see a man like this passing along the streets of some Indian city with his long staff in one hand crowned by three points—like the trident of Neptune—and a begging bowl with a handle in the other. But the place to find such people in great

forgotten, became old fashioned so to speak. And the inspiration of the place filled the dreins of the people more and more. The Aryans fell in love with India and became Hindus.

And what was their thought about the snow mount uns?

Why, it seemed to them that *they* told about the fire worship and the fire about them! Were not the flames of the sacrifice white like the Himal was, always mounting upwards like the inspiring peaks leaving behind them ashes for eternal frost?

Those snow heights became the central objects of their love. Look at them! Lifted above the world in silence terrible in their cold and their distance yet beautiful beyond all words, what are they like? Why, they are like—a great monk clothed in ashes, lost in meditation—silent and alone! They are like,—like—the Great God Himself, Siva, Mahadev!

Having got at this thought the Hindu mind began to work out all sorts of accessories and symbols—in which sometimes the idea of flame, sometimes of mountain, sometimes of hermit, is uppermost—all contributing to the completed picture of Siva the Great God.

The wood is borne to the sacrifice on a bull. Siva possesses an old bull on which He rides.

As the moon shines above the mountain tops so He bears on His forehead the new moon.

Like the true ascetic, begging food at the householder's door, He is pleased with very simple gifts.

Fresh water, a few grains of rice and two or three green bell leaves are His whole offering, in the daily worship. But the rice and water must be of the purest, as though presented to a most honoured guest.

Why the bell leaf is chosen, I do not know, unless it is that it is clover shaped, thus referring to the Trinity, like the shamrock. For this doctrine is Hindu as well as Christian and Egyptian.

To show how easily Siva can be pleased, Hindus tell a pretty story.

A poor huntsman,—that is, one of the lowest of the low,—once came to the end of a day's hunting without having snared

or killed a single creature. Night came on and he was far from home, in the jungle alone. Near by, stood a bell tree, with branches near the ground and he was glad to climb up into its shelter to pass the night in safety from wild beasts. But as he lay crouching in its branches, the thought of his wife and children starving at home came to him, and for pity of their need great tears rolled down his cheeks and falling on the bell leaves broke them by their weight and carried them to the ground. Under the sacred tree, however, stood in image of Siva (really, the short stone pillar with rounded top, which is called His lingam or symbol). And the tears fell with the leaves, on its head.

That night a black snake crept up the tree and stung the man. And the angels came and carried his soul to Heaven and laid it down at the feet of Siva.

Then in that bright place rose the clamour of many voices questioning—'Why is this savage here? Has he not eaten impure foods? Has he offered the right sacrifices? Has he known the law?'

But the Great God turned on them all in gentle surprise—"Did he not worship me with bell leaves and with tears?" He said.

Looking closer at the flame, however, one thing was very clear. It had a blue throat,—we see it even when we light a match—and in order to bestow a blue throat upon Siva the following story arose.

Once upon a time all the splendour and glory of the gods seemed to be vanishing from them. [This story must have been told first you see just at the period when the old gods Indra, Agni and the Lords of the universe, were growing unfavourable, and the Trinity, Brahma Vishnu Siva, coming into favour.] What to do, the gods did not know. But they determined to pray to Vishnu for advice. He told them, perhaps contemptuously, to "go and churn the ocean!" And the poor gods trooped forth eagerly to do His bidding.

They churned and churned. Many great and splendid things came up and they seized them with delight, here a wonderful

elephant there a princely horse to him a beautiful wife for someone

Faith was only greedy to be first in the handling of the nest delight. All at once something black began to come. Wellings up and up, and then spreading over the whole ocean it came. What is it? they asked each other in horror. It was poison—death to them, death to the world, death to the universe. It came to their very feet and they had to retreat rapidly in fear. Already they were in the midst of darkness and there was nowhere that they could flee for this dense blackness was about to cover all the worlds. In this moment of mortal terror all the gods with one voice called on SIVA. He had taken no part in the receiving of gifts may be. He would be able to help them now. Instantly the Great White God was in their midst. He smiled gently at their dilemma and their fear. And stooping down He put His hand into the hollow of His palm. Then He drank it willing to die in order to save the world. But that which would have been enough to destroy all created beings was only enough to stain His throat. Hence He bears there a patch of blue for ever.

Perhaps one of the most beautiful myths that have clustered round the name of Mahadev however is the legend of the Boar Hunt.

Arjuna one of the principal heroes of the Great War had gone up into the mountains to spend three months in worshipping SIVA and invoking His blessing. Suddenly one day as he was praying before His lingam and offering flowers the sound of horns rang out with all the merry clang of a royal hunt.

The next moment the Snow King and Queen rode into view at the head of their retinue and came sweeping down the ravine in pursuit of a poor printing boar that ran up to Arjuna for protection. The hero rescued from his worship showed the boar a way of escape and stood to meet the challenge of the king now close upon them. The next moment the whole hunt had come to a stop before him. The quarry was mine! cried the king—and his voice sounded like

the winter blasts amongst the mountains—

The quarry was mine! How dared you touch it?

At this address Arjuna blazed with anger and picking up the bow and arrows he had thrown aside before commencing to worship he challenged the Snow King to dismount and fight.

Accepted said the Monarch and the combat began. But to the hero's dismay he seemed to be attacking some terrible phantom for one after another his good stout arrows disappeared into the person of the king working him no harm.

Let's wrestle then! shouted Arjuna. And casting aside his bow he flung himself upon his foe. He was met by the quiet touch of a hand on his heart and fell to the ground stunned. Well come on said the king as he recovered himself a minute later and turned aside from the contest. But he seemed almost intoxicated. I must finish my worship first he said in a thick voice taking up a garland of flowers to fling round the SIVA Lingam. The next moment the eyes of Arjuna were opened for the Snow King towered above him blessing him. And the flowers were round His neck.

Mahadev Mahadev cried the worshipper flinging himself on the ground to touch with his head the feet of the God. But already the hunt had swept on down the valley and the Snow King had disappeared with all his train.

These are a few of the stories told about SIVA who is so deeply loved by His devotees. To them there is nothing in the world so strong and pure and all merciful as their Great God and the books and poems of Hindus are very few in which He is not referred to with this passionate worship.

Wherever you go in Northern India by the road-side in cities and villages on the river banks or inside the entrance to some garden if there is a tree that stands alone near the home of any Hindu you are likely to see beneath it one or more of the little stone pillars called the Lingam. They may have been taken from the bed of a stream and in that case are likely to be of a long egg shape. But if they have been cut by

the hand of man, they are short and slightly tapering, with a thimble-like top. Sometimes, in all good faith, the features of a human face have been more or less crudely marked on them, with white paint!

In any case it is only a question of time till some woman, passing by on her way home after bathing, stoops tenderly to pour a little water over the head of the emblem and sprinkles a few grains of rice over this. Then she bends her head to the earth before it, saying a prayer, and passes on. Such a simple act of adoration! A man with no objection to a public place, might stop and offer bel-leaves, but the woman wants to reach home and be once more in hiding.

Now and then, a heart more devoted and loving than usual will prompt the touching of the head of the image with red or white sandal-paste, so cool and refreshing in this hot climate!

But this, after all, is but a fragment of stone. It is not He who is worshipped. Still finer images of Him are those who come and go yonder amidst the passing crowd,—the monks and beggars, some ashen-covered with matted hair, others with shaven head and clad from throat to foot in the sacred colour, but most of them bearing one form or other of staff or trident and the begging bowl. And finest of all will these be, when, retiring into the forest, or climbing up to the verge of eternal snows, they sit, even like this stone Lingam, bolt upright in the shelter of tree or rock, lost to the world without, in solitary meditation.

Do you still want to know where to picture Him, how He is surrounded, what are the pleasures and what the history of His Olympus? The wise and learned of His people will laugh at you—"Understand children," they will say, "that this is the Great God of whom we speak! He can have neither dwelling-place, nor history,

nor companions. Such things are vain dreams of men!"

But if you should still persist that you desire greatly to know what men have dreamt of Him in these directions, they will tell you something of the Indian picture of His home.

Far away amongst the mountains, they say, across the frontier, where the Himalayas are at their highest and India passes into Thibet; at the foot of the great ice-peak of Kailash, lies the lake Manasarovara. Here is the reign of silence and eternal snow. And here is the holy home that Siva loves. Up here have gathered round Him all those who were weary of earth, having found no acceptance amongst the fortunate. The serpents whom all the world hates and refuses come to Kailash, and Mahadev finds room for them in His Great Heart. And the tired beasts come,—for He is the Refuge of animals,—and one of them, a shabby old bull, He specially loves and rides upon. And last of all, come the spirits of all those men and women who are turbulent and troublesome and queer—the bad boys and girls of the grown-up world, you know! All the people who are so ugly that no one wants to see them; those who do things clumsily, and talk loudly and upset every thing, though they mean no harm; and the poor things who are ridden by one idea, so that they never can see straight, but always seem a little mad, such are the souls on whom He alone has mercy. He is surrounded by them and they love and worship Him. He uses them to do His errands and they are known as Siva's Demons.

'But dearest of all these, dwells with Him in Kailash, His beloved wife Parvati, otherwise known as Sati or Uma and by many other names. And about Her I shall tell you in the next story.'

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

By LALPAT RAI

EVERY great man British or non British Indian or foreign has told us that the children of to-day are the citizens of tomorrow and that in order to have citizens (good physically morally and intellectually) the body politic should take good care of its children. It is now freely recognized all the world over that the community and the State have as much if not even greater interest in the health and moral and mental equipment of the children of the community as the family wherein they are born. No one has proposed to lessen or belittle the responsibility of the parents as it would be extremely demoralising and suicidal to do so. Every normally healthy man and woman has a duty towards the race which can be fulfilled only by begetting children. The Hindus have characterised it as a *debt (rin)* which has to be paid by every healthy individual before he or she dies in order to ensure him or her a desirable form of re-incarnation. The modern world is also gradually but surely coming to that viewpoint subject to conditions and limitations necessary in the interest of the race.

If it is necessary that every normal man and woman should raise one or more children in order to perpetuate the race it is also necessary that the children so raised should be healthy and capable of contributing to the general progress of humanity. Defective persons are only a drag on the race and are also a tragic waste of human powers energies and potentialities.

Descending from the race to the nation the importance of children—of healthy vigorous and potentially resourceful and powerful children—to the latter is self evident. The children of a nation are its greatest asset. They represent its capital upon the wise and skilful investment of which depends its prosperity—nay even its

existence and continuance. All the civilized nations of the world have accepted this truth and are living with each other in building their present and future position among the peoples of the world on doing all that follows the acknowledgment of such a truth. Huge sums of money are being spent on public health and public education.

The two tests by which the efficiency of a Government is judged are the lowness of the death rate among its citizens and the provision made for public education. The health of the individual is no longer his or her own concern. It is the concern of the whole community—the same is true as regards mental equipment. The health and mental equipment of every unit of the body politic are matters of national concern. The present and future interests of the nation require that every one of its citizens male or female should possess the maximum amount of health and the maximum of developed intelligence possible under the circumstances to enable it to hold its own among the peoples of the world.

In matters of health and education individual freedom is not recognized. As far as possible no one can be permitted to be ignorant and dazed. Of course no amount of solicitude on the part of the State can prevent a person from contracting disease if he is careless enough to be indifferent about it. It is however the duty of the State to lay down the minimum of health and mental equipment which it requires from its citizens and for that purpose it makes education compulsory and lays down certain regulations for private and public health. With the progress of civilization this minimum is being raised to a possible maximum in every community.

The State not only concerns itself with the education and health of its existing citizens it goes further and regulates the

both in the training of its future members too. From this motive proceeds the ever increasing interest which the various Governments in the world are showing in the study of eugenics in making different kinds of provision for motherhood including their care and comfort during pregnancy and confinement as also in providing from public funds for the care and education of children from birth up to puberty. The health of school children and their physical development for a healthy vigorous alert resourceful manhood is thus becoming a matter of supreme importance every day.

We in India are guilty of a criminal waste of our human resources by our dilatoriness in recognising the supreme importance and urgency of the problems of public health and public education. While a certain amount of national awakening is observed in the attitude of the nation to the problems of education it is not yet generally recognised that a provision for the health of school children is a necessary item of the program if education is to be effective. Every educated Indian knows how much he has suffered in health vitality and energy by an one sided education which took little or no notice of the physical requirements of his body.

The premature deaths of our leading men are a constant subject of lamentation in our press. But the number of lives lost or smothered or ruined during the period of adolescence or before attaining a recognised position in society is known only to the gods. Nobody counts them. Millions die every year of the harm done to their systems by neglect of their health during school and college days. Medical examination of school children has of late been much talked of in India but the progress made in that direction is very slight. The results so far obtained have revealed an appalling condition of things yet the awakening of the public mind has not been sufficiently marked to force attention to it.

As to the adoption of means to protect the health of school children no one seems to think that the question is at all one of immediate importance. The two things which are of the greatest importance to

every human being are health and ability to earn a decent livelihood. Both are so much neglected in India. We have every year about a hundred thousand young men engaged in mastering Milton Shakespere Southey Shelley Kalidasa and Euripides, who have never been told either at home or at school how to cultivate an erect posture how to take care of their bodies hands legs noses eyes teeth ears organs muscles and nerves. They know nothing about the hygiene of living or housing of food of dress and of mating. The curriculum of studies takes no cognizance of these things nor of those which provide recreation and amusement of a healthy and edifying character.

Nine hundred and ninety nine out of a thousand graduates of Indian schools and colleges grow to manhood without any knowledge or taste for music. Hardly one in a hundred graduates of our universities can be confidently said to be possessed of normal health. We have had numerous reports about how to improve the teaching of English and some relating to other subjects such as mathematics science law etc. we have had the reports of Commissions on Industrial Education but so far we have done nothing to study the physical condition of our school population and to find out what we could do to secure an improvement in their health and physique.

Before me lies a small Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education (No. 50 of 1917) on the subject of Physical Education in Secondary Schools. It embodies the recommendations of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in the United States a perusal of which will be of more practical use to our educational leaders teachers and students than volumes of high class English and Sanskrit poetry. The report of the Committee on physical education is published in this Bulletin with a preface written by the Chairman of the Commission. It opens with the following observations.

The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education recognizes health as fundamental among the objectives of secondary education. The importance and essential scope of health education are summarized as follows:

During the period of secondary education health needs cannot be neglected without serious danger to the individual and to the race. The secondary school should therefore provide health instruction inculcate health habits organize an effective program of physical activities regard health needs in planning work and play and co-operate with home and community in safeguarding and promoting health interests.

To carry out such a program it is necessary to arouse the public to recognize that the health needs of young people are of vital importance to society to secure teachers competent to ascertain and meet the needs of individual pupils and able to inculcate in the entire student body a love for clean sport to furnish adequate equipment for physical activities and to make the school building its rooms and surroundings conform to the best standards of hygiene and sanitation.

The report begins by stating the problem in a few lucid sentences from which I make the following extracts

In the new civilization one of the most important problems of the high school and the central problem of physical education is how to secure and conserve health. This is becoming more and more a community problem.

The schools have been slow to adjust their program to the changed needs of the pupils and the community. Pupils no longer go to school three months in the winter to learn to read write and cipher securing their vocational skill and bodily power during the other nine months. They go to school nine months and are idle the other three because the opportunities for developing vocational skill and bodily endurance have been taken away from them with the removal of industry from the home to the factory. The school must accept the new conditions of this industrial age and provide adequate opportunity for bodily exercise related to vocational skill and for the fundamental bodily exercises related to health.

Medicine has made splendid strides during recent years in decreasing the mortality due to zymotic diseases. The diseases which are increasing those of the nervous system are more inimical to the organic health of those who survive than are the infectious diseases. Insanity is on the increase. Dr. Harris formerly United States Commissioner of Education as early as 1891 wrote

Our civilization is so bent on the conquest of nature and the production of wealth that it perpetually strains its supply of nervous energy and produces disaster. Here is the special problem of our time for hygiene to meet—How to restore and conserve nervous energy. There are three factors here. First the one of food and its proper assimilation second the factor of sleep and rest third the factor of exercise muscular and mental.

While the increase in nervous diseases is rightly charged to a failure of bodily adjustment to the environment of the new civilization to the saving of the weaker ones who formerly died in infancy and to the greater strain of modern conditions and although the number so classified is due in part to better diagnosis it is a just indictment to say that the public schools have materially helped to augment conditions which lead to these diseases. It is not enough that the schools should not continue to increase the tendency to these diseases they should in a constructive way assist in the necessary health adjustments of the pupils in city and country. It is the firm belief of this commission that the modern public high school owes a duty to the health of the adolescent youth of this country as a fundamental element of education. It is the belief of this commission that this duty is possible of fulfillment.

So far the public school has pre-empted the field of health education without occupying it. Theoretically educators believe that health is more important than quantity of knowledge practically they seldom act upon the belief. The program of studies has not been adjusted to meet the changed needs of the pupils. The present arrangements for physical activity can be looked upon only as palliative measures in that they give some relief from the school desk. They are essentially of negative character aiming to minimize harmful influences. *The work of the school calls primarily for the functional activity of the higher centers of the central nervous system.* It fails to emphasize the principal positive hygienic factor in that it disregards the motor activities related to the lower nervous centers controlling circulation respiration nutrition and elimination. Besides it neglects an important phase of education in that it minimizes to the vanishing point those motor activities related to good carriage motor presence motor personality and motor consciousness. The attainment of adequate motor control is impossible with the present equipment and time allotment.

Health is definitely related to the vigorous use of the big muscles of the trunk and legs. Instruction should be given in exercises and games which will bring into play these large fundamental muscles and should be pushed far enough to stimulate circulation respiration and perspiration. Methods of study should be devised which will allow more freedom and bodily movement even in academic work.

This is followed by a definite programme.

The health needs of the high school pupil call for the following health program

I. A careful health examination which should include

- A. Medical inspection
- B. Mental examination
- C. Physical examination



ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.
By the Courtesy of the Artist
Mr. Charuchandra Roy, n.sc.

in properly grading the health activities. Detailed studies on various phases of these problems have been made by Baldwin, Boris, Crampton, Hugglings-Jackson, Foster, Godin, Hall, Marro, McCurdy, Stewart and Whipple.

Medical, mental and physical examination should be correlated with each other and with the general program of the pupil. Heretofore the examinations have been conducted partly by the medical inspectors, partly by trained psychologists and partly by the director of physical education without correlation between them.

II A HEALTHFUL ENVIRONMENT IN HOME AND SCHOOL

A healthful environment should include a home with adequate food for healthy growth, together with sleeping and living rooms which follow at least the minimum regulations of size, light and ventilation. It should include a schoolroom properly ventilated with temperature never above 70 degrees and preferably between 63 and 65 degrees F. provided a normal relative humidity of approximately 60 per cent and adequate air movement are maintained. The schoolroom should be supplied with proper natural and artificial lighting systems and the walls should be so colored as to reduce eye strain. The textbooks should have size of type and width of line suitable for the proper position of the pupil at the desks. The desks should be arranged to save eye strain and decrease poor posture and deformity. The floors and walls should be kept free from dust. The schedule should be arranged as far as possible to increase body movements and decrease nervous strain. This may best be accomplished by having pupils change from room to room and by alternating kinds of work. In addition 3 minute setting up drills may with profit be used two or three times per day.

III INSTRUCTION IN HEALTH PROBLEM

The pupils should be given instruction in (a) The practical elementary problems which concern their health as for example diet, care of the teeth, sex, sleep, exercise and bathing in school and at home. (b) The general conditions related to health as room temperature, ventilation, dust, school setting and posture. (c) The public health problems like sewage disposal, milk and water supplies and general control of infectious diseases.

Every pupil in the high school should be acquainted with elementary health problems in his environment. Direct application should be made to home, school and community conditions. Definite reports of health conditions which test the powers of observation should be required. The examinations should test both the knowledge and the health habits of the pupils in home and school.

IV PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES

A. *Requirement* (minimum requirements)

The requirement for physical activities in the

public high school should include gymnasiums, showers, dressing rooms, playgrounds and it kept in a thoroughly hygienic conditions swimming pools. Abundant sunlight and adequate ventilation and air movement are essential elements in making the building a hall of health. The location of the gymnasium in an annex is strongly recommended as it allows better hygienic conditions and permits greater freedom.

(1) *Gymnasiums* In large schools of more than 600 pupils there should be two gymnasiums, one for boys and one for girls, each large enough for a class of 40 that is 40 by 80 feet. If we assume that each class contains 30 pupils that the school day contains seven 45 minute periods that a plan of overlapping 90 minute periods is adopted making seven gymnasium periods per day then one such gymnasium will provide two double gymnasium periods per week for 570 pupils and the two gymnasiums will provide for 1140 pupils. Practically however it is difficult to organize the schedule of a period so that each gymnasium class will have the same number of pupils. Proportional increases or deductions should be made according to the number of pupils and the number of class periods.

One gymnasium will be adequate where the school enrolls from 200 to 600 pupils. In small schools of fewer than 200 pupils one room might serve as the gymnasium for boys and girls and also for the town hall. It might also be used for community recreation center and for public meetings. A room used for combination purposes should have the windows and lights protected with wire screens to avoid breakage during games. The walls and ceiling should be of concrete, metal or wood rather than plaster for the same reason. No gymnasium should be constructed less than 30 by 70 feet.

I omit the recommendations about showers and lockers, pools and playgrounds as the requirements of the different countries in these matters must vary.

Under the head of Time Allotment the committee recommends that 'two double periods (each single period of 45 minutes) should be considered a minimum for this work out of which one period of 45 minutes (twice a week) is allotted to exercises and games and the rest to the teaching of hygiene, shower, bath, dressing and undressing etc. It is added that these exercise periods of 90 minutes twice per week should be supplemented by play periods after school of at least one hour and of course by the regular recess periods and setting up exercises between class periods.

The committee then proceeds to give a

and prostitution become highly infectious and contagious in such quarters, like some plague or cholera epidemic and few escape the disease. The villager coming in from his village to get work in the prime of his manhood with his passions strong, seeks instinctively some outlet for those passions and some relaxation at night from the lead monotonous and straining weariness of the day. In the fresh air of his village, his daily toil was modified by the change of seasons and of occupation, and home interests and duties surrounded him on every side making life wholesome and human and natural. But when he suddenly leaves all this and has to live his life in the close confinement of the mill room and the narrow surroundings of the slum streets his whole nature becomes choked and stifled. His bodily passions and appetites have no natural outlet. The consequence is inevitable. Artificial means of stimulating the passions will be sought out and provided. Sooner or later, in such quarters, methods of vice unknown in the villages, tend to become normal and habitual. They gain the prestige of custom and convention and become a *dustoor* which every villager, coming in from the outside, soon learns to practise.

I have seen this growth of *dustoor* in Fiji, and I know its terrible attractive force. Out there thousands of miles away in a foreign country, nothing appeared able to stop its power. Every one who came out fresh from home fell a victim. I have witnessed all this, yet I have wondered at times whether the growth of *dustoor* is less powerful in the slums of our Indian cities than in Fiji.

It is clear to me, that while every appeal should be made to man's inner strength of resistance and men should be thrown back upon their own inner resources as much as possible at the same time it is extremely difficult for them to escape from the vicious circle of their environment where it is thoroughly bad and corrupt. Plans must be elaborated by which municipal improvement trusts may get to work in conjunction with the mill owners to build suitable and sanitary cottages which can ensure a healthy family life for the

workman near to the Mills. No new Mills must be allowed in future where such provisions are not made. The time is ripe for such schemes to be undertaken on a large scale. What is needed is, that the urgency of the whole matter should be realised by the public and that the present delay, which is so fatal, should be brought to an end.

A second question is the problem of indebtedness. I soon found out, in Madras, that to be a debtor at a high rate of interest was the normal state of the workman. Possibly eighty per cent were in debt. Life became doubly hard, when, each month, exorbitant sums had to be paid on some loan contracted several years ago without any possibility of repayment. A thousand petty meannesses gather round where this system is in vogue. One man preys upon another, and where the margin of subsistence is so small, such preying means a direct diminution of daily food for women and children up to the point of actual hunger. It is the weak who suffer most.

I propose now to give extracts from a picture of the life inside and outside the Mills written by one who had been from his boyhood a mill labourer and mill clerk. I shall not disclose his name, or the names of the Mills he mentions, but I can show his paper to anyone, who is a serious student and would wish to see it. It is an authentic document.

"I am putting before you," he writes "some of my experiences about mill hands from 1911 to 1917. I have worked in five different mills (he gives their names)—I was first enrolled as a Doffer boy on 8 rupees when I was a boy of twelve. The working hours were 6.30 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. and 1 p.m. to 7.0 p.m. On pay day, which came after two full months I had to give twelve annas to the Mukadam for giving me the post. Every week we used to get two annas bonus if we attended the whole week without absence. We used to collect (the 25 boys and girls there) three or six pies each and give him two or three seers of *mutai*. He was a drunkard fellow, but kind to us. As there was only half an

schedule showing how the 90 minute periods for physical education can be fitted into the regular weekly schedule of the school and ends as follows

The schedule provides for seven classes of pupils each that is theoretically 350 pupils in each per gymnasium or 875 different pupils on the basis of two double periods per week for each pupil. This arrangement uses the gymnasium continuously and allows for alternation of two teachers in instruction in hygiene, physical education practice and supervision of the bath. Three hours of instruction during the school day plus two hours on the playground and in the gymnasium or pool after school should be the maximum requirement for one teacher. The remainder of the day is devoted to administration and the keeping up of equipment records etc.

The following remarks of the committee on kinds of exercise are too valuable to be omitted

(a) *Physiological type of exercise* The types of exercise used should be those which call into play vigorously the large fundamental groups of the big muscles these exercises are related to the development of vigour, endurance and power. This instruction should be supplemented by exercises of skill, grace, and alertness. Special attention should be given to securing good postural habits while standing, sitting and exercising. The training should give a virile vigorous body, alert and well poised. Instruction should be given in gymnastics, athletics, swimming, and team games for all pupils.

(b) *Character-building activities* By proper control and administration of the team games and athletic contests undesirable features and excesses of the representative teams can and should be eliminated without stopping games which have great health, social and moral values when played and conducted in the right way. This is more rational than the radical remedy of abolishing them. Abolishment of the game as a school sport in public schools usually results in the team playing under other than school name and with no regulation. Some of the after school activities, like the Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls should receive vigorous encouragement.

The curriculum of activity both in school and after school should include all pupils, and should be related not only to health, but to right conduct. The qualities of honesty, fair play, courtesy, cleanness of speech, alertness, promptness, persistency and manliness should be required of pupils during their activity. Both boys and girls should learn the value of the positive virtues. Dishonesty, unforgiveness, discourtesy, vulgarity, or profanity should not be tolerated in connection with any activity.

Through public and private approbation, teachers, coaches, and the community should honor the pupils of vigor and high ideals, and discipline those who pursue dishonourable tactics.

Teachers and coaches who represent the highest ideals in morals and personal character should be selected. Preferably the coaching should be done by regular teachers, and if possible by the director of physical education. With the adolescent group the moral virtues are caught through the inspiring personality of teachers during their direction of activities more often than they are taught through definite moral instruction in the classroom.

'Moral instruction shows what is right. Moral action knits together the fibers which form character. Physical activity, particularly team games, rightly conducted, offers great opportunity for moral achievement, wrongly conducted, the result is moral deterioration. During this adolescent period the vigorous, virile leaders will enter into the team activities. These team boys will, in large measure, influence the moral standards of both the junior and senior high school groups. The moral standards and personal leadership of the teachers of physical education will be a large factor in determining whether these boys are to be merely healthy animals or future moral leaders in the community. If the 'win at any cost' idea dominates the coach, he may be the most potent factor in the community in destroying the moral ideals and the ethical standards of future leaders.'

In the opinion of the Committee, "the courses in hygiene should receive credit on the same basis as other classroom subjects. The physical practice in gymnasiums, athletics, games, and swimming should receive positive credit on the same basis as laboratory courses. The hygiene instruction should be graded on the basis of classroom recitations and examinations. The physical practice should be marked on the basis of the quality of the work and on the effort of the people in daily practice. Tests of minimum physical proficiency should be given at regular intervals."

In summing up, the Committee remarks:

'The present civilization is making great demands upon the vitality of the race. School practices which train simply eye, ear, tongue, and hand do not promote the health of the pupils. Laboratory work, shop work, military drill and domestic science only slightly increase the big muscle activity. Big muscle work is essential to the health of the pupils. These activities are not secured in the home or in the street. Big muscle activities are essential to vocational and other kinds of skill. The higher

levels of the nervous system depend for stability and health upon the organic development of the middle and lower levels. But work in the plays and games is a necessary part of emotional control in religious character building.

The program of activities under direct supervision should secure physical, educational and moral results.

The report does not deal with the primary school and the college but the principles enunciated here can be modified

and applied to these departments also. My object was to draw attention to the importance of the problem and to show how it is being solved in one of the advanced countries of the West. I want my countrymen to realize that the problem of physical education is a national problem of the first magnitude and they should apply themselves to its solution with all the energy and the force of soul they possess.

THE LIFE OF AN INDIAN MILL LABOURER

II

WHEN we turn to the problems of the labourer's life which have to be dealt with outside the Mills the first question which comes up for consideration is that of housing. The very same evils which undermined the domestic and moral life of England during last century owing to the sudden unheeded growth of slum dwellings unfit for human habitation—these same evils are appearing with alarming rapidity in modern India and up to the present little notice has been taken of them.

Some one said to me the other day—What was the good of your going out to Fyfe to seek for evils to remedy? All the evils which you met with over there are here at our very doors unnoticed!

At the time I could hardly believe this but the fact has been borne in upon me by recent experiences that the statement is almost literally true. For instance with regard to the inequality of the sexes and the vast preponderance of men—I have found out now from personal enquiry that very nearly the same unnatural proportion of three men to every one woman exists to-day in the slum quarters of our congested cities just as it existed in the coolie lines of 1911. The men everywhere are flocking in from the villages leaving their wives behind them and this is neither

healthy for themselves nor for their wives. Under the agricultural conditions of Indian life when cottage industries such as handloom weaving were carried on in the villages themselves the domestic ties remained unbroken. Men lived with their wives and their children for the greater part of the year and in consequence the domestic life of India was kept comparatively pure. Indeed it has often been noted by historians that the villages of India were on the whole more free from violent crime and domestic vice than those of any other country in the world.

But now this village life itself is rapidly changing especially near the large cities. A drift to the towns has begun and this is bound to continue as the land becomes impoverished and the village industries completely die out. It may be possible to modify this drift to the towns—and the highest statesmanship of India is needed for dealing with the question for there can be no graver issue. But there still remains the problem which is already there before our eyes namely the drift to the towns which has already taken place.

Take for instance the slum quarters where the mill labourers live in Madras. I have seen with my own eyes the condition of things there and I can say with certainty that such quarters are nothing more nor less than a hot bed of vice and immorality. The two evils of drunkenness

punctually at 1 p.m. It is a very pitiable sight to see thousands of mill hands running to take food between 12.30 p.m. and 1 p.m. For lodgings six to ten mill hands hired a room, about 10 feet by 7 feet, for four to six rupees rent, and shared the rent equally between them.

Every now and then the mill hands would go to some theatrical performance. On Saturday nights they attended their Bhayan mandali. The scenes of amusement in the Holi festival were absurd.

"About seven strikes took place when I was a working hand in the Mills. Two were for demanding early pay for a coming festival, one was for granting more holidays, two for an increase in wages, two for asking a bonus, which the clerical staff got, but not all the ordinary mill hands. The idea of a strike used to come from the jobbers or Mukadams. Most of the mill hands take four days absence each month, on account of the long working hours. When they joined the strikes they understood that it would not go on for more than a week, and then next month they would not absent themselves and thus make up for lack of pay during the strike. The principle of untouchability was not in the least observed in any of the mills.

"The mill hands were more satisfied under English mills. But now, some of the Indian mills are taking steps to look after the welfare of their men. Some of the Indian mills, for instance, have made dining sheds and ground water arrangements, for which the mill hands praised them a good deal. The change has only taken place in the last two years.

The following are the greatest needs of the mill hands at the present time —

- (1) Improved sanitary conditions. The latrines are very bad.
- (2) One hour's leave for taking food, 12.30—1.30 p.m.
- (3) A powerful and trustful labour Union.
- (4) The spread of primary education."

This document, which was sent to me endorsed by a social service worker, had himself been for more than twenty years a clerk and assistant in the Mills, is

remarkably clear in its statements and appears to be free from exaggeration. It is just possible that he has overestimated the drunkenness on Saturdays and Sundays which he reckons at eighty per cent.—It was certainly not so high as that in Madras. The facts which he mentioned about indebtedness I could check from my own enquiries. His estimate there is quite a moderate one, and this makes me inclined to accept his estimate about drunkenness. If this is so, the state of affairs is very terrible indeed, especially when one remembers the comparative freedom from such drunkenness in the villages.

The suggestion of an hour's leave in the middle of the day is certainly one which should gain immediate consent, and it might be taken up at once independently of fresh legislation and then endorsed by law afterwards. The 'pitiable sight' of men and boys running in the heat of the day to get their meal, and, worse still, running back in the heat of the day, just after their meal, in order not to be late at their looms,—this sight should surely not be allowed to go on any longer. There will be some workmen, on piece work, who will themselves oppose it, and their opposition will be exploited by the less liberal employers. But the great mass of the working men will hail the change with delight and be grateful to those who introduce it.

With regard to Government action itself I am convinced that the maximum working hours should be reduced by law to 60 hours a week instead of the present 72 hours. And when this necessary legislation comes into force the interval of rest in the middle of the day (about which I have just written) should be made one hour instead of half an hour. Then the working day in the Mills would normally begin at seven o'clock and go on till noon, it would start again at one o'clock in the afternoon and go on until six o'clock. This working day, year in, year out, is surely long enough for any working man.

If reference be made to Japan, the one final answer is, that two wrongs can never make a right. If we do the right thing by our working men in India, then we have done our part. Whatever may happen,

we shall have this satisfaction that we did not destroy the elementary conditions of a healthy life among our own working men in order to compete with Japan. For my own part, I have full confidence that when a shorter working day is tried production in the long run will not suffer. There will be more contentment all round, better work, less absence without leave, fewer strikes and less friction in the Mills. It is of the utmost importance, however, to remember that mere shortening of hours, without better housing and a more healthy atmosphere outside the mills, cannot solve the problem. Improvement of surroundings and shortening of hours must go hand in hand.

The advancement of primary education which is the fourth suggestion of my correspondent needs little explanation. It is self-evident and should gain immediate assent—as should also the demand for far more careful sanitary inspection of the Mills. His desire for powerful and trustful Labour Unions' needs some comment for such Unions are a new feature in India and are bound to fall under suspicion. Already the *London Times* has had a leading article discussing the danger of industrial Unions being used in India for political ends. But if the burden of debt and drink and vice is to be lightened then the movement must come first of all from within from the men themselves. The men must unite to help and protect one another. That there are wonderful powers of union latent in these masses of ordinary working

men is the common experience of every one who has had contact with them. At the outset, however, it is equally certain that they need the sympathetic leadership and co-operation of educated public workers from outside the mills who are ready to undertake that service. The ultimate aim should always be that the men should quickly learn to be independent and manage their own Union. At the first possible moment outside help should be withdrawn.

The Indian friend who sent me the memorandum from which I have quoted writes—'A trustful Labour Union which is governed by the men themselves is out of the question so long as the headmen in the Mills are corrupt. What is needed is a form of social work carried on among the Mill hands by disinterested persons. This is what the writer means by his word trustful. But I fear I am asking the impossible.'

It should be the duty and privilege of the younger generation of educated Indians in our great cities to cancel that last word impossible and to show that such trustful leaders can be found.

We have had an immense amount of legislation during the past five years dealing mainly with political issues. Is it not conceivable that unanimity might be reached on one small piece of social legislation so badly needed as a *sixty hours working week for our mill labourers with an hour's compulsory interval in the middle of each day?*

Shantiniketan

C. F. ANDREWS

WILLIAM ARCHER'S 'INDIA AND THE FUTURE'

BY LAJPAT RAI

IV

Mr. Archer's Political Views

In Chapter VII Mr. Archer deals with what he calls *The Indian Opposition to the British Government*. This Chapter is the most disappointing of all. Mr. Archer attacks

on Hinduism and caste could be explained by his ultra radicalism but his political opinions as expressed in this chapter can only be put down as ultra Tory. Again and again Mr. Archer charges the Indian critic of the British Administration with inconsistency by reason of his avowal that he wants the overthrow of the British

connection. We however fail to see any inconsistency therein. One may not like a Government yet may be unwilling to overthrow it. He perhaps does not care to take the risk of the latter step or he sees other evils involved in it which might outdo the ones he complains of. After all it is a question of expediency. Mr Archer shows little perspicuity when he says that 'the existence of such a man as Mr Gokhale and his freedom to utter such charges as those above quoted carried in itself the configuration of one of the charges—that of stunting and depressing the Indian genius. As for the first. The argument may be turned against Mr Archer by saying that it only proves the extraordinary ability of Mr Gokhale that in spite of the stunting and depressing influences complained of he should have been what he was. The second may be explained by the application of the principle of the safety valve. Against it may be cited (a) the hugeness of the population which produced one Gokhale in place of hundreds of them as in self-governed countries (b) the strangling of criticism by the numerous convictions of Indian editors, writers and speakers for saying much less offensive and comparatively harmless things. This latter can also be proved by a citation of the provisions of the Indian Press Act of which Mr Archer makes no mention in his book. Yet it is a poor complement to the British Government in India that a man of Mr Gokhale's genius could not be used by them in any capacity whatsoever except as a critic. Mr Archer however becomes hopelessly partisan when he comes to consider the economic side of British rule. His views on the drain are those of the well known Strachey school. A reasonable price for 'peace order and security' (all these being virtually the same) is different from an exorbitant or crushing one. Mr Archer quotes Sir Theodore Morrison's figures and says that his analysis reduces the drain to a little less than £7000 000 as a payment due to the political connection with England. In my book *England's Debt to India* I have examined the figures and shown why the interest on the ordinary debt (comprising the stock of the old East India Co. and the loans raised to pay the cost of various military conquests of Britain in India and elsewhere) should not be included under the head of capital invested for which India has received an adequate return. Besides Mr Archer very conveniently ignores other sources of drain which are not covered by Home Charges. We are afraid Mr Archer makes himself ridiculous when he asks if in case of India being independent she should not have spent more on maintaining a navy for her protection. Possibly so but then the navy would have been Indian and that itself would have taken it out of the item of drain not to say of other advantages accruing from a navy. The argument that she is saved

the cost of a diplomatic and consular service is equally futile. An Indian diplomatic and consular service would have brought profits and advantages which the British diplomatic and consular services do not. £29 000 is not the only item paid for the maintenance of a viceroy in India as Mr Archer thinks. An equal or even a higher sum paid to an Indian Sovereign would not be a 'drain'. As to the argument of the Government of India borrowing money at a lesser rate of interest than the Government of Japan Mr Archer forgets that the Government of Japan is free to spend that money as she pleases. She borrows money from one nation and purchases her stock in the best market according to her needs through her own agents. In the case of India most of her capital debt is spent in England in payment for English goods purchased through English agents and carried in English bottoms. The trifling saving in the rate of interest is overbalanced by these profits. It is not improbable that sometimes the lender is also the manufacturer and seller of the goods required by the Government of India. Then again we see Mr Archer adopting the same misleading process of comparing the incidence of taxation per head in the United Kingdom and elsewhere with the incidence of taxation per head in India without mentioning the respective average incomes of the two populations. Taking his own figures which are the result of his own peculiar calculation a Britisher pays 3s 8d in taxes out of an average annual income of £45 while a British Indian pays a similar amount out of an income of less than £2 a year. We do not know if his figures are quite correct. Then Mr Archer does not calculate upon the total revenue of India which is over £85 000 000 and not between £75 000 000 and £80 000 000 as he says in the footnote on p. 135. For the purposes of his calculation he reduces the tax revenue of India to about £45 000 000 which is very nearly half of the total Revenue of the Government of India. Mr Archer's political acumen may be best judged by another argument based on the comparative cost of defence in the different countries of the world for says he defence is a function that depends not so much upon what a country ought to afford in consideration of its wealth as upon what a country must provide in consideration of the dangers to which it is exposed. I will give the whole of this extraordinary argument before I comment upon it. Says he—

'Defence now ranks in the Indian budget at about £21 000 000 per annum* and the Indian Opposition is never tired of denouncing the reckless extravagance of this expenditure. But the defence of a smaller number of people in Europe costs more than ten times as much namely £235 500 000 to say nothing of the

* The figure has since risen to £26 000 000

economic loss involved in conscription. Western Europe (United Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria, Italy) pays just about £1 per head of population for defence. British India pays less than 1s. 6d. per head.

The defence of Russia costs the people of the Russian Empire about 7s. 9d. each; the defence of Japan costs the people of Japan alone 7s. 6d. each; if we include the population of her dependencies the figure is reduced to about 1s. 1d. more than four times as much as the cost per head of the defence of India.

Mr. Archer does not think this comparison 'unfair.' We can think of nothing more grotesquely unfair. For the purposes of this comparison Mr. Archer lumps together United Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy. Why he omits the Netherlands, Russia, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, the Balkans, and Turkey, we fail to understand. Why asks he does defence cost Western European per head fifteen times as much as it costs to India? Because Western Europe is broken up into hostile communities jealous of one another's prosperity, afraid of one another's power and with more than one of its score to be wiped out at the first opportunity. British rule saves India all these internal jealousies and rivalries. Now if anyone has had advanced this argument I would have unhesitatingly characterised it as dishonest, but I cannot say that of Mr. Archer yet it is really difficult to take a man seriously who can put forth an argument of this kind. Firstly it is not for purposes of defence only that the different Western nations spend so much on their armaments; neither is it solely due to the fear of one another. They are maintaining these armaments for Imperial purposes for bringing other people into subjection and for exploiting them. The cost of armaments should not be calculated per head of population but per dollar or per sovereign of their national incomes. Nations do not spend so much money and blood simply to wipe off old scores. That may have been possible in old times. It is the economic consideration which overrules every other in these days. The Army and the Navy of the United Kingdom are not for purposes of home defence only but for the defence and expansion of the Empire which covers one fourth of the globe. Does Mr. Archer really think that the defence of Australia and Canada and South Africa could be well organised on the basis of a per head expenditure on the same scale as that of India? Mr. Archer is prepared to include the dependencies of Japan in calculating the per head expenditure of Japan's defensive establishment but he has failed to do so in the case of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Italy. The whole process of argument is worthy of a most specious kind of special pleading. In considering India's needs of defence against internal disorder Mr. Archer conveniently ignores that any outlay on defence within would not be

so heavy a fact which is pointed out to him by a friendly critic to whose opinion Mr. Archer refers in a footnote and that never in the long history of India was the country ever invaded from the sea. It is upon arguments like these that our author pronounces that the theory of drain is absolutely and ludicrously unfounded forgetting that it is not the item of military expenditure alone that constitutes the drain. Curiously enough Mr. Archer devotes another separate article to the consideration of the military expenditure and puts the case of the Indian critic in the following words:—Since the peace and security of India are of direct value to England in order that she may devote herself undisturbed to her work of exploitation she ought in common decency to contribute to the cost of keeping intruders out of her preserves. Why should the people who are robbing us from within throw upon us the whole cost of frightening off those who would rob us from without? Such views find a certain amount of sanction in the loose talk of the Imperialists who regard the British Empire as an asset and not as a responsibility. But if it be not true that we get from India any more than a very reasonable equivalent for the services we render her, what becomes of the argument that we ought to pay heavily for the privilege of rendering these services? We do pay heavily for it outside India. Our interest in the Eastern Question arises mainly if not solely from our responsibilities in India, and what has not that interest cost us? This is clearly a case of arguing in a circle. You are responsible for the defence of India because India is your Empire and you make immense profit thereby; your responsibility proceeds from your profit. The whole question turns upon whether you do make a profit or not or whether your rule in India is founded on philanthropy. If the former then all your excuses avail nothing. If the latter then the position of the Indian critic is unanswerable. British interest in the Eastern question arises mainly if not solely not from your responsibilities towards India but from your interest in India as a paying part of your Empire. This interest has not cost you more than you have earned therefrom. As for the importance of India to the British Empire which Mr. Archer is very reluctant to admit see Homer Lea's book *The Day of the Anglo-Saxon*, Lord Curzon's and Lord Roberts' utterances and also Russ's *Against India* by Archibald R. Colquhoun, says Mr. Colquhoun (*Russia against Asia* Harper and Brothers, London and New York 1901). India may in fact be regarded as the centre or pivot of Britain's Empire in the East and for this reason alone setting aside all other considerations must be defended against foreign aggression. It is not only British supremacy in that country itself which is at stake the uninterrupted intercourse with her Eastern Colonies

and consequently the well being of the colonies themselves would at once be threatened should foreign invasion take place. In another part of the book emphasizing the importance of defending the frontiers of India in Afghanistan the same authority remarks —

The expenditure involved must be under taken by Britain herself for the force necessary to cope with the situation in case of war would mean the financial ruin of India. Indeed that country is unable to defray the cost of the present inadequate defense of frontiers which is growing every year. Finance ministers are at their wits end even now to meet the ever increasing demands and there is danger to India from financial disorganization as well as from Russian policy. Says Mr. Lea —

Next to a direct attack and seizure of the British islands the loss of India is the most vital blow that can be given to the Saxon Empire. So closely associated is India with the continuance of the Empire that it is by no means certain that an invasion of England would not be preferable to the conquest of India. Mr. Archer very naively remarks that apart from the question of trade it is very doubtful whether we make any clear profit at all out of our connection with India whatever we gain by the connection except in the way of commerce is probably a very poor compensation for what we sacrifice. The italics are mine. This apart and except supply the whole crux of the situation. In these sentences Mr. Archer pretends to display a naive ignorance of the economic importance of India to the British Isles but he recovers very soon and asks the following question is it (i.e. the commercial advantage) so huge and of such vital importance to us that we ought as it were to tax our profits in order to relieve India of part of the burden of her military defence? This is again begging the question. The commercial advantage is not to be judged by the percentage of the total trade with India. It is inherently interwoven with other questions viz that of the shaking of the pagoda tree the sea routes the raw materials the shipping and the fact that the rest of the Empire was made with Indian money and Indian soldiery. A man who can thus argue in a circle is hopeless to convince. Of similar nature are his arguments on the causes of Indian poverty. I have considered them at some length in my book *England's Debt to India* to which I must refer the reader as a general reply to Mr. Archer's partial discussion of the subject in the book under review. The argument of over population too has been considered there. I repeat that it is absolutely misleading and untrue to say that over population lies at the root of Indian poverty. India is not over populated as compared with Great Britain Japan Germany Belgium and some other countries nor is the increase in population a con-

clusive testimony to the 'general beneficence of British rule in all matters in which the Government can control. Why, the two arguments are contradictory of one another. The poverty of the Indian masses is due to the failure of the British Government to equip them with means to compete with the rest of the world in this era of commercial and industrial rivalry, and Mr. Archer only shows his ignorance of the proper functions of a Government when he says 'no Government can remake a people. "A Government and 'a people' should be exchangeable terms. A Government which can not remake its people and insure them against poverty does not deserve the name of a good Government. In self-governed countries the Government is a creation of the people and hence the people themselves are to blame if the Government is not good or progressive. In countries governed from without the Government is an exotic plant which must be held responsible more than the people themselves for their backwardness and poverty. India was not so poor when the British Government took possession of it. The admission as to the shaking of the pagoda tree disposes of that point. If she is poorer to-day or even if she is not better according to modern standards considering her natural resources and man power the result must be attributed to some defect in her Government with due allowance for her own social defects. In Mr. Archer's opinion the analogy of Japan does not apply to India. We say it does at least in comparing the performances of the two Governments within the last fifty years. Why has the Government persisted in denying even elementary education to the people? Why was no provision made for commercial and industrial education? Why were not the raw materials of the country manufactured in the country itself? If huge loans could be taken for military expeditions outside of India and for the building of Railways and other Public works some of them of exceedingly doubtful utility like the building of Summer palaces for European officials in the hills why could not the industrial resources of the country be developed and education disseminated by the same means if not by the reduction of expenditure in other departments by employment of native agency? In considering the neglect of education Mr. Archer does not even once mention the matter of technical and commercial education.

Mr. Archer ends this chapter with a special article under the heading of a chosen people. What has evidently roused his anger and fanned his fury most is the claim made by the Indians as to the past greatness of their country. One half of the book rather three-quarters of it professes to demolish this idea. Again and again Mr. Archer reverts to it in terms of extreme ridicule overpowering contempt biting sarcasm and strong disapprobation. We are not aware of any Indians worth the name who believe

that they are the chosen people. On the other hand we can cite numerous passages from Anglo-Indian documents in support of their claim to that effect. In fact the whole fabric of Anglo-Indian Government is based on that assumption and Mr Archer's book itself is a sufficient corroboration thereof. Nor can we join with Mr Archer in regretting that the wisest of Indians should say in one breath that India's past is her disaster and assert in the next that it is her glory and her pride. Both the statements are perfectly true and consistent. India's past is not a matter of a few years nor of a few centuries. It extends over millenniums. There was enough of glory in her past to make the Indians feel proud of it and there were enough causes in her immediate past to result in disaster. Racial vanity is not the characteristic of what Mr Archer calls the Indian opposition. It is the ruling sin of the other side of the heaven-born bureaucrat of the Anglo-

Indian who treats the best and the wisest men of India as if they were pariahs fit to be kept at a distance and being ruled with fire and sword. The most advanced of Indian politicians claim not superiority or preference but equality and equal opportunity. Mr Archer's constant harping on the Indian sin of social vanity is a purely gratuitous assumption. The besetting sin of the Indian people is humility and not vanity, the fear of offending other people's vanity and not their own. Mr Archer himself proves it by finding fault with the statements of his countrymen as to the everlasting nature of British supremacy in India and as to the inherent unchangeable incapacity of the Indian ever to manage his country. If the Indian ever displays vanity it is only by way of retort on the adage physician heal thyself which we very respectfully commend for practice even to Mr Archer.

HOW AMERICA CARES FOR THE CHILDREN

By DR SUBHINDRA BOSE M A Ph D

Lecturer in Political Science State University of Iowa U S A

FEW countries in the world strive harder to promote the welfare of children than does the United States. America is taking today perhaps the most comprehensive and scientific view of the child question. By the dissemination of knowledge concerning the causes of child deaths and by the development of organized work for the protection of infancy, there has been secured a steady decrease in the loss of child life.

CHILD CONSERVATION

America is putting increasing emphasis upon protective measures. Care for the child begins even before it is born. In many cities pre-natal instruction is given to expected mothers through pre-natal clinics. Frequently, nurses are employed who visit the homes of prospective mothers. There are also other protective agencies at work. Some of the cities have fine health exhibits. Others distribute pamphlets on child hygiene. Milk is the most important food for the baby. It is therefore very necessary

that the milk should be fresh and clean. That there may be milk of guaranteed purity there are milk stations where good milk may be had at cost or free.

The City of New York has created a system of child conservation which is the equal of the best that is to be found in Europe or America. It has a Bureau of Child Hygiene which employs more than three hundred nurses, ten dentists, one hundred and eighty-seven medical inspectors, two surgeons, fifty-eight nurses assistants and about a hundred men and women of other ranks. The Bureau manages fifty-nine infants health stations for the feeding and medical supervision of babies and the instruction of the mothers. Furthermore it co-operates with scores of day nurseries, settlements, clinics and hospitals. What has been the result of all this work? Figures are rather impersonal things, but they can tell a story and point a moral in the fewest words possible. As a result of the activities of the Bureau of Child Hygiene the infant death rate in New

York City fell from 200 per thousand in 1898 to 125 in 1910, 94.6 in 1914, and 93 in 1916. It is also to be noted that the death rate among children under five years of age has also undergone a corresponding decrease.

CARE IN SCHOOL

'Health first and education later' is the motto of the modern American school. It realizes the utter folly of the attempt to force a child with poor health through the null of school work. If the little fellow is suffering from imperfect eye sight hearing or enlarged adenoids it is the privilege of the school to help correct these wrong conditions.

Most of the schools hold an annual physical examination of their pupils under regularly appointed school physicians. When doctors discover any physical defects they are promptly reported to the homes and parents are urged to secure for the child the care necessary for the correction of his defects.

Take this all important matter of dental care. Without venturing into a lengthy discussion it may be set down out of hand that sound teeth are absolutely essential for sound health. Now children in America as in all other countries of the world have dental defects—defects which are a frequent cause of rheumatism of troubles with throat ear nose eyes and heart. What should be done about them? In America free dental service is furnished to children through most of the public schools. All this requires money. But the American school authorities are largely of the opinion that the cost of putting and keeping the teeth in order is more than amply compensated for by higher averages in child studies by better health and a consequent reduction in the medical expenses of the nation.

In preserving health in school the nurse contributes a large share. She aids in the health examinations of pupils gives emergency treatment in health disturbances and follows up treatment under medical supervision for various conditions. In homes visited the school nurse gives suggestions and advice not only regarding the health of the children but also of the

entire home. Unimpeachable records show that without the service of the nurse only from 15 to 25 per cent of the pupils have physical defects corrected, following the notice and recommendation by the school doctors to the parents. On the other hand with the aid of the school nurse from 75 to 90 per cent of the pupils reported receive remedial attention.

If you let a child starve remarked Mr. Bernard Shaw, you are letting God starve. And yet thousands of children in India go to school hungry. Prolonged undernourishment not only impairs the body permanently but it arrests and dwarfs intellectual development. A large share of the best American public schools realizing the danger from malnutrition have been maintaining for years excellent lunch room in the schools. In New York City there are already over fifty schools where luncheon has been introduced. They operate school kitchens and serve penny luncheons to children in their well appointed school lunch rooms. These are appetizing well balanced meals such as healthy children at school require.

Boys and girls must have abundance of wholesome play and recreation. Indeed health should come before books. A school without a playground is an educational deformity and presents a gross injustice to childhood says a noted American social engineer pertinently. It is well nigh impossible to think of a school in this country without adequate play facilities under skilled guidance. In recent years the movement toward scientific procedure in child welfare has come to recognize that play is not exclusively a school problem. There should not only be well-equipped playgrounds in school yards but they should be found under competent directors in reformatories in parks in public squares and in special tracts of land set aside for child recreation. In the limited space at my disposal it is difficult to say much but for more specific help I suggest a careful study of H. Caldwell Cook's *The Play Ways* and Joseph Lee's *Play in Education*.

CHILDREN'S COURT

Mischievous boys and careless girls are

CARE BEFORE BIRTH

BIRTH IS NOT THE BEGINNING OF LIFE
BABIES ARE ALIVE
AND CAN BE SERIOUSLY INJURED
BEFORE BIRTH



A HEALTHY
HAPPY MOTHER



A HEALTHY
HAPPY BABY

A MOTHER AWAITING THE BIRTH OF HER BABY

NEEDS

GOOD FOOD
PLENTRY OF REST
FRESH AIR
LIGHT EXERCISE
A CONTENTED MIND

IN THE UNITED STATES (REGISTRY ON AREA
IN 1912



DIED BECAUSE OF CONDITIONS BEFORE BIRTH

INFANT WELFARE WORK
HAT SAVED THOUSANDS OF BABIES
BUT
CARET TO THE EARLY PERIOD BEFORE BIRTH

Wall panel on Pre-natal Care from the exhibit of the Children's Bureau showing an arrangement of photographs and statements

not tried in the United States in the same court with hardened adult offenders. Boy and girl delinquents are taken to the Juvenile Court, which is distinctly an American institution, the first one having been started in Chicago in 1899. Today there is no State in the Republic without a Children's Court. Those of us who have visited these tribunals (?) know that there is very little about these places to remind one of the sordid court atmosphere. Simple pictures adorn the walls. There

are no lawyers, no inquisitive crowd and none of the bustle and tumult of the regular court. The judge who assumes the part of a kindly interested friend tries to correct rather than punish the young offender. The court has wide latitude in dealing with the child. The judge is free to use such methods as will help each individual the most. First with the aid of his assistant writes Professor Ezra T. Towne in

WHAT MOTHER'S MILK DID FOR THIS BABY

THIS BABY WAS ARTIFICIALLY FED AND HAD DIARRHOEA.

SEPT
19
1912



AGE
3
MONTHS
WEIGHT
4 LB
3 OZ

THE DOCTOR SAYS:

ONLY A NURSING MOTHER CAN SAVE THIS BABY
A CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY FOUND
THE NURSING MOTHER

THE
SAME
BABY



JAN 20
1913
WEIGHT
12 LBS.

MOTHER'S MILK

IS EASY TO DIGEST
PROTECTS AGAINST
SUMMER DIARRHOEA
AND
OTHER DISEASES
(BULB BONE AND FLESH)

Wall panel from the exhibit of the Children's Bureau showing by photographs and statements posted on a larger background What Mother's Milk does for the baby

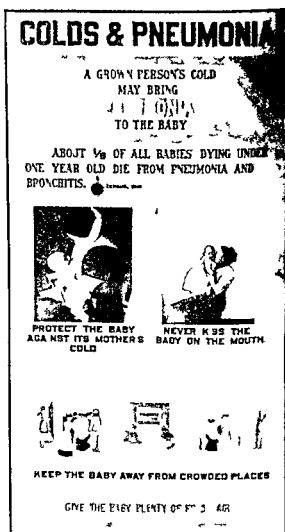


Wall panel on Baby's Foes showing the scene of cartoons

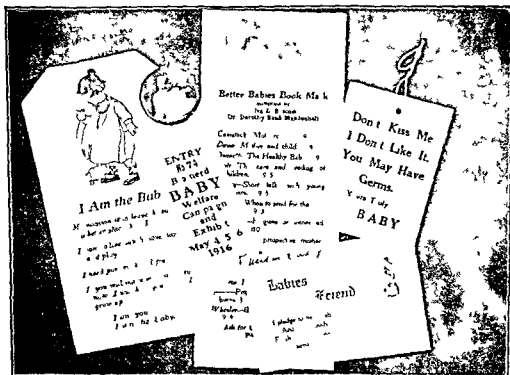
his *Social Problems* he finds out all that he can about the child's previous life what kind of father and mother he has whether they quarrel or drink or are cruel to the children whether they are very poor or incompetent who have been the boy's associates what the immediate circumstances which led to the arrest were and many more details which may be essential to the solution of the problem in hand. The confidence of the child is sought and his version of the event is gained if possible. Then with as deep an insight

as he can get into the details of the case the judge acts.

The sole aim of the judge is to discover some way and prescribe some method which will make the child a useful unit of society. Dr Charles Zuehlke in his most illuminating volume *American Municipal Progress* brings out the fact that seventy per cent of the misconduct of the children who come before the New York County Children's Court is traceable to parental delinquency and that more than half of the children appear in court as a result of their limited opportunity for play. When



Wall panel on Carefulness against the Cold and Pneumonia showing a combination of photographs and cartoons



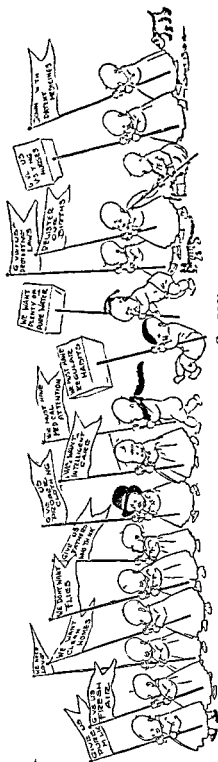
Examples of books by week printed after used 1st sent to ans

the judge is in possession of facts like this he knows that what the unfortunate child needs is not punishment but an opportunity to reform. To achieve these ends various methods are tried. If the home is fairly well fitted to rear the child and the parents are anxious to do their part the boy or girl is usually sent home on probation for a certain length of time. Probation officers get in close friendly touch with the child and try to get him on the right path. If the home conditions are not however of the desirable sort the judge may decide as a last resort to send the child for a time to an institution, a reformatory, or a training school. The result is as intimated by Mr. A. W. Dunn, Specialist in Civil Education of the United States Bureau of Education, many who would by punishment be hardened are thus led to become good citizens.

CHILDREN - BE REAL

The scientific methods of conserving and

dealing with the normal child have always met with hearty encouragement on the part of the American government. It has consistently held to the view that nothing is so good too costly for the children. And with a remarkable breadth of social vision the United States Congress has established at Washington a great national institution called the Children's Bureau. The said bureau states the law shall investigate and report to said department [Department of Commerce and Labor] upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States. In short it has to do practically with every conceivable phase of the child welfare problem.



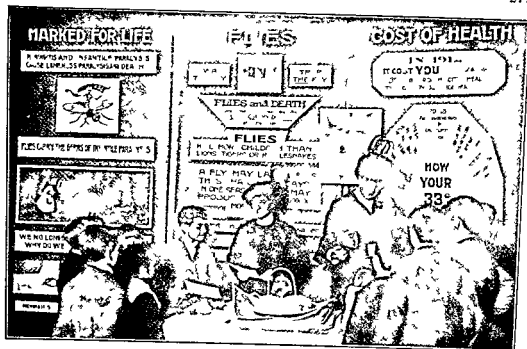
A BARY-WEK NEWSPAPER CARTOON.
Reproduced by courtesy of Baltimore Evening Sun

The Children's Bureau in the course of its extensive investigations has come to the conclusion that one of the great factors in

the unnecessary waste of infant life is the lack of fundamental knowledge among mothers of the proper maternal and infant care. It is this condition of ignorance which is mainly responsible for the high rate of infant mortality. In order to remedy the evil, the Bureau lends material for exhibits, sends out lecturers, and issues innumerable publications affecting the welfare of children. Last year it brought out a series of free weekly pamphlets on the care of babies and young children. They proved invaluable to the mother who found it difficult to get the information she needed. The publications discussed fundamental problems of child hygiene and dietetics. They pointed out errors in feeding, and suggested proper meals for the baby from the time of his birth up to his fourth year.

Recreation, as has already been stated, is absolutely essential to round out a wholesome life for the child. A welfare program which fails to provide for the right sort of recreation is seriously defective. The Children's Bureau in the summer of 1918 launched what the newspapers termed a "Recreation Drive" for the purpose of increasing the physical vigor of growing children. "As a result these activities," says Cleveland and Schafer's *Democracy in Reconstruction*, "new playground were opened and new recreational activities established in many communities. Meager resources were turned to good account. In rural localities school yards were fitted out with simple, home-made equipment. Athletics became a part of school life."

Of the many activities of the Children's Bureau, one more can be mentioned. The Bureau holds health conferences in different parts of the country. At these conferences parents are invited to bring their children for a thorough examination by a Government physician. He advises parents about the feeding and care of children and offers them the opportunity to discuss the many health problems which come up in rearing of children. An important part of such a conference is an exhibit, in which are shown and explained many devices to lighten the mother's work in caring for her children. These usually include simple equipment which mothers should have to bathe the



Starting a Fly Campaign at the Rochester Child Welfare Exhibit with charts A combination of

baby and to prepare his food the proper clothing for infants and the right kind of bed, effective and inexpensive methods of screening the baby, iceless refrigerators in which the baby's milk could be kept and a good many other devices.

The Children's Bureau is doing a splendid work in increasing the efficiency and happiness of the American people a thousandfold. The Bureau is cutting down infant mortality preventing pain and loss reducing sickness and suffering and reinforcing and building up the national health. It is therefore only to be expected that the Chief of the Children's Bureau, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, should re-affirm her conviction in a recent report that the safe-guarding of human life and vigor is of national concern and that she should therefore urge that the public protection of maternity and infancy should be accepted as a governmental policy.

A WELFARE RESEARCH STATION

The American State government no less

than the Federal government at Washington is coming to feel more and more that for a nation to neglect its duty to the young is not only to do morally and economically wrong but to betray posterity and to commit national suicide. As an illustration of the State government's solicitude to forge ahead in its work of practical human betterment mention may be made of the Child Welfare Research Station founded by the legislature of Iowa at our State University here in Iowa City. The law provides seventy-five thousand rupees annually for the investigation of the best scientific methods of conserving and developing the normal child, the dissemination of the information acquired by such investigation and the training of student for work in that field. The Station has at its disposal the University libraries, laboratories and the services of trained scholars in their respective fields of investigation.

The work of the Child Welfare Research Station does not conflict with that of the



Detecting inaccuracies of voice by a dictaphone at Child Welfare Research Station

Federal Children's Bureau at Washington. The Welfare Station confines its activities within the State of Iowa and centers its energies mainly on the intensive study of the problems of psychology, anthropology, biology, sociology, in fact every science which has to do with the well being of the child. Just now the Station is very much interested among other things in the science of child nutrition. In order to determine the exact food value of milk for children a series of feeding experiments are being carried on on guinea pigs and white rats. When the final results are ascertained the information will be printed in bulletins for free distribution.

The scientific investigations of the Welfare Station are always conducted along practical lines. The Director of the Station was telling me the other day of a social survey he is conducting in a near by com-

munity. Every child of pre-school age is being recorded in an elaborate examination. It includes a searching analysis of the physical mental and moral conditions of the child's earliest life from his pre-natal period up to his sixth year when he begins his school life. The facts thus found are remarked by the Director who is an expert psychologist. He will be traced by intensive investigation to arrive at an explanation of each peculiarity of the child so discovered. The typical conditions operating for good or evil during the formative period of childhood will thus be discovered and interpreted. It will also be probable that an intensive investigation will be undertaken in the field of preventive dentistry.

INDIAN CHILDREN'S DEPARTMENT

Children ancient Greeks used to say are the joys of the world - and India must

not be denied these joys. At a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council the government was forced to admit that the number of child deaths in the Province of Bengal during the last year had reached no less than 308,537. Think of that. Over three hundred thousand child deaths in just one Province! What a shameful waste of the most valuable resource of the nation. What an appalling loss of the greatest asset of the country! The conditions which result in the deaths of thousands and thousands of babies and little children must be blotted out. The inhuman conditions which sentence the surviving children to lives of ill health, inefficiency and chronic misery must be wiped out. By divine right every child born has a full claim to an opportunity for growth and development. To neglect that claim is to neglect one of India's



Teaching children in a classroom

most sacred duties. The future of the nation, its defense and strength, indeed its very life is in the keeping of the young. America shows the way to India on the child question. The great lesson for Hindustan to learn from this country is that the death of babies can be absolutely reduced by proper agency and institution. Children can most certainly be helped to grow up healthy, happy and efficient. To be sure, everything cannot be done at one jump, but a beginning cannot be made too soon. India must remake herself. She must dream, hope, plan and try and try again.

Effort is not lost, says Professor Will Durant in *Philosophy and Social Problems*.

Not to have tried is the only failure; the only misery; all effort is happiness; all effort is success. It is true that the individual has his responsibility in the

work. Nevertheless, the better social mind in the West has declared most positively that by far the largest responsibility lies with the government. In this modern age of full-blooded and vigorous democracy, especially in the United States, the responsibility for the protection of children is put squarely before the government. Judging by what the American government is doing for child welfare, the Indian government is a hundred years too late! Is it ever going to catch up? When? The time is certainly here when there should be created a Children's Welfare Department in the Indian government. It should work on a well-thought-out scientific plan to protect the Indian infant industry, for after all, the child crop is the most important crop on the face of this earth. There is no wealth sagely

observed Ruskin but life That country
is the richest which nourishes the greatest
number of noble and happy human beings

Indian States like Baroda Bhavnagar,
Gondal* Gwalior Mysore Travancore

* His Highness the Thakore Sahib of Gondal

&c may well be expected to set an
example to the British Indian imperial
and provincial governments in the care
of children

as we believe a Doctor of Medicine of Edinburgh
University and as such must feel deeply
interested in question of health —Editor M R

THE STORY OF THE LION AND THE ELEPHANT

THE lion over a recumbent elephant is one
of the most oft recurring architectural
devices made familiar to us in the temples
of Orissa Its persistent occurrence in Orissan



Fig 1

temple architecture has led many to believe that
it was an original decorative motif invented by
Orissan craftsmen It has even been suggested
that the device in question was created by the
fertile head of the Orissan architect for the
purpose of symbolising the overthrow of the

Gajapati dynasty by the Kesarī dynasty of



Fig 2

Orissa the lion
(Kesarī) vanquishing
the elephant (Gaja
pati) being in the
nature of a political
pictograph or car-
toon The Kesarī
dynasty is supposed
to have come into
power about the end
of the tenth or the
beginning of the ele-
venth century the
motif should there-
fore be not older than
the tenth century—if
it is regarded as a
political landmark of
local origin Indian
Art itself a discovery
of quite recent times
is still awaiting its
historian and we are
afraid will continue
to do so for some time
yet but when its his-
tory is begun to be
studied and written
by those from whom
and by whom Indian
Art was created a
very big chapter has
to be reserved for
tracing and elucidat-
ing the evolution of
its chief decorative
and architectural mo-
tifs which offer in
many cases interest-
ing evidences of a
common bond of uni-
ty and an element of
continuity between
two or more different
schools or branches
of Indian Art separa-
ted by long gaps of
time and place In this
way many forms of

apparently local origin will prove to be the descendants of patterns having an earlier history. With the progress of our knowledge of archaeological monuments in India this is becoming apparent day by day. Thus the *tingi talai* (twisted blade) pattern on an eighteenth century Sinhalese snuff box is the continuation and a survival of decorative motifs which the excavations at Sarnath revealed on the Dhamekh Stupa (Circa 5th century). Similarly many of the female decorative types which figure on Brahminical temples of Orissa of the 11th and 12th centuries trace their genealogy from cognate and consanguinary types occurring on Jaina and Buddhist rails said to have been carved by Kushan artists of the 2nd and 3rd century A.D. Thus the rampant lion on the couchant elephant which the Orissan *Sitha pathis* by continuous fondling of a favourite form appear to have made their own for nearly three centuries has now been proved to have been borrowed from an older generation of artists practising outside the limits of Orissa. As soon as we scan a few of the examples of mediaeval Magadhan sculpture we find that the pattern was not the monopoly of the Hindu artists of Orissa it was the current stock in trade of the Buddhist image-maker of the ninth and tenth centuries. In an already stereotyped form it occurs as ornaments on the back of the Buddha's *Simhasana* flanking the upright plank (*pitha*) on either side. The most well known example may be cited in the stone image of the Buddha from Kurukhara (Gya District) now in the Lucknow Museum (B 284 reproduced here as fig. 1 dating from about the ninth century). It has however a still earlier history. If we peep into one of the inner cells of Cave No IX at Ajanta we find that the magnificent seated sculpture of Buddha preaching carries on the lion throne at the same places the same motif of the lion vanquishing the elephant. This cave is believed to have been excavated about the sixth century. The device is also repeated in the frescoes of the same cave (vide Griffiths *Ajanta Vol I Plate 38*). Our enquiry into the pedigree of the pattern of the decoration however stops at the art of the sixth century. If we closely examine a very interesting series of Buddhas painted on the wall of Cave No XIX at Ajanta we find the lions occur on either side of the upright back of Buddha's throne—but the couchant elephant is wanting (vide Griffiths *Vol I Plate 89*). Similarly we miss the element of the elephant form in the lion patterns on the well known Sarnath image of the Buddha dating about the 5th century (vide Vincent Smith *History of Fine Art Plate XXXVIII*). In the fifth century then we meet with an earlier phase of a pattern of the lion which crystallised in a set formula in conjunction with the elephant form sometime between the 5th and the 6th century. We have been without any evidence so far of the earliest

example in which the composite lion and elephant motif occurs in its primitive phase. The excavations at Nalanda (Behar) conducted by Dr Spooner have brought to light a unique bronze capital [Fig 2] which reveals in its archaic form the birth, so to speak of this interesting decorative device. The honor of this discovery as Dr Spooner very generously points out is due to his assistant Babu Haridas Dutt. To quote the words of the Report* of the excavations Babu Haridas had his reward on finding as he turned the corner towards the West (Site No 1) a sort of small niche built against the back wall of the verandah of this South side and beside it a very fine bronze (or copper?) pillar which had seemingly fallen from the top of it. This pillar is unique in my experience. It stands over four feet in height. The lower half is plain but the upper is fashioned into a sort of capital showing the form of a recumbent elephant surmounted by a maned lion upon whose head rest two horizontal discs capped by a lotus bud. What Hsuan Chuang tells us one of the great monasteries here at Nalanda having been built by a King of Central India might tempt one to wonder whether there is any connexion between his account and this representation of the emblem of the Gond Kings of the Central Provinces. But I fear that the device of a lion upon an elephant is too familiar even elsewhere in India to permit of any decision in the matter unless the pillar prove to be inscribed. As yet of course it remains uncleared and whether it is inscribed or not one cannot guess. According to the date of the other finds from the same site this copper pillar has to be assigned a date sometime between the 5th and 6th century A.D. which also fits in with the history of its earlier forms. If we compare this find with similar motifs of the 6th 7th and 9th century A.D. cited above it offers the earliest and in fact the first attempt to represent the composite pattern afterwards stereotyped in Orissan temple architecture. As we have already pointed out in the older Buddhist examples the composite pattern has already taken a conventional shape which is markedly divergent from the archaic treatment offered in the Nalanda find. The latter must therefore be taken as the progenitor of the pattern from which all the later forms in various evolutionary stages are derived. In fact if we take the elaborate later forms with profuse ornamentation due to intricate stylisation, met with in the 14th 15th 16th and 17th centuries in Chalukyan Nayaka and Vijayanagara sculptures the divergence from the Nalanda prototype makes it almost beyond recognition. The lion of course in the South Indian examples assumes a proboscis in order to develop into the mythical *lalab*. The pattern of the lion

* Annual Report Archaeological Survey Eastern Circle 1916-17 p 42

standing on the elephant' has therefore a history dating at least from the 5th to the 17th century A.D. and its geographical extension fairly covers Northern Central Eastern and Southern India—ultimately crossing over to Java in company with many other artistic motifs of equal and also of more ancient historical lineage. This uninterrupted career of its life has been continued and brought up to the present day by the modern Bengali *Kumbhakars* (the wretched survivors of the ancient families of Indian craftsmen) in their mud idols of *Jagaddhatrī* (a form of *Durga*) annually worshipped in Bengal in the month of November. The lion vehicle of *Jagaddhatrī* recapitulates its crouching elephant thus carrying the traditional sculptural practice over an unbroken period of fifteen hundred years. The occurrence of the type beyond the limits of Orissan art both in time and place has already demonstrated the fact that it is neither a symbol of the political overthrow of the Gayapati kings nor is it the original invention of Orissan artist in spite of the fact that the latter has invested the device with a craftsman's formula and has attempted to appropriate the ornament by giving it three special names to denote its varieties—namely, *Ulta Gaja Sinha*, *Ulta Gaj Viraja Sinha* and *Chhidra uda Gaja Sinha*. We have yet to find out the name under which it figures in the handbooks of the old Buddhist craftsmen who were probably the inventors of the pattern. The form does not appear to have been inspired by any religious

idea and has been evolved from purely representative and ornamental necessity. It was the inevitable outcome of an attempt to represent lions as an indispensable ornament for a lion throne' (*Simhasana*). And in course of time the elephant form came to be introduced in the device in order to emphasize in rhetorical language the character and habits of the 'King of beasts' as it has been understood and interpreted in Classical Sanskrit literature. The idea of placing the head of the elephant at the foot of the lion seems to have been borrowed by the artists from literary traditions. And the pattern is almost an echo of the well known anonymous verse descriptive of the lion which ascribes to the animal the daily habit of splitting the head of the King of elephants—as a symbol of the strength and power of the King of beasts over all other animal forms the largest and strongest being typified by the elephant.

'Bhūratī Bhūmam (नृप राजा) Kumbham

Bibharti begam pabnatīrekam
Karoti bāsam gurū rāja sringe
Tathāpi Simhah pasurebā nānyah'

Uthart Stokamālī

By Purna Chandra De 1904 p. 87

The credit of this suggestion is due to Mr. Bhoj Chandra Mazumdar who as my friend Mr. Guradas Sarkar points out, was the first to indicate the literary parallel.

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY

THE INDIAN DEPUTATIONS AND THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

WHEN the Select Parliamentary Committee began its labours about the middle of July, there were seven separate Indian deputations in London representing respectively the Indian National Congress, the Moderate Conference the three Home Rule Leagues, the All India Moslem League, and the Non Brahmins of Madras. The composition of these deputations was as follows:

The Congress Deputation Mr. B. G. Tilak, Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C. I. E. the Hon. Mr. G. S. Khaparde, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. B. G. Horniman, Dr. P. J.

Metha, and Mr. V. J. Patel (Secretary). Mr. S. Satyamurti acted as Assistant Secretary to the deputation.

The Moderate Deputation Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee (Chairman), Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir Benode Chunder Mitter, the Hon. Mr. Srimantra Sastry, the Hon. Mr. Ramchandra Rao, the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the Hon. Mr. B. H. Kamath, Mr. Gupte, Mr. Prithwis Chunder Ray, Mr. H. N. Kunzru, Mr. K. C. Roy, and Mr. N. M. Samartha (Secretary).

The Indian Home Rule League Mr. B. G. Tilak, Mr. G. S. Khaparde and Mr. Kelkar.

The *All India Home Rule League* Mr C P Ramaswami Aiyar and Mr Horniman

The *National Home Rule League* Mrs Annie Besant, Mr B P Wadia Mr P K Telang and Mr Jannadas Dwarka das

The *All India Moslem League* Mr Mahomed Ali Jinnah the Hon Mr G M Bhurgri and the Hon Mr Yakub Hasan

The *Non Brahmin Deputation* Dr T M Nair who was expecting colleagues to arrive

II

The attitude adopted by Dr Nair made any action between his group and the other Indians in London impossible. It was however hoped that a *modus vivendi* might be found whereby all but the last named deputation could be made to realise the necessity of arriving at an understanding and if possible of working in co operation.

No one who possesses any imagination needs to be told that such a compromise would have been in the best interests of India. It would have shown to Britain and to the world at large that Indians had learned to sink differences—personal and otherwise—and to make common cause with one another irrespective of race, creed and caste. Since the structure of modern Government is based upon compromise even a partial measure of agreement would have proved most valuable.

It would moreover have been easy for the British to understand a joint demand made by Indians belonging to various political creeds, while a series of demands made has separately caused confusion even when the differences existing between the groups consisted largely of differences in phraseology, temperament and personal ambition. Such differences have furthermore lent themselves to manipulation by the political enemies of Indians to the grave disadvantage of the Indian cause.

In view of the fact that the differences existing among various groups of educated Indians were comparatively small there was reason to hope that a compromise could be effected. After all the goal of the

Indian National Congress, all the three Home Rule Leagues, the All India Moslem League and even the Moderates Conference was the same—self government within the Empire. They were moreover all agreed that the goal could not be reached all at once but by stages. They were further more agreed that the weapon to be employed should be none other than constitutional agitation.

There was considerable agreement among the various groups even in regard to their attitude towards the projected scheme of Indian constitutional reforms. They all desired modifications—in the principles and not merely in details—for none of them wished to see autocracy preserved in the Central Government—none of them wished to see India continue to lack power over her fiscal policy.

In regard to the proposals for the reconstruction of Provincial Governments some insisted upon full provincial autonomy while others accepted the principle of diarchy. But all desired to see more subjects of provincial administration transferred to popular control than had been foreshadowed in the Montagu Chelmsford Report or even proposed by the Feetham Committee.

The objections raised to the powers that it was proposed to confer upon provincial Governors the manner in which Ministers were to be appointed and the conditions under which they were to hold office the way in which the Legislative Assemblies were to be constituted and were to work and particularly in regard to the power of the purse that in one way or another was to be retained by permanent officials showed that the men belonging to the various groups entertained much the same doubts and fears and demanded practically the same safeguards how much soever they might differ in the way in which they gave expression to their doubts, fears and demands.

III

Since the arrival of the deputations many attempts have been made to bring them together. Several well wishers of India tried to do this. Some of the mem-

bers of the deputations themselves have made much endeavours. I myself, who belong to no party, have exerted what influence I possess to make the delegates fresh from India realise the advisability and the necessity of joint action.

But all such efforts have failed, and to day there does not exist any hope of a compromise being effected. Why?

One of the chief reasons for the failure is, alas, that our men have not yet learned to place public interest above personal bias. A delegate will say quite openly that he will not sit with such and such a man—and will perversely stick to that decision. Another delegate will say that the inclusion of certain persons in a certain delegation is likely to give the political enemies of India the opportunity of branding all the Indians co-operating with him as anti-British.

From the other side the taunt will be flung into the teeth of more than one delegate that he will co-operate only on condition that he is permitted "to boss the whole show." It will even be said that a delegate is willing to "whittle down" Indian demands with a view to trucking to the officials and in the end gaining a ministry.

Such accusations and counter accusations and such a spirit of personal hostility, cannot possibly make for union.

Then there is the question of "mandate!" The Congress deputation is bound by the resolutions passed at the Delhi Conference, whereas the other groups are "plenipotentiaries with full powers to negotiate. The 'Moderates,' and even the Besantite Home Rulers will not accept the Delhi position, and unless the Congress Deputation has power to move from that position, —or, at any rate has the will to do so—compromise cannot be effected.

There are outsiders—most powerful outsiders—who stand to gain from division in the ranks of Indian delegates, and their influence more than all the other causes combined, has kept the various deputations from coming together. Rightly or wrongly, these men feel that if Indians demanded in unison, a considerable modification of the Bill now before the Parliamentary Committee such a demand may wreck all

chances of Indian reform, or, at any rate, make Parliament feel that even if it were willing to pass the present measure substantially as it stood, there would be no party in India willing to take it and work it in a spirit of goodwill and fellowship.

The political reputations and future careers of many Britons (and a few Indians) are involved in the passage of the Indian Bill substantially as it stands. They have, therefore, exerted all the influence that they possessed to prevent Indians from co-operating with one another, unless, of course, such co-operation was likely to insure the success of the measure to which they were committed. The larger question of Indian reform was none of their business, at any rate not for the present, and Indians who pressed for a large and substantial measure must be kept separate from those who were willing to take the Bill as it stood, for the support given by the latter would impress the British people as nothing else would do. So short sighted are we Indians that some of us are playing into the hands of these outsiders.

And thus it has happened that Indians who have come to London specially to put the case of India before the British people are divided into different camps and thereby they are going to miss the golden opportunity of impressing Britain (and the world) with the fact that Indians are united in their larger aims and aspirations, that it would be an act of the highest statesmanship on the part of Britain gracefully to comply with Indian wishes, and that in deciding India's fate the British should be imaginative and courageous.

IV

I am told by some friends that the decision of the various groups to approach the Parliamentary Committee separately will not in any way do disservice to India. They argue that the British are quite used to the party system, and that even during war party conflict was not stilled.

I recognise their sincerity, their honesty of purpose. But I am not impressed with their logic.

Moslem League in regard to Muslim representation in various Legislatures. They further remind that body that "religious disputes and consequent disturbances (in India) are only spasmodic and local, as they are in other countries; moreover they are conspicuous by their absence in the States under Indian rule, and they are not infrequently provoked and aggravated in British India by external causes and interference."

The memorandum plainly states that the Indian National Congress has definitely repudiated the claim "of others" to decide for India the time and measure of the stages by which "self-government should be achieved," because the admission of such a claim would amount to the "negation of the recognised principle of self-determination." The people of India, through the Congress, have given expression to their wishes and aspirations and formulated their demands.

The memorandum then goes on to summarise the resolutions passed at the Delhi Conference in clear, straightforward, and dignified language. It lays special emphasis upon the demand of the Congress for a declaration of the rights of the people of India as British citizens, namely, "that all Indians are equal before the law, equally entitled to a licence to bear arms and to enjoy freedom of speech, writing and meeting, and also the freedom of the Press, and that no one should be punished or deprived of his liberty, except by a sentence of a Court of Justice." That demand has been met by the passage of the Rowlatt Act by the Government of India "in the teeth of the unanimous Indian opinion of the country both in and outside the Legislative Council."

The Bill referred to the Committee is frankly described as unsatisfactory. It "makes generous provision for the transfer of control, not from the bureaucracy to the people, but from Parliament to the bureaucracy." It proposes to invest the Provincial Governors with "almost despotic powers."

Part II. of the Memorandum shows how the Bill should be amended in order to bring it in line with the proposals of the

Indian National Congress. Part III. is devoted to "Functions and Franchise." No one who reads both these parts will say that Indians do not know how to be clear, specific, and concise.

The resolutions bearing upon the question of Indian constitutional reform passed at the last Congress are given textually in Appendix I; while Appendix II. is devoted to an examination of the important points in which the Montagu Bill falls short of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

VI.

I feel that the authors of this note have rendered great service to the Indian cause by the frank and able manner in which they have put the Congress demands before the Indian Parliamentary Committee. The manly tone of the document cannot be praised too highly.

The only other memorandum which is ready at the date of writing, is that of Mrs. Besant's Home Rule League. I have had a copy of it for several days, and have, therefore, been able to make an adequate summary of it.

The memorandum expresses dissatisfaction with the failure to introduce the principle of responsibility into the Government of India by the division of subjects into "reserved" and "transferred," as in the case of the provincial Governments. It declares that unless a beginning of responsibility is made in the centre, there can be no "gradual development of self-governing institutions," as promised in the pronouncement of August 20, 1917. Customs, Tariff and Excise Duty, at least, should be transferred to a minister, and the Budget should follow the provincial procedure. The reserved subjects of the Central Government should be Foreign Affairs (except relations with the Colonies and Dominions), Army, Navy, and relations with the Indian Ruling Princes and matters affecting peace, tranquillity, and the defence of the country. Grand Committees should be substituted for the Council of State. The Legislative Assembly should consist of not less than 150 members, of whom four-fifths should be elected. If the Legislative Assembly does not pass measures on reserved sub-

jects deemed necessary by the Government, the Governor General in Council should be empowered to provide for them by Regulations for one year, to be renewed only if two-fifths of the members of the Assembly present and voting are in favour of it.

The Memorandum submits that "good government" is too vague a phrase, as is also "peace and order," and suggests that certification should be confined to "foreign and political relations and peace and order and that the Council of State's power to pass legislation objected to by the Legislative Assembly should be limited to 'time of war or internal disturbance,' without reference to the proposed House of Commons Select Committee, unless the legislation is limited to one year.

The establishment of simultaneous Civil Service examinations, without precedent nominations, and proposals to raise the salaries and pensions of the Indian Civil Service are viewed with alarm.

With reference to the Local Governments the Memorandum urges that the policy shall be so specifically defined that no power given under the Act can be whittled down by the Rules. After expressing satisfaction with the transferred subjects as given in the Feetham Report, it ventures to hope that Irrigation, Land Revenue, and Famine Relief will be transferred on the application of the Provinces at the end of five years, if Parliament should refuse to transfer them now. With the transfer of these subjects should go the power to order that the salary of the Ministers should be voted by the Legislative Council. There is no reason, the Memorandum declares, why the third Legislative Council should not enjoy complete Provincial autonomy. There should be a distinct proviso that a subject once transferred should not be again reserved—the remedy for maladministration should be the dismissal of the Minister responsible for the condition of affairs. The salaries of the Ministers should, in every case, be the same as those of members of the Executive Council, in order to secure equality of status.

The Bill should provide that one Executive Councillor must be an Indian. The Governor should have no greater

power over the Ministers than over the Executive Councillors, and the Governor and Ministers should be given exactly the same power to interfere with the decisions of the Governor-in-Council affecting transferred powers, as the Governor in Council has to interfere with the decisions of the Governor and Ministers on the ground of their possible effect upon reserved subjects. The relation of the Governor to the Ministers in regard to the transferred subjects should be the same as that obtaining in the Self-Governing Dominions, with the difference that the Governor in the present scheme is both representative of the King and the Prime Minister.

The Memorandum submits that the proposed Councils are too small, and that the number should be raised in the major Provinces to at least 150, four-fifths elected and one-fifth nominated. It suggests that the Rules should provide that no person resident in India who is a subject of a Dominion which puts disabilities upon Indians shall be eligible for election or nomination.

Emphatic protests are registered against the disqualification of women on the grounds of sex, claiming that it is foreign to Indian traditions and warns the Government that it would be 'unwise to invite the agitation which will certainly arise if votes are denied to women since women's agitations in India are markedly formidable as was shown in the removal of indentured labour in Fiji, and in the release of Mrs. Annie Besant and her colleagues from internment in 1917, for they are more indifferent to consequences than men and public feeling in India would not tolerate any physical violence against women.' It is pointed out that it is 'obviously absurd to grant the franchise to illiterate men labourers and to deny it to women University graduates.'

The size of the electorates, as fixed in the Southborough Report, is, in the opinion of the framers of the Memorandum, too small. Even if the five million persons to be enfranchised were all literates, which they certainly are not, at least three million literates should be added to the voting¹ a property qualification.

is suggested that any person who may be able to write a demand for a vote in the presence of the registration officer or his deputy, should be enfranchised, and that the property qualification should be lowered at the end of the term of three years of the first reformed Councils.

The National Home Rule League is not in favour of communal representation, as it would perpetuate religious differences in political life and check the growth of healthy National unity. The Muslim communal electorate should remain until the Muslims themselves demand its abolition, but the principle should not be extended to other communities as their interests are not separate from those of other interests or are already sufficiently safeguarded. It is pointed out, for instance, that the general Hindu communities elect Christians, Parsis, Sikhs, and Musalmans, as well as Hindus. (It is interesting to note, in this connection that Dr T M Nair, a non Brahman, was himself elected to the Madras Municipal Corporation by a Brahman electorate, which preferred him to a Brahman candidate.)

Disapproval of the institution of Grand Committees is expressed in the Memo

randum and it is submitted that if they are instituted, not less than half of their number should be elected by the Legislative Council.

It is strongly urged in the National Home Rule Memorandum that control of purse is absolutely essential to responsibility and to the due discharge of the important functions entrusted to Ministers. There should be one purse, under the control of the Legislature, subject to the contribution of the Government of India. Its allotment should be decided by consultation and joint deliberation on the same policy, and where there is a deficit it should be jointly borne and taxation levied jointly for the reserved and controlled subjects.

In conclusion the National Home Rule League Memorandum submits that it is very desirable that a definite term should be inserted in the statute, so as to put an end to all agitation and to direct all Indian efforts to the task of efficient responsible Government. The Statutory Commission at the conclusion of ten years should recommend such extensions of responsibility in the Central Government as should ensure complete responsible Government at the end of another period of five years.

CHHANDA OR METRE

I HAVE read with great admiration and interest Rabindranath Tagore's eloquent and learned lecture on *Chhanda*. May I as a humble student of language add one or two remarks and suggestions arising out of a careful perusal of the lecture?

The poet has dealt with two different topics in his discourse, namely, the psychology and the technique of metre or rhythm. With the former, I do not presume to deal. It may be that poetry expresses emotion and other unspeakable sentiments of the mind by means of the musical motion imparted to spoken language by means of metre. Rabindranath might some day give us his opinion on poetical phraseology. In most languages (markedly so in English) verse has a vocabulary of its own and the use of this heightens the subtle suggestiveness and suggestiveness of poetry. But this is

seemingly not a necessary quality of poetry. In French verse for example the vocabulary is rather rhetorical than what an Englishman calls poetical, and might be used without offence by an orator. So has it been in English poetry at times as in the Augustan age, when Dryden and Pope used words which were (according to the still surviving French convention) 'noble' but not possessed of the lyrical emotiveness and haunting vagueness of feeling which modern English poets have acquired as a legacy from the Romantic period of English verse. How far that is so in Bengali verse it is not for a foreigner to say. That there is a marked difference in verse and prose diction and vocabulary is evident even to a smatterer in Bengali letters. As in Wordsworth's lyrics so in Rabindranath's charming poems the phrases seem to be taken from the homely speech of every day.

which after all is the true the instinctive language of real emotion. But Bengali verse can also be nobly and impressively rhetorical as in the magnificent epic of Midhusudan. But this once more is a topic beyond my competence.

I come then to the *technique* the artifice the technical rules by which the poet is guided more or less unconsciously, in the practice of his art. I ventured to submit a rough translation of Rabindranath's lecture to Dr. Bridges the Poet Laureate and one of his comments was as follows —

'The tendency of the metrical units to be equivalent to the verbal units on Tagore's system comes out rather plainly in his examples. I could not guess how far that was traditional or due to his metrical theories.

The thesis I desire to establish is that in Bengali verse (and also in French verse) the metrical unit is *necessarily* composed of one or more complete words whereas in English German and other languages in which rhythm consists of the regular occurrence of a fixed number of (sometimes internal) word stresses the metrical unit may break off in the middle of a word. In other words I hope to establish that Bengali metre and French metre are different from those of the languages in which fixed word stress is the dominant audible quality.

Let us first clear away the quantitative verse of the classical languages of Europe and India of Sanskrit Greek and Latin. In these metre consisted of units composed of long and short syllables which filled exactly the place taken in music by long and short notes. In the one case as in the other two shorts are conventionally equal to one long and can be substituted for it. So dominant is this quality of brevity or length of syllabic duration that it makes accent inaudible for purposes of rhythm so that one short accented syllable plus one short unaccented syllable is often the metrical equivalent of one long unaccented syllable. It is said by experts that some modern languages of India still possess quantitative verse. If so it is tempting to suggest that they are languages in which verse is still chanted or sung. But as I am not an expert in these languages I will say no more about them. The subject is one which is well worth investigation. May I suggest that the safest way of studying it is to secure the aid of the *modern instruments of a good phonetic laboratory*? The ear is easily misled by prejudice and prepossession. The phonetician's instruments make an absolutely correct measure of the duration of syllabic sound.

The exact opposite of quantitative verse is the stress verse of languages such as English German &c., in which the important point is the number of strong or stressed syllables that occur in a verse. In these as in other languages the number of syllables in two similarly stressed verses may be the same. But that is not

necessary. The classical example is Tennyson's well known lines —

Break break break

On thy cold grey stones, O sea!

Here you have two similarly stressed lines each containing three stresses but one made up of three the other of seven syllables. Quantity or duration of syllabic sound on the other hand, is non-existent for metrical purposes. That is, it is not necessary that any particular syllable shall for purposes of metre be long or short. A poet will of course for purposes of variety musical effect or emphasis insert a long or short syllable. But that will not be in order to create metre or rhythm.

My thesis is that neither Bengali nor French verse comes under either of these categories, but has a rhythm of its own. Another way of putting it is that the metre of any given language will make use of the dominant audible quality of spoken sound in that language. I venture to assert that in French and in Bengali that dominant audible quality is not word stress but a phrasal accent whether of duration pitch or stress or a combination of two or three of these (I think the accent in question is chiefly one of duration or quantity).

To explain what I mean let me take a single long word which taken by itself is necessarily pronounced as though it were a complete phrase. Take the familiar name of our capital city. Take কলিকাতা. In a Bengali's mouth the word is pronounced in a level tone of voice but the voice lingers a little longer on the first syllable. In English (and I think in Urdu also) the word becomes Calcutta with a fixed stress on the second the medial syllable. Observe that this stress is fixed and will be used wherever the word occurs in a phrase. In French the word becomes Calcutta with an accent (of duration?) on the last syllable.

Now I go on to assert subject to correction that the accent in the first and last cases is not fixed and falls on the first syllable in Bengali and the last syllable in French of several words pronounced rapidly but clearly together to constitute the spoken unit which is the convenient to call a phrase.

With regard to French I must ask you to take my word for it that the accent is phrasal i.e. that it falls on the last syllable of the last syllable but one of several words spoken together forming what I call a phrase. Will you admit that the same is true of Bengali except that here the accent chiefly of duration is initial and not final?

For example read aloud the following sentence —

গুপ্ত কল সাধারণ খোঁজত নেই কিন্তু গুপ্তের হৃদয় আঁহু দেই
হল তব হৃদয়ে তবই বেশ সমস্ত বাধে না এখ মাফুসীরা বহা।

Does not the pure rhythm of this sentence break itself up into units consisting of one or

more words, the first syllable of each of these groups being slightly but perceptibly dwelt upon.

Another way of putting it is that, in French, the accented syllable precedes and announces a slight pause (called in verse a *caesura* or "cutting"). In Bengali, a pause precedes and announces the initial accented syllable which follows it.

My next step is to assert, diffidently and subject to correction that it is this linguistic peculiarity which, duly regulated, is the basis of metrical rhythm. The metrical unit consists of a complete word or more than one complete words, of which the first syllable carries a slightly prolonged duration of sound. Rabindranath finds that these units consist of two, three or five syllables in Bengali, though he omits to notice (which makes it rash for me to state) that the first syllable in each unit is noticeably more prolonged, more dwelt upon than the others. He calls these three units (1) "equal paces," (2) "unequal paces" and (3) "irregular paces."

The examples he gives are —

- (1) ফিরে ফিরে আঁখিনীর শিখুপান চায়।
পারে পারে বাধা পড়ে চলা হল দায়।
- (2) নদন ধারি পথ সে হারি, চায় সে পিছন পানে
চলিতে চলিতে চরণ চলে না, ব্যাধার বিধ টানে।
- (3) বতই চলে গোবের মনে নদন ভরে ওঠে
চরণ বাধে পরণ কাঁদে পিছনে মন ছোটে।

Let me say in passing that theoretically the *parva* metre consists of two units or hemistiches composed of 8+6 syllables. But Rabindranath justly observes that these are themselves broken up into 4+3 equal paces' of two syllables each. Therefore we must accept his high authority for the fact that in Bengali the metrical units consist of two, or three or five syllables.

But Rabindranath goes on to assert that in English verse also the lines are of 8+6 and three syllables but has never encountered units of a greater length than three syllables.

Let us examine the examples he cites

- (1) (To) night the winds begin to rise
(And) roar from yonder dropping day

This he says is an example of "equal pace." But observe that he omits the initial syllables and regards them as being extrametrical, as "outside the metre." Note the result. With one exception (be gin) the verbal units coincide with the metrical units. But the true scansion seems to be

Tonight| the winds| begin| to rise
And roar| from yon| der drop| ping day

This is a metre of four stresses. It is comparatively unimportant that it happens to be also one of eight syllables.

- (2) An example of "unequal pace" is this —

When we two| parted in| silence and| tears,
Half broken| hearted to| sever for| years

Here again is a metre of four stresses. It happens that each of the three first stressed syllables is accompanied by two unstressed or atonic syllables. But the metre would still be a four stressed metre if you wrote

We two| parted| silent, in| tears
Broken| hearted,| sever'd for| years

It is not likely that we shall get many examples of metrical units of more than three syllables in English for the physical and metrical reason that the fixed stresses of English words are, even in prose, rarely separated from one another by more than two intervening atonic syllables. But an example of a longer unit (a foolish one, I admit) occurs to me in the familiar nursery rhyme

Hev diddle diddle|
The cat and the| fiddle

But there are many examples to show that the metrical units in English do not always or even often coincide with verbal units. You have only to choose lines in which the stresses are internal, and occur in the middle of words. It is not necessary to cite examples. They are many. Take, if you will, the opening lines of Milton's *Paradise Lost*

The point, however, is this, that though by distribution of stresses you may write English metrical units having the same number of syllables as you find in the shorter Bengali units, the result is obtained by means which cannot be used in Bengali, where the fixed word stresses of English are nonexistent.

What I suggest, then, as a subject for enquiry, is whether in any given language metre is not, technically and apart from its psycho-logical influence, a return to musical regularity of certain dominantly audible qualities in speech. In English verse, the Poet Laureate tells us, the units extend from stress to stress and the stresses may occur in the midst of words, for instance

Of man's first disobedience and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world and all our woes

Here is a metre of four stresses and (incidentally) of ten syllables. Compare this with any ten syllabled line in French or Bengali and the difference leaps to the eyes in writing and is clearly audible to the ears. But note that the difference is not merely one of the *বাক্য* of *পদ*, but also of the rhythm of prose, of the *বাক্য* of *পদ*,

and is a matter of the characteristic phrasing and significant pronunciation of the language in each case.

For the sake of brevity of statement I have perhaps seemed to speak with more certainty than I have any right to feel in a matter so proverbially contentious as metre. I hope my readers will not think me dogmatic or cocksure. I merely submit some suggestions for discussion and consideration by those who are better informed and more competent than myself. I might have made many more citations. But any one interested in the subject can find them for himself.

What I particularly suggest for discussion is the attendance of accent in Bengali and French on what Rabindranath calls *shiksha* and the French call *césure*, the pause between phrases which in these two languages constitutes the metrical unit whereas in the stressed languages the units go from stress to stress so that the pause may soon occur in the midst of a word. It is not easy to describe phenomena of sound in writing. But I am sure that my readers with a little goodwill will see what I mean. Observe that I do not in the least contest

Rabindranath's judgments in matters of which he is an incomparable master. I only venture to put another interpretation upon some of them and to point out that metre is not the same thing in all living languages and that the quantitative metre of the classical languages was quite other than modern metres and was perhaps a result of chanting or intoning verse.

Finally I may mention as an interesting though probably accidental fact that the French alexandrine can be chanted to the rude tune to which we have all heard the *chansons* of Vahabdarat or Raminan chanted in any bazaar of Bengal. But the same is true of such doggerel as e.g.

Half a dozen solemn fools sitting in a room
Babble of state politics and tell their country's doom.

That does not make these rude verses into the true metrical equivalent of the *par* which in the hands of a master such as Madhusudan is capable of performing marvels of poetical eloquence.

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J. D. ANDERSON

PHASES OF SLUM LIFE IN INDIA

In a Chamar bustee in Mechubazar Calcutta which I visited I witnessed an overcrowding which is perhaps the worst on record. The bustee is divided into several unequal and unsystematical blocks. The ground space of each block is rented from the zemindar by a sub-lord who erects the dingy close-built bustee-huts, collects the rents from each of the block and handing over to the zemindar the rent of the ground space appropriates the surplus. Thus in one of these blocks which measured 18 ft. in length and 15 ft. in breadth there is an overcrowding of

7 adults
6 women
3 boys
6 girls

The rooms are constructed so as to utilize the ground space to the maximum and yield the highest amount of rents without any reference to the drainage or ventilation. Each of the rooms earned a

rent of ke 1 to Rs 2-8. In the block in question there were 6 rooms. The rooms varied a little in size. The measure is 9 ft. long, 6 ft. broad and 5 ft. high. In each room there is a cot and a rack and I found one or two ovens in addition. The room is too dark and in the daytime the things cannot be seen without a lamp. In the particular block there is an open space of 3 sq ft. in the centre where utensils are scoured. On one side I saw also a cot. There were also a Tulasi plant in a tub, a marigold also on a tub but placed on a bamboo roof. Some of the blocks have no privy attached to them, a few blocks sharing a privy in common. The overcrowding here is even greater than that in the bustees of the mill-centres. But a striking difference is noticeable. The Chamars form a homogeneous community and are not up-rooted like the mill hands from the old communal conventions and regulations. The mill hands

on the contrary live more or less an unattached life uncared for by any educational agencies or unregulated by any social code. There is the communal temple, there is also the punchayet which act as the disciplinary agency. The communal temple is maintained by one-eighth of the fees levied when fines are imposed. In one month the Punchayet met to settle a marriage in consultation with the parents of the couple to warn a dilettante of loose morals and to arrange for the repayment of an advance to an artisan by an usurious money lender. There are occasions on which the priest or the story teller comes recites and explains the hymns of the Ramayana and the Bhagbata and enlivens the recitation with his songs. He is paid in kind in food clothes as well as in money by the rich members of the community, while the rich and poor alike who assemble in the communal temple to listen to him may pay his mite to the tray that is before them to encourage the priest doing his discourse or to show their appreciation. Even in the midst of the poverty and the squalor, the dirt and the congestion we find in this compact community a type of noble morals and chastity and of an idealistic attitude towards life so much the characteristic of the Indian folk mind in our fields and cottages which express themselves in pious songs and hymns in many a moon lit night of well-earned rest and recreation.

But under such overcrowded conditions the spread of diseases is easy and an outbreak of plague, cholera or small pox will drive away all those who can escape. The recent influenza epidemic has affected the poorer classes in the Chawls and Bustees much more than the upper classes. How can it be otherwise? In Bombay some of the Chawls are absolutely filthy. In one in which no less than 2000 souls live the Bhang, Scavenger, has not been for a little less than a fortnight and all the filth has accumulated. And why has not the scavenger come? Because the landlord refuses to pay him more. The landlord has nothing to suffer. His rents, heavy though they are in Bombay, come in all the same. The rooms cannot be described. Some of

the dirtiest stables for horses in Bombay are better. One is in face to face with living human misery, the dirt and disease of hell incarnate. As in Bombay, so in Ahmedabad and Poona, Howrah and Calcutta the epidemic has claimed the heaviest toll from among the ill fed, ill housed and ill cared for mill hands. The gloom that had originated in Bombay spread far and wide. The fever raged intensely and the death roll was simply appalling in the area where the mills and labourers are situated and which in normal times affords a warning to dread, enveloped in thick smoke and over laden with soot and dust most injurious to the health of mill hands and other toilers who are crowded together in tens of thousands.

The squalor, the degradation and the poverty in the slums of Calcutta and Bombay are far outstripped in the slums of Arlapet in Bangalore and Perambur in Madras. In the Panchama slum near Binny's Mill in Bangalore, the standard size for a kennel has been adopted, 8 ft by 6 ft and the height at the apex is 5, the door being 2 ft by one foot. I could squeeze myself with difficulty into the room to learn to my horror that the denizens were 3 adults and 2 children including a dog. The husband, the wife and the mother in law as well as the children are huddled together like beasts. There is also the hen cover to the left of the aperture which serves as the doorway and numerous chicks flit about in the dirt that is dumped in the yard. In another place farther away on the other side of the same panchery I find in a hut of the same dimensions as many as 7 persons, four adults father and mother, son and daughter in law as well as two children who live and sleep together. And yet the hut pays double the rent. The Mahomedan land owner charges for the ground space 4 annas, while the Brahmin land owner charges 8 annas though the huts are contiguous and the ground space rented is the same. Another quarter still for the Panchamas—and here it is a pucca built chhatram which has been transformed into a slum—the arrangement is this. There is a row of 4 rooms on each side an alley in the middle and one room which



One of the Worst Calcutta Slums. Note the close rows of dark and dingy huts, the overcrowded passage and the enormous number of stunted half-starved children—at least 6 out of 10 of whom die within a year of their birth.

joins the sides. There are two rooms on each side as one approaches the doorway. There is one corner marked out for the bath for nearly 50 persons who live in this block. There is a privy for 50 persons from which the filth has not been removed for days. Each of these rooms earns a rent of Re 1.8 as. The rent was Re 1.2 as before the last assessment. In one of them we were refused entrance as the Malaria or the small pox goddess was inside. But having entered we were face to face with human wretchedness, chicks, dogs and children playing about in the alley, the whole place filled with acrid smoke and some people down in the dark with influenza and small pox. The mill hands who are not born Panchams live in better rooms though they do not earn higher wages and pay rents usually from Re 1.4 as to Rs 2 according to the accommodation they want. Still the

rooms are worse than the stables of the rich. In one such block I found a room used as temple for Rump and which has been rented by the mother of a wage earner.

Whether in Calcutta or Bombay, Cawnpore, Bangalore or Poona, Ahmedabad or Madras, one is face to face in the busters and chawls with living human misery, the dirt and disease of hell incarnate. Everywhere the standard size of a kennel is adopted, 8 by 6 by 5 and very often the thatched shed has no side walls which are proof neither against cold nor rain. Everywhere there are unsymmetrical blocks of hundreds of these mud dens or thatched sheds where 2,000 or 3,000 souls live where there is the most terrible and unwholesome congestion, every inch of ground space being utilised to the utmost. In too many of these huts father and mother, son and daughter in law grown up

men and women live and sleep together in the same room huddled with chicks and dogs and ailing babies that are not better treated than these latter. In the *Panchama* bustees the overcrowding and the filth are the most unwholesome. Among the 12 drab slums which I have visited, one is a doorway which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 1 foot and on squeezing myself with great difficulty into the room I found a diseased ragged man who is actually sitting on a wooden plank with his feet under water. The thatch is broken and is no proof against rain which also drenched me. I found that the hut is circular, the diameter being 5 feet the height at the apex being only 5 feet. Besides there were *parans* (shelves) on all sides and we could not stand erect. In this dark and filthy den there live a couple and four ailing babies. There is also the *adupu* (hearth) raised on an earthen mound which protects it from wind, but has not protected it against rain. That *Panchama* family earns wages of Rs 8 a month and lives in a surrounding which is unspeakably filthy. The causes are drink and social obloquy. Unless the standard of life, of comfort and of activities is improved in the case of the *Panchamas* by our offering them greater social opportunities and respectability, they will perpetuate their life of filth and uncleanness, and continue to lower the standard of living of the mill population as a whole in Southern India, and thus permanently impede economic progress. In the case of the *Uttamas* the filth may be less but the congestion is not less terrible. In one house I found besides the husband and the wife as many as 9 children, three of whom belonged to a deceased brother. In another Madras slum, perhaps the worst I have visited, I found a father and mother living with 5 children in a room $4 \times 7 \times 6$. The mother has given birth to a baby in the same room only recently—84 cubic feet for 7 souls. The verandah is $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 and it has given protection to an old man who has lost his shed in the last storm.

In still another hut which is $8 \times 7 \times 6$ in size, there live 3 adult women and 3 children. The children earn wages of $1\frac{1}{2}$ as a day by coolie work in a neighbouring mill.

There are no adult males, and the poverty is so great that the women have not even their clothes to cover their shame.

But the greatest surprise in slum studies comes from Trichinopoly, where the middle-class Brahmans are found to live under conditions which are not much better than those of the *chawls* and *bustees* of the poor. In the Naganaduswami temple store I find a room $6 \times 8 \times 10$ occupied by a Brahman, his mother, his wife and 5 children, two of whom are his brothers. Another room of the same size is occupied by a Brahman and his wife, their two grown up daughters and one son, *parans* or shelves for bed or for fuel hardly allow a visitor to stand erect. The rent is Rs 2, which is to be paid in advance. 80 souls inhabit this compact group, called the store, and there are only two privies for them. There are two taps and a well, and municipal regulations allow only 8 pots of water for each family.

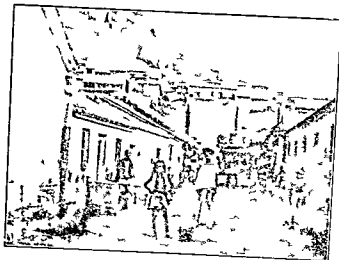
The slums in Lubbay Lane, Singartop, and in Jalalkuthri are far worse. In Jalalkuthri I find a Mahomedan hut occupied by the parents, 4 grown up boys and one ailing baby. The hut is $8 \times 8 \times 5$ and carries a rent of Re 1-2 0. In another hut, which is so dark that one cannot see anything even in the noonday sun, there live a mother, and three adult daughters—all prostitutes—in a close space of $10 \times 6 \times 10$. There is a kitchen partitioned out within the same hut occupying nearly half of the total space. The rent is Re 1, payable in advance.

The tragedy is, however, deeper, when we see the rise of some of the worst slums of India in one of our most beautiful ancient temple cities. In Madura, in Ponnagran, for instance, not very far from the temples of Meenakshi and Sundareswar, there have developed some of the worst lodgings, indescribable in their filth and squalor. The average size is now reduced to $6 \times 5 \times 5$. On account of an increase of the municipal tax on the whole block, the land owner has increased the house rent from 4 as to 6 as, from 6 as to 8 as, and from Re 1 to Re 1 2 0, according to the size of the rooms. In one room, which is $6 \times 8 \times 10$, there are a couple and two

stunted and diseased babies. The parents have gone to work in the factory the father earning Rs 10 and the mother Rs 6 a month. The babies are left in charge of their decrepit grand mother. Here and there in this block have accumulated green sheets of water emitting a foul stink and covered with rags and rubbish. There is only one privy for 300 persons in the block. This privy again has not been built by the municipality. The workmen have themselves built it by communal subscriptions. The walls have now crumbled down and there is no decency. All the workmen complain of this and also emphasise that the huts nearer the privy are all uninhabitable because of the loath some smell.

The greatest misery and degradation associated with the new social and economic conditions have been witnessed by me in the commercial city of Mattancheri adjoining the Cochin port. The terrible congestion in a narrow space the agglomeration of heterogeneous peoples the white Jews and the black Jews the Eurasians and the low class Mahomedans as well as the peculiar form of marriage associated with Nair life and customs have all contributed to uncleanness and filth and general social and moral deterioration. In a compact block of land which belongs to the famous Jewish Synagogue and which has been leased by a Mahomedan landlord there have grown lines of huts—dark dingy and gloomy. In a small hut of 10 x 4 x 5 there live together the husband and the wife the husband's grown up sister and also a grown up brother. The rent is Re 1-4-0. There is a baby in the family who is suffering from an unclear disease. Adjoining are the prostitutes' sheds of 7 x 5 x 6 each carrying a rent of Re 1-4-0 and in one of which there is a sickly baby uncared for crawling in the

dark and dirty floor. From another in the same block an unfortunate woman has been expelled for her inability to pay rent for three months and she is standing outside the whole day in the hot sun with a child in her bosom. Such a woman is coming to be more and more known in any large industrial city in India given over to what in the iron of words thoughtlessly employed is called sport. In Mattancheri she is more in evidence than her more hardworking but virtuous sister the coolie woman. In the bustees and chawls she is more in evidence and in some cities she is seen in the street day and night and in some quarter fairly in herds. Along with the overcrowded workshops and congested slums the grogshops and the



Slums of the Middle-class Brahmins in Trichynopoly

tea and coffee shops as well she seems to be regarded as much of a requisite of industrialism and the flimsy finery of city life.

The breathing of the vicious atmosphere the want of room for proper environment the lack of sufficient sunlight and proper ventilation have everywhere serious effects on bodily growth and development. It has been estimated that the average boy of a one-room home loses at least 4 inches in growth and at least 11 lbs in weight by

comparison with the average boy reared in a home of four rooms. The general dinginess and dirtiness of the slums also steadily react upon the hopes and habits of the people and induce that lassitude of mind which reacts again upon the health of the body. All this leads not only to a physical waste of energy and general innervation

but also to a low standard of health and low resisting power which play directly into the hands of immorality, intemperance, gambling and other vices rampant in all our slum areas. Indulgence causes more and more of the squalor and thus the vicious circle with which we are so familiar in the social problem goes on its evil round.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

THE FORTUNES OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

REVOLUTIONS AND REACTIONS

THE Chinese Republic is now in the throes of another civil war. Just at present there are two governments in China. The one is the established Government at Peking in the North, the other the rebel Government at Canton in the South. The Northern Government is the one recognized by the Powers and has been an associate of the Allies in the war against Germany since August 14, 1917. It is this Government that is one of the fourteen states represented at the Congress of Versailles, and that has been a signatory to the draft of the constitution of the League of Nations announced by President Wilson on February 14, 1919. But the authority of the Peking Power is not acknowledged as legitimate by the constitutionalists of Young China. Ever since the illegal dissolution of parliament to which President Li Yuan hung was forced to assent under a *coup d'état* of General Chang Hsun on June 13, 1917, they have been in open revolt against it. The resistance of the constitutionalists at first took the form of representations to Peking to reconvolve the dissolved parliament. On the failure of the repeated representations to bring about a parliamentary regime, the five rich and populous provinces of the South, viz., Kwang tung, Kwang si, Yun

nan, Kwei-chow and Sze-chuen declared their complete independence from the jurisdiction of the North. In seven other provinces, such as Hu nan, Hu peh, Fu kien, Shan tung, Ho nag, Shen si and Che-king, constitutionalist armies are masters of large portions of territory and have the moral support of numerous cities and districts. The most powerful portion of the Chinese navy also is on the side of the constitutionalists. It is on behalf of this recalcitrant Government with headquarters at Canton that Wu Ting fang, Tang Shao yi, Sun Yat sen and five others have appealed to the Powers for recognition, in their capacity as Administrative Directors. The Government in Canton has convened a parliament which has been in session since August 6, 1918. The objective of the "Constitutionalist Provinces and Forces of China" is not a separation or secession but the establishment of a legally constituted parliamentary government for all China.

The present civil war is the sixth in the series of revolutions and reactions (or rather the seventh if we count the puerile interlude of the Manchu restoration of July 12, 1917, as a serious political event) that have marked the politics of Young China since the bomb explosion at Hankow on October 10, 1911, and the establishment of the republic with Sun Yat sen as provisional president and General Li Yuan hung as

the vice president on December 30 of the same year. The first revolution (Oct 10, 1911—March 10, 1912) may be taken to have been formally complete with the inauguration of Yuan Shih kai as provisional president on March 10, 1912, the decision to maintain the capital at Peking and not to transfer it to Nanking, and the adoption of the provisional constitution drawn up by the provisional National Assembly (the "Advisory Assembly") at Nanking, generally known as the Nanking Constitution.

The second revolution (July-August 1913) was directed against Yuan Shih kai's conclusion of the five power loan without the assent of the first Parliament that had been convened on April 7, 1913, and other arbitrary measures. It broke out at Hukow in Kiangsi Province, and at Nanking, Shanghai and Canton. The radicals organized in the Kuo-ming Tang party were responsible for the movement. It was speedily suppressed however and General Huang Hsing, Sun Yat sen and other rebel leaders had to escape to Japan and America.

The first reaction, under the republican regime, had been in evidence in Yuan's attitude towards the Nanking Constitution, and subsequently towards the measures of the first Parliament. It took final form on November 4, 1913, when after his election on October 10 as full president for five years Yuan "purged" the parliament of the radical Kuo-mings (306 Representatives out of the total 596, and 132 Senators out of the total 274). The first Parliament was thus put "in commission" owing to the lack of quorums that needed the presence of half the members in each House, and finally abolished by the president on January 10, 1914, with the support of the "moderates".

The coup d'état of November 4, 1913, left Yuan the *de facto* dictator of China for two years and ultimately matured in the plan, secretly manoeuvred by himself, for the formal establishment of an imperial monarchy. Yuan officially accepted the throne on Dec 11, 1915, under the title of *Hung Hsien* or "glorious constitutionalism." It was against this projected empire that the third revolution broke out on April 1915 in Yun nan and Kwei-chow under the

leadership of moderates or conservative progressives of the Chanpu Tang party such as the Scholar Liang Chi-chiao and General Tsai Ao. Yuan was compelled to cancel the empire decree on March 22, 1916, but the revolution continued to spread from province to province leading to the declaration of independence by each, and really came to an end only with the sudden death of Yuan on June 6. The election of Li Yuan hung (the General of the first revolution) as president, and the convocation of the second Parliament which was really the old Parliament of 1913 on August 1, 1916.

The second reaction began in May 1917, over the question of finally declaring war against Germany, diplomatic relations having been broken off on March 14, 1917. General Tuan Chijui, as Premier, attempted to coerce the parliament to vote in favour of war, and was therefore dismissed by the president for want of people's confidence in him. Once out of the Cabinet however, Tuan secretly instigated the military governors of the provinces to declare their independence of the Peking Government. Furnished with this cue they forthwith demanded the reappointment of Tuan, and marched upon the capital in militant expedition. Practically a prisoner within the city, President Li was pressed by the militarists under General Chang Hsün to order, against the law as embodied in the Nanking Constitution, the dissolution of parliament on June 13, 1917.

The revolt of the provinces and the strangling of parliament were followed by another reaction consisting in Chang Hsün's restoration of the Manchu boy emperor to the throne on July 1. But the monarchy was abolished in less than two weeks through the patriotic move, among others, of General Tuan who "could not bear to see the destruction of the republic without stretching out a helping hand," although after his dismissal he had "resolved," as he said, "not to participate in political affairs." The farce of the restoration made confusion only worse confounded. All authority came to be concentrated in the hands of Tuan, the hero of the hour. He managed to have

himself reappointed premier restored the militaristic regime that had led to his dismissal and illegally declared war against Germany on August 14 1917. It is to this unconstitutional rule of the Cabinet without a parliament that the Southern Government at Canton has been in armed opposition for about two years since the summer of 1917.

NORTH AND SOUTH IN CHINESE POLITICS

The most characteristic feature of these civil wars or revolutions and counter revolutions is that invariably they take the form of an *ultimatum* issued from the provinces upon the Central Government and this is followed immediately by declarations of their independence. This *modus operandi* is the procedure as much of the republicans and constitutionalists as of the reactionaries and militarists. Nothing could be a more natural method in China as the provinces of today have but inherited the virtual home rule of the old regime. In normal times these local governments were to all intents and purposes independent of one another without the links of co-operation. They had besides no real touch with the supreme authority except only in the payment of tribute. The mountainous provinces like Yun nan Kwei-chow and Sze-chuen are moreover all but inaccessible. Further they are inhabited by semi-savage tribes who were never fully conquered either by Chinese arms or by Chinese culture. Owing to this incomplete assimilation and ineffective unification these frontier provinces were perpetual storm-centres in pre-republican days. And these are the areas that were generally selected by ambitious viceroys or chief tans who wanted to measure their strength with the Sons of Heaven at Peking.

Altogether then the Chinese empires were practically speaking *Statenbunden* i.e. loose federations of free nationalities and autonomous states except during short intervals under masterful organizers of the Kanghi the Manchu or Tzu tsung the Tang type. The self-sufficiency and decentralization of the provinces were not confined only to the administration of justice

and collection of taxes. During the last days of the Manchus the provinces appear to have behaved even as separate military naval units. Thus, for instance, in the Korean War (1894-95), the Nanking naval establishment acted almost as if it were indifferent to the fortunes of the northern fleet that was facing the Japanese navy. Automatically, therefore the Chinese state tends to crumble down like a house of cards as soon as there is an acute misunderstanding between the local rulers and the central head.

This is an inherent constitutional weakness of China. It is due certainly to the vast size of its territory and the consequent distance of the local centres from the metropolis. The Central Government as a rule naturally finds it hard to cope with the disruptive centrifugal tendencies created by this physical reason. And the difficulty is further enhanced by the absence of funds or sinews of war. The deficit in the treasury has been a chronic disease with the authorities at Peking. Any military actions of a sustained and serious character have thus been rendered well nigh impossible on their side. These are the fundamental facts of Chinese polity that explain the quick and spontaneous division of China into North and South with the slightest hitch in the course of affairs.

The strategic advantage in the position of recalcitrant provinces is therefore the first postulate of China's internal politics and the success of malcontents and rebels an almost foregone conclusion. The general situation from the standpoint of the Supreme Government on all occasions of revolutionary outbreak can be gathered from two of the three abdication-edicts promulgated by the Empress Dowager on Feb. 12 1912. One edict says that separated as the north and south are by great distances the unwillingness of either side to yield to the other can result only in the continued interruption of trade and the prolongation of hostilities. If however renewed warfare were to be indefinitely maintained says the third edict the general condition of the country might be irretrievably ruined and there might follow mutual slaughter among the people. Here is a

confession of incompetency on the part of the powers that be the admission of military unpreparedness that dare not bring the unruly forces to bay In the selfsame way has the *de facto* government in China had systematically to come down to compromise in the face of a tolerably strong opposition just as in the industrial strikes of Europe and America the employers have invariably to acknowledge defeat and submit to the demands of the organized labor force

Whenever therefore there is a denomination or class or party in China sufficient ly powerful to challenge and defy the established government it has only to seek its fulcrum at a place far from Peking e g in the frontier provinces be it in Sze chuen or Yun nan or Shen si or Shan tung Even before the event of Oct 10 1911 we find serious political disturbances breaking out in these out of the way regions It is such areas that furnished the theater for the great Taiping Rebellion (1850-64) the Mohammedan revolts under Suleiman (1855-1878) and Yakub Beg (1866-77) and the Boxer upheaval of 1900

The South may of course be presumed to be as it indeed is comparatively enlightened and progressive as Macao the Portuguese port in Kwang tung has been in touch with modern European commerce and culture for a longer period than the other ports opened since the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 It is also not an accident that Kang Yu wei the spiritual father of Young China and Sun Yat sen the out and-out radical and several other constitutional agitators and anti monarchist republicans have come from Canton and the South But the leadership of the South in the events of the past seven years is not to be exclusively interpreted as an expression and proof of its modernization as contrasted with the medieval obscurantism of the North It is as has been indicated the greatness and glory inevitably thrust upon it by physiography ethnology provincial separatism *laissez faire* or imperial impotence and financial bankruptcy of the central governments It is not always safe or legitimate therefore as is usually done to identify the South

with liberalism reform or republicanism, and the North with monarchism Manchuism and militarism

THE REPUBLIC TRIUMPHANT

Among the kaleidoscopic changes in the political fortunes of Young China we have to count two attempts at monarchic regime The first is that of Yuan Shun kai who during the latter half of 1915 was systematically manufacturing the will of the people in favor of changing the republic into a monarchy On November 11 1915 the administrative council or council of state composed of his henchmen was in a position to announce that out of 2043 votes 1993 were for the immediate enthronement of Yuan Accordingly in deference to the will of the people the empire was sanctioned by the president or rather emperor-elect on December 11 The second monarchic counter-revolution is the farcical July restoration of 1917 It was the disorder and turmoil in the country owing to the revolt of the northern provinces under the inspiration of Tuan Chijui and the eventual abolition of the second Parliament that enabled General Chang Hsun to raise the Manchu boy to the throne

Both these attempts failed ignominiously Yuan was completely humiliated crushed and literally killed by the combined opposition of the nation The Yun Kwei revolt was indeed conducted by moderate leaders of the Chingpu Tang party like Liang Chi chiao and General Tsai Ao but it had the backing also of the Kuomintang radicals like Sun Yat sen and General Huang Hsing who since the failure of 1913 had been political refugees in Japan and the United States of General Li Yuan hung the staunch republican whom neither the threats nor the enticements of the monarchists could influence in favor of Yuan's contemplated dynasty as well as of Kang Yu wei the veteran constitutionalist and China's modern sage Even the province of Sze-chuen which was under the rule of Yuan's most dependable friend joined the confederacy of the rebel provinces on May 6 1916 This event is most significant as Yuan had already cancelled

the empire-decree (March 22) The triumph of the Chinese *Min Kuo* (republic) was decisive and thorough

Similarly did Chang Hsun's *coup* of the Manchu restoration fall disastrously before the united front of the entire nation Liang came forward once more as the Milton of the armed resistance against the nullification of the republic And the trumpet-call of this scholar, "moderate" though he be, summoned on to a common platform all the factions that had been mutually opposed The North advanced to co operate with the South, even General Tuan, the militarist detested by liberals and legalists, came to the aid of the parliamentarians, because, as he said, "he has had a share, however insignificant, in the formation of the Chinese Republic" The restoration was treated as a national disaster To a far greater extent than Yuan's dictatorship and projected empire building, it brought to a head the nebulous and subconscious political tenets of all parties and individuals, whether liberals or conservatives, self seekers or patriots, autocrats or those working for the inauguration of the reign of law

Monarchy appears in this way to have been finally rung out from the political psychology of Young China It is committed for good to the venture and development of the republic The *elan vital* of Chinese politics lies now, therefore, in the struggle over the constitution Indeed, it is the constitutional issue that has been the real core of all dissensions and fights since the promulgation of abdication-edicts and the inauguration of Yuan as provisional president in 1912 Nay, this constitutional struggle of which the most recent phase is embodied in the manifesto of Wu Tingfang (August 1918) is the result of an evolution the beginnings of which are to be seen in the decade or so preceding the revolution itself

CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION UNDER THE MANCHUS

The pre revolutionary struggle was naturally focussed upon the establishment of parliamentary institutions that might act as a check on the one man rule of the mo-

narch The St John the Baptist of Chinese constitutionalism is Kang Yuwei, the "modern Confucius", Editor of *News for the Times*, and he succeeded in becoming for a few months the "guide, philosopher and friend" of Emperor Kwang Hsu (1875-1908) It is to Kang's studies in modern history and comparative politics, especially the British constitution and the *Meiji* (enlightenment) era of New Japan that the twenty seven Imperial reform-edicts of July 1898 owed their inspiration The reform movement succumbed, however, through the *coup* of the Empress Dowager Kang and his foremost disciple Liang Chichao had to escape with a price on each head

But the signs of the times were unmistakable after the failure of the Chinese Boxers in 1901 and the success of Japan in the Russian War So in 1905 a commission was sent to Europe under the presidency of Prince Tsai tse (cf Japanese Prince Ito in 1882) to study the conditions for a representative government suited to the problems of China This commission was followed in 1908 by the Imperial promise of a parliament to be convoked in 1917 In 1909 were constituted the first Provincial Assemblies of China, and on October 3, 1910, the Imperial Assembly or Senate of two hundred members (one hundred being drawn from the Provincial Assemblies) also sat in Peking for the first time The agitation of these two new bodies proved to be powerful enough to wrest from the Crown the promise that the first parliament would be called in 1913 and not so late as 1917

It was at this stage of China's constitutional experience that the bomb explosion at Hankow on the Yangtze, which was to be the signal for the subversion of the monarchy, took place on Oct 10, 1911 The monarch tried to save the situation for the Crown on Nov 3, 1911, by issuing the "Nineteen Articles", which provided, among other items the parliamentary control over the budget, the Cabinet's responsibility to parliament, and limitations on the power of the Emperor by the constitution Had these articles been acceptable to the rebels Chinese politics would have

taken the same course as those of Young Persia since 1906 and of Turkey since 1908. But within a month of the rising in Wuchang zone fourteen provinces declared their independence. Their delegates met quickly at Nanking in convention and proclaimed China a republic on December 30. The officers and representatives of the monarchy had no mind or might to put up more than a feeble or sham resistance to what they accepted as a *fait accompli*.

It was therefore easy to force an edict from the Empress Dowager on February, 12, 1912, to the effect that "the hearts of the majority of the people are in favour of a republican form of government." "From the preference of the people's hearts" the edict went on to say in conformity with the teachings of Mencius, "the will of heaven can be discerned. How could we then bear to oppose the will of the millions for the glory of one family!" Therefore, observing the tendencies of the age on the one hand, and studying the opinions of the people on the other, We and His Majesty the Emperor hereby vest the sovereignty in the people and decide in favor of a republican form of constitutional government." The first phase of the struggle over a constitution was thus brought to a successful end.

THE STRUGGLE OVER THE CONSTITUTION IN REPUBLICAN CHINA

Constitutionally speaking, then, the revolution came only to give a fillip to the movement that had been set on foot in 1898 or rather in 1905. It did not take China by surprise. The Throne being abolished, the leaders of Young China have proceeded since then to the reorganization of a crownless state on a popular basis. The parliament that was to have been called in 1913 by the Crown happened to be anticipated by the Convention of Nanking (December 30, 1911), that gave way to the Advisory Assembly on January 28, 1912. This assembly prepared the provisional constitution at Nanking, inaugurated Yuan Shih kai as provisional president (March 30) and later moved on to Peking (April 29). It was finally replaced by the First Parliament which sat on April 7, 1913.

The first constitutional struggle in republican China was waged over the group of unparliamentary politics that arose through the dictatorship of Yuan Shih kai. As provisional president, he made the loan transaction with five powers (including Japan but excluding the United States) to the value of £25,000,000 without the sanction of the Parliament. As Yuan was backed by the Powers, the bankers did not hesitate to grant the loan though the Parliament protested against it as illegal and declared it null and void. Subsequently, as full president, Yuan dissolved the national parliament on January 10, 1914, as well as the provincial assemblies and local associations (March 1). Backed by the political wisdom of Dr. Goodnow, the American adviser, he created in their place a constitutional compact conference, and this recommended laws directly calculated to make the president a virtual despot and leave the legislature a mere automaton of non-entities.

It was through the substantial support of the Powers that Yuan Shih kai's "tyranny" could get a firm footing. As they were interested solely in the security of the funds supplied by their nationals, their connivance at Yuan's unconstitutional measures was more than mere diplomatic non intervention. It was tantamount to aiding and abetting their protegee and vassal in his own sweet will. Here was a repetition of the old story of the Stuarts trampling down the rights of the English people with the French despot Louis XIV's "degrading insult and more degrading gold." The European War also for a time contributed to the strengthening of Yuan's single-handed rule by removing from it the public opinion of the world that was absorbed in more vital international issues. But as Japan's Twenty-one Demands (January 18—May 7, 1915) on China after the victory at Tsingtao would have deprived the Europeans and Americans of their lion's share in the control of Far Eastern politics, they could not by any means remain long indifferent to Chinese affairs. They hastened to do all they could under the circumstances to pose as the friend of China and exploit her as a tool in their own anti-Japanese

resolutions at all dealing with the political side of the country,—a dead silence! What a store of energy we should have, if that political crying and wailing could have a rest for a bit!

"And then, all the men of ripe experience and trained ability would be able to give their time to the working out of solid, definite developments of educational social and industrial ideas. They might start by founding, in some place, a true University, which would take in students, who would remain side by side with the noblest and best leaders, gaining their inspiration and counsel. Thus these students would learn, and discipline, and shape themselves for their life work under the direct guidance and leadership of men of judgment and experience. When their discipline was over, these very students should flow out into the towns, and villages of India, to work for the cause of the people and the land which they hold so dear.

"This it seems to me, is how we should try to work for the next twenty five years or so, leaving political changes to take care of them-

selves. Also we should all unite in our work and not fritter away our energy in hopeless disconnected, single jobs.

"In this connexion we should also carefully endeavour to enlist the aid of the Press. Instead of wasting paper and ink by writing long waded articles on actual and supposed political grievances,—a comparatively easy thing to do—the Press should carry on a vigorous campaign attacking those deep social diseases and educational failures, which are the clog of the wheels of our progress. The Press could and should be a powerful educational help to the public at large.

"Through organised work along these lines—of education, literature, industrial improvement and social well being,—we can bring greater real good to India than we can, in the face of present facts, by another century of this political agitation which seems to exhaust all the energy of our noblest men. That is my own candid opinion. What do you think?"

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Some Aspects of University Reconstruction

In the course of an article under the above caption in the July number of *East & West* (Simla), Mr P R Krishnaswami, M A, writes

But the one deep influence towards moral training as yet little utilized in our education systems, is religion. Religious instruction has indeed been a thorny question to tackle. Theological pedantry, or the practice of formal rituals can have but little place in an educational system. The difficulty of formulating a religious basis which should pay equal regard to the tenets of all the great religions obtaining in this country, has also been insuperable. The profundity of religious influence is defeated by the adoption of artificial creeds which profess to satisfy equally all the different faiths. But still it may be asked whether the poet and philosopher may not co-operate together, as they have in the instance of S R Rabinindranath Tagore to ennoble the morals of the atmosphere in which they can exert influence. We want a new race of high souled evangelists who can offer to everyone the simplicity and firmness of faith in God which our greatest poet has preached everywhere he went. The knowledge that God is within oneself and that the realisation of Him is through pure and righteous conduct is one which should lie at the foundation of university life. The problem of religion is one which has inspired the prayer of all religions. Cannot

something be done in our universities to train young men in the true spirit of religious prayer?

Continuing the writer observes —

In the founding of new universities and the providing of first rate men to man them, the carping criticism is sometimes faced that university men should be examples of self denial and not demand high rewards for their work. The logical corollary of this will be that educationists should be amateurs, and it needs no effort to point out that education is the last sphere in which amateurishness can be tolerated. Self-denial is not a normal attitude of the human mind and the life of a university organisation should not be made to depend on abnormalities which are bound to fail frequently. The principle of self denial is certain to militate against utter efficiency, by leading to compromises in the personnel of the university staff. The university, of all spheres should be the one in which learning, scholarship, genius, and character should receive adequate material rewards.

The writer continuing says —

In the appointment of the university staff a principle deserving of early embodiment is an electoral system. The evaluation of a man's deserts in the bestowal of Fellowships, Lecturerships and Professorships should always be a subtle matter and often it will be safer to trust the decisions arrived by a large electoral body rather than let them depend on a single individual or a very small group of individuals. The principle involved is one of essential fairness and it is most fitting in a university that the men must

generally appreciated should receive the places which are in the gift of the university. Even granting that undergraduates are not in a competent position to take part in such elections—though senior undergraduates say of two years standing, may exercise their votes wisely in some matters—the graduates of a university should be gradually accorded privileges of determining to a good extent the personnel of the university.

The publication, recently, of the Calcutta University Commission's Report, together with the controversy relating to the raising of the examination fees of that University, seems to have roused much public attention on the question of university education throughout the whole of India.

Indian Women and their Social Position

In the current number of the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society* published in Calcutta and edited by four gentlemen named Messrs S. C. Mookerjee, J. C. Sinha, Wajid Ali and R. C. Maulik, representing Hindu, Mussalman and Christian views there appears an article on Indian Women from the pen of the last named gentleman. He says—

My compatriots are now *aux prises* with Government for political reforms and reckon not what happens to their house where all are at sixes and sevens. They think that political reforms should come first. This is putting the cart before the horse with a vengeance. I cannot persuade myself to subscribe to this view and think that if we put our house in order first we will be stronger and better fitted to fight for political reforms. The eastern rules that govern and regulate the social life of Indians are largely responsible for the emasculation of Indian races. Many of my countrymen share this view but they dare not avow it lest they should incur the displeasure of the orthodox party which reigns supreme in the land. They have become so bloodless—so imbecile that when the question of improving the society presents itself the courage of their convictions goes into the background and they speak like a mouse in a cheese. I therefore undertake to deal with the most important of all social questions, namely, the social position of women.

The writer, after dwelling at considerable length on the various disabilities the Hindu women suffer from and the social fetters that bind them, observes—

In this connection I should mention what Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, a transcendent savant did to relieve the misery of the Hindu widows. He incited

a movement in favour of the remarriage of widows and proved beyond doubt by extracts from the Shastras that the Hindus were perfectly justified in remarrying widows. This incensed the utmost ire of the orthodox section of the community and they hauled him over the coals. A few years ago Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, another great man had to encounter a similar opposition when he proposed to remarry his widowed daughter.

The life of a Hindu widow is wretched in the highest degree. If she falls into this condition when young without any provision being made for her against the rainy day either by her father or her husband she becomes a slave to the family where she lives. Albeit while her parents are alive she is protected to some extent, by the natural affection from the cold winds of indifference and servitude yet their death deprives her of her last point d'appui.

The tenets of the Shastras make it incumbent upon the relations of their husbands to maintain her as long as she lives but save in very rare instances she groans under abject slavery and its consequent tribulations. She does not get the pittance of food and clothing without working hard from early morn to dewy eve and the cup of her afflictions overflows its brim when she is regarded as a dead weight upon the purse. When a man dies without leaving his wife any property or sons she then visualises her position clearly all its hideous desolation, its iron servitude, its clanking chains of duty, its dreary labour, its complete hopelessness. Nailed to the cross of suffering with soft silence and submissive obedience, to the agony of ills that are wrt for her in sour misfortune's look.

The Advent of the Parsis in Indian

In the course of a learned paper on "The Great Sage of Persia and His Followers" which appears in the July number of *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore) from the pen of Rohinton N. Fram Mirza, A.M.I.C.E., &c., occur the following interesting details relating to the exodus of the Parsis from Persia to India, where they now form such an important part of the population, by their unity and culture, though not by their numbers.

The Conquest of Persia by the Arabs—It was in the year 641 A.D. that the Arabs in the full flush of their new faith of Islam ran over Persia, defeated Yazdagard III, on the field of Nehavand, 30 miles to the south of the city of Hamadan thus causing the termination of the Persian dynasty.

The Exodus of the Parsis—The Conquest of Persia by the followers of Islam now leads us to the exodus of the [Parsis from Persia into India. At the outset, I must make it clear that there are proofs to show, that this was not the only cause of driving the Persians outside the country. Persecution there must have been, causing exodus on a greater scale, for Prof. Jackson tells us that even now the Zoroastrians in Persia are often persecuted in various ways. It is

interests Yuan's "patriotic" resistance to Japanese overtures received formidable support from the nations in whose eyes the success of Japan, the only free Asian state, means a loss to Eur American world domination Especially interested were the diplomacies of Great Britain and the United States, and unluckily for Chinese democracy, they served to consolidate Yuan's grip over the people

Exigencies of foreign politics having thus rendered his position impregnable from an unforeseen angle, Yuan ventured on playing the trump-card and risking a "world-domination or downfall" on a single stake He launched the monarchy propaganda in the summer of 1915 and was almost on the point of carrying it through when the opposition of the nation manifested itself in a revolution that swept away the whole system of arbitrary rule In this instance, at least, Japan has stood for liberalism and constitution in China, for the anti Yuan movement was hatched and matured by Young China's leaders as guests of the Japanese people

The second group of unparliamentary politics in the Chinese republic consists in the problems that have arisen through the autocratic methods of the premier, General Tuan Chi-jui It is the extremely idealistic advocacy of legal and constitutional procedure on the part of the Kuo ming radicals that is responsible for the opposition to Tuan's regime which has forced China into the war against Germany Evidently all the Kuomings are not opposed to the war itself like Kang Yu-wei, Sun Yat-sen and Tang Shao-yi But though several of them are pro war like the Chin pu Tang moderates headed by Liang Chi-chiao, the extremists have dared risk a regular armed revolt with the only object of vindicating the constitution 'No pains have been spared time and again,' as Wu Ting-fang's manifesto states, to make clear that the sole aim of the constitutional movement is to uphold the law and constitution and the sole claim is the restoration of the dissolved parliament If the order for reconconvocation be issued today there will be peace tomorrow This is an interesting phase in Young

China's political development At Canton are united not only the liberal thinkers of the South but constitutionalists from every part of China Similarly Peking is the headquarters of all reactionaries, Northern as well as Southern The issue is not between province and province or North and South but constitution and arbitrary rule

In the first place, China's declaration of war against Germany on August 14, 1917, is considered unconstitutional by the Canton Government as it was done without the sanction of a parliament rather after a parliament had been forcibly abolished The "militarists" at Peking are being further charged by the seceding constitutionalists with the misuse of funds set free by the remission of Boxer Indemnity payments (a concession in return for China's joining the allies), the selling and mortgaging of the "richest mines, the stable revenues and the most profitable railways," the revival of the opium traffic, the negotiation of important conventions with foreign powers in which the nation is committed to grave undertakings of unknown extent without parliamentary sanction, and the absolute refusal to publish the contents of the conventions and allay the misgivings of the people in spite of the universal demand But the position of the Peking Government is unassailable for the time being as it is in alliance with the Entente Powers and the United States in order to make the "world safe for democracy" From the standpoint of the Canton politicians, therefore, it is foreign influence, if not intervention, that has mainly contributed to the present constitutional interregnum in China

Like the "eleven years' tyranny" of Charles I, both these instances of unconstitutional rule in republican China are marked by the negation and overthrow of parliament The only period of smooth parliamentary government was that under President Li Yuan-hung from August 1, 1916 to June 13, 1917 By May it had finished drafting the permanent constitution that is to take the place of the provisional Nanking Constitution but before it could be formally adopted, came the crisis. Curiously enough in each instance, the reactionary

elements, viz., Yuan and Tuan, have had the support of foreign powers, some of whom at least are democratic and liberal in their own home politics. The republicans of Young China have thus had before them the same double opposition, domestic and foreign, to contend with as the constitutionalists or Majlisists of Young Persia. Not less remarkable is the strange coin-

cidence that like the liberals, reformers or democrats of the Near East and the Middle East looking up to autocratic Germany as the inspirer of their political programs the republic of the Far East should have found a friend in need in the homes of Imperial Japan bossed by such "blood and iron" premiers as Katsura and Terauchi.

New York June 2, 1919

A LETTER FROM EUROPE

THE following is an extract from a letter written by a young Indian who has been through the War and is still abroad.

I am thankful the Punjab trouble seems to be over. We get very little news. I don't know what gain it has brought except that it may possibly have taught our people at last to face the real facts. It is no use hiding them from ourselves. The facts are these. It is the British who hold the whip-hand to-day and they can let that hand go out to use the whip whenever they deem it necessary. They are the complete masters of the situation not only in India—for that after all is not much—but in Europe and in the world generally. They are now the greatest military and naval power, not merely fully equipped with the materials of war and knowledge of modern warfare but—what is far more effective—they have through this war got the War Mind. It is only here and there that you meet with British Officers who seem to have any faith in the League of Nations. The rest—and they are in the majority *en bloc*—emphatically have no faith either in such leagues or in the ideals which they represent.

It is therefore best for us who are placed in their iron grip that we should perfectly well realise the mind and the power of our rulers. Whatever ideas of democracy they may have are meant for their own race. Democracy is for them a domestic affair not for imperial purposes.

If we have fully learnt this lesson—that is if we have got at last to the point of realising and also acknowledging these facts of the present world then two results may follow—

(i) It may send through our people a feeling of utter hopelessness—a sense of the impossibility of making any headway against an absolutely rigid Government which is backed by efficient military force—combined as this is on our side with the social and religious drag of our own society. The situation is black enough to cast gloom into the soul of the bravest patriot.

The average man would be quite out of count to grapple with it. He would be either too afraid to risk his own skin or that of his kinsfolk, or he would be too shallow to go ahead with the uphill work of national progress and emancipation. And I think we all are in great danger of losing heart just at this present time.

(ii) Instead of losing heart the very difficulty of the times may drive our people to realise that our object cannot be reached by politics alone, that there are other things and other ways of work which if persevered in must make the result absolutely certain. These ways of work are indeed the harder and the slower of the two. Political changes when possible are always the easiest to work. The educational and economic and social changes are more difficult. But we all know which of the two ways is really the most effective which of the two really represents the greatest amount of moral freedom and national well-being.

I therefore hold very strongly, that the political destinies of the country had better be left alone for a while, by our own best men. The wishes of our people—it is only the educated people who can in any measure express the wishes of the masses in any country,—will be taken into consideration by our present rulers, only when, in accordance with the will of Providence they think it advisable to do so—otherwise the wishes of India as voiced by the educated classes can go to blazes for all they care. That is our actual condition and we must face it.

So it is waste of time, energy, talent and every thing else to scream and shriek and shriek and scream all day long for political changes. We should severely let these things alone and cut them out from our programme—that is my idea. We should on the other hand devote all our powers to educational, economic, and social uplift and draw all our energies that way.

What a grand thing it would be at the next Sessions of the C. were no

showering countless blessings on our country. The evils attributed to the present system of education are largely the result of other factors, and unless a series of revolutionary changes occur in our system of life and our national character, no moral education can be profitably undertaken in India. The pursuit after religious and moral education is a wild goose chase and it is attended with immense practical difficulties. It is not certainly worth the cost or the effort necessary to organise religious education in our schools. The country as a whole is apathetic towards it and those who are very anxious to have it must seek it in the private educative agencies. If these are now effective and useless why not reform and purify them? Certainly that would be far easier work than establishing religious education in the schools and if successful these agencies will be far more effective in saving the cause of religion. And besides, why should we confuse between religious education and moral education and advocate the one as if it were the other? If we seek some moral instruction for our youths, the existing educational agency can be easily adjusted to supply it. But this will not be possible if religious education comes up. Religious education is thus quite untenable in theory as well as in practice.

A Plea for Freedom for Indian Women

Under the above caption an article appears in the July issue of the *Hindustan Review* in the course of which the writer, Mr. Mukand Lal, B.A. (Oxon), observes:

And the custodians of this social tyranny are our womenfolk. Therefore, in order to be enrolled in the list of living and progressive nations of the world we will have to give freedom to our women to educate themselves, so that they can help our men to break down the caste barrier, to stop the decay of our society. It is not for political reasons that I plead for freedom for women but social and national reasons. I am one of those who know and believe that a nation may

keep slaves, may keep women in bondage, may hide them within parda walls, yet it can be politically free. Women of European countries have lived in bondage long after these countries were politically free or established Parliaments. Turkey was politically free with her women in the Harem. China was free with the ladies feet cramped. And Turkey is not free when women have come out. Egypt is not free when her women parade in the streets and make political demonstrations. But she was free when her women never came out into the public. China can hardly be called politically sovereign to-day, though they have cut off pig tails and stopped crippling their women. I can conceive of India politically free or self governing and yet under the same vicious social system—breeding a race of pigmyes dying at the first blast of any epidemic. Home Rule will not stop our race-suicide. A very few of us re-educate the Indians as a people are bound to disappear in the course of a few centuries if they do not change their social habits, their mode of living and eating. How can you expect the people to be healthy and strong when every third man or woman has got to do her or his own cooking under most insanitary conditions when one has to go without a meal rather than take it from one of different caste. When one has meals at all sorts of times and when millions of people have only one meal a day—and that too of least nourishing food. How can you expect strong and healthy children when they are not fed or clothed properly, when children go to bed with the parents as late as 10 to 12 at night and get up at 5 or 6 in the morning. How is it possible to proceed with the social reconstruction of our society unless our women agree to it and take it into hand. It is very easy to say 'women are the foundation of our future greatness' and talk glibly about the emancipation of women or their education and so forth. What we have got to bear in mind is that in every country women are the foundation of home and family, consequently of society. And no nation can achieve greatness unless the women of that nation work for that national greatness and that can be done only by truly well educated mothers.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Spiritual Basis of the New World Order.

In the April number of *The International Review of Missions* (London) Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, D.D., in the course of an article under the above caption, writes:

Equality seems an impossible and an undesirable ideal for human society. Life with its differences in maturity, in gifts, in temperaments, is evidently contrived to render equality unattainable. The greater the variety of ages and natures and talents in any community, the richer its life will be. The

forms of democratic organization which attempt to bring all workers or students or artists or believers to one level are impoverishing tyrannies. But there can be brotherhood without equality among the older and younger members of a family, and among the more or less developed peoples of mankind. Wise parents lead but do not drive their children and bring them to self-control and self-determination. Mother countries can do the same with colonies or protectorates.

Comments on the above are superfluous.

The Bose Institute

Sir J. C. Bose's discovery of the

Argo bent on winning for Hellas the Golden Bleece at Colchis, it may be Persia invading Greece or Greece subjugating Persia, it may be Frank challenging Islam or Turk menacing Christendom, be it Roman Emperor or Sassanian monarch the base or goal of their efforts was the City of Constantine. Agamemnon, Jason, Nerves, Alexander, the Empress Helen, Constantine, Julian, Justinian, the Comneni and Palæologi, Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin of Flanders, Dandolo, Mohammed the Second, Selim the First and Suleiman the Magnificent—each name is witness to the part played in the history of the world by Constantinople, the Metropolis first of a Roman and then of a Greek Empire.

After dwelling on the various points of importance as a social, political or commercial centre, of Constantinople, the writer concludes his article with the following characteristic lines—

We come back to the thought that the Ottoman Caliphate has endured for four hundred years and that all Islam respects the prescriptive rights of the

Sultan as Khalifa. 'All Islam means three hundred millions of people of whom one hundred millions at least are subjects of His Majesty King George the Fifth. The Empire that rules one-third of the votaries of a great religion cannot ignore the other two-thirds. During the Balkan War the Moslem population of India were deeply moved and watched with unfeigned anxiety the threatened disruption of the Ottoman Empire. Islam our statesmen have declared must settle the Caliphate. It is not impossible that between conflicting interests and perilous ambitions the voice of Islam may decide the fate of Constantinople.

India day by day becomes more and more a voice heard in the counsels of the Empire. "Mr. Montagu, the Aga Khan, the Maharaja of Bikanir and members of the Council of India who have been asked to give their views, all express their opinion that the removal of the Sultan from Constantinople would have a deplorable effect in India. I do not think that Christendom relieves what it owes to the unstinted fidelity during the critical juncture of the war of the vast Mussulman population which acknowledges the way of Britain and France."

THE CROSS OF HONOUR

(FROM THE FRENCH OF HENRI BARRES)

OUR entry into the village of Karakou (or some such name) was a fine surprise effect. The village only contained women, children and old men. The Lolobe fighting men (the fellows were called something like that, but I am not quite sure what) were by chance all away hunting that evening.

Thanks to the thick dusk,—and also to the fact that one of our men had discreetly knocked on the head an old fellow with a face as wrinkled as an old polished shoe, who was crouching near the enclosure and thought he was guarding the village,—we crawled up to the edge of the central square without raising an alarm. Hidden behind the huts, we loaded and pointed our rifles in order to kill all these shadows who suspected nothing.

Some were sitting on stones, or on the ground, others were walking about opposite me, on a bench placed against a wall two niggers sat still and silent, close together. As I aimed at the one on the

right I wondered what it was they were not saying to each other.

The signal. The thunder of our rifles broke out from all sides at once. It was not long—all these ink-black shadows were gathered to their fathers in two minutes. They seemed to plunge into the ground or to be blown away like smoke.

I must confess we then finished off, rather roughly, the few men and women who had escaped our salvo, sticking in their huts like mules. This excess quite natural and human in the war zone, was excusable because of the joy of victory,—and also because we were drunk, having discovered in the chief's hut a barrel of *tafia* sold to these same Lolobes by some wretched English agent.

I should say, as my excuse, that I have only a very confused remembrance of what happened then. But yes,—there is one detail,—those two savages who were opposite me when I was aiming, and at one of whom I fired, I saw them again

man was driving into my poor head like a nail — 'What fine thing did you do?'

Yes — what indeed? I must have done something extraordinary, — there was the cross to prove it — but what?

I stopped abruptly in the middle of the darkening road and stood stuck there like a mile-stone trying to think and worrying because I could not. Had they confused my ideas with all their champagne and their involved reasoning? Anyhow there I was like those people in novels who have forgotten a part of their life — I had absolutely forgotten my striking action and seemed never to have done it!

I set off again homeward very uneasy. Then at a turning I saw in the twilight on a farm bench two people sitting close to each other. They must have been holding hands and they were not talking, but they seemed engrossed in their mutual silence. One could see very little of them in the dusk — only that they were human beings and that they were exchanging something better than words.

Ah — and I stopped again — and suddenly with eyes fixed on this remote corner of our village, I saw another village now destroyed and wiped off the earth with all its inhabitants — especially the two little black figures that had palpitated together before me only showing me their human forms and the silence in which they were wrapped. And this indistinct couple because of the darkness were exactly like those two shadows — those shadows — those negroes!

How stupid it was to find any resemblance! But I could not help it. When one has drunk too much one becomes somehow silly and simple. And I must have been very drunk for this odd resemblance which ought to have made me laugh made me cry and I lifted my hand to my cross and hid it swiftly at the bottom of my pocket — like something that had been stolen.

Translated by

PRAMIL CHAUDHURI

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

SHIVAJI AND HIS TIMES—J. Sarkar. Pp. 508.
M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta. Rs. 4.

Of late Maratha history has attracted more attention than before and no less than three volumes dealing with the rise of the Marathas have been published in rapid succession. Of these Prof. Sarkar's work is decidedly the best. He has tapped all the available sources of information with the single exception of the Portuguese. An eminent Persian scholar Prof. Sarkar is perhaps the best person in India for such a work. The Marathi *Chronicles* or *Bakhars* lack chronological arrangement and are mostly unreliable as has been so ably pointed out by Mr. V. K. Rajwade. Consequently Prof. Sarkar had to depend mainly on Persian historical works and contemporary English and Persian Correspondence. But he has not failed to utilise the *Bakhars* and the published Marathi records. In his work we get for the first time a careful and chronological narration of Shivaji's achievement. The date of

every event has been carefully ascertained and every source of information scientifically examined. But this forms at the same time the strong as well as the weak points of the present volume. For at times the reader is confronted with such a formidable array of facts as can hardly be interesting to him. In spite of this defect Prof. Sarkar's *Shivaji* will always be considered as a very important contribution to Indian scholarship.

Excellent and authoritative as the work is we have to differ from the views of the illustrious author on some minor points. When he says that 'The period of Maratha ascendancy has not left India richer by a single grand building or beautiful picture or finely written manuscript' Prof. Sarkar seems to have overstated the fact. We have seen very beautiful illuminated manuscripts in the museum of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Poona that as specimens of the calligraphic art can well be compared with the best Persian manuscripts. Very fine portraits of Nana Fadnis, Mahadji, Sindhiya, Sawai Mahaya Rao and

Bajirao I have been exhibited by the B I S Mandal and there is no reason to suspect that the printers were not Marathas.

As an illustration of their lack of polish Prof Sarkar points out that the Marathas have no respectful mode of address like the *ap* (your honour) of Northern India. All ranks are *thoued* and *thowed*. The Marathas both in their correspondence and everyday conversation make a careful distinction between *tu* and *turhi*—you and thou. And the usual practice of addressing every correspondent is *Asheshha gunlankarana ikhandlakshmi ulankrita Raja manva Ryashri*—clearly shows that the Marathas were not incapable of expressing ceremonial courtesy.

We do not understand why Prof Sarkar converts Ganga into Gangra Bhatta Visheshwar *ghas* Gagra had a pet name as every other Maharashtra Brahmin of his time. These pet names like Nana, Baba, Bhau, Bapu are not corrupt forms of Sanskrit words. We also fail to understand why he thinks that the title of Hambir Rao was conferred on Ananda Rao Mahaji. Ananda Rao was a natural son of Shahaji and a half brother of Shivaji. As such it was quite possible that he succeeded Pratap Rao in the Sarnobatship. But the title of Hambir Rao has always been associated with the name of Hansaji Mohite.

Cautious and careful as he is Prof Sarkar has at least once been carried away by the eloquence of the Maratha *Bakhar* writers. Among the distinguished officers who accompanied Shivaji to Haidarabad Prof Sarkar mentions Tanaji Malusare (p. 375). Tanaji however died seven years earlier in 1670 (p. 209) in his assault on Kondana.

Finally we cannot agree with Prof Sarkar, when he tells us that the Marathas did not produce a single banker or businessman of repute. In Chitnis *Bakhar* mention has been made of Sheshaya Naik, a banker of renown with whom Maloji had deposited his treasures. In the Peshwa period all payments were made by *Hundis*. *Hundis* were given for even such a small sum as Rs. 138 (See Rywade—*Mara thyancha Itihasanchi Sadhanen* Vol. X) and we cannot understand how *Hundis* could be so popular if there were no good banks and bankers. We also know that during the Peshwa period Maratha merchants not only settled in the coast towns of Arabia but their ships often plied between China and India (Rywade Vol. X). Finance ministers like Ram Chandra Baba Shenvi and Nana Fadnis would have done honour to any country.

Prof Sarkar seems to think that caste rivalry formed the principal cause of the downfall of the Marathas. No doubt it was one of the causes but it was by no means the main cause that brought about the disruption of the empire. In spite of its prevalence the Empire grew in extent and power

for more than a century. The chief bane of Maharashtra was feudalism, and the Maratha Empire fell because it had no opportunity of reforming its feudal organisation before it came into conflict with the English.

But these are mere minor points. Shivaji and his Times will considerably add to Prof Sarkar's well deserved reputation and he will be regarded as an authority on the subject. The volume will repay careful study, and we can confidently recommend it to every student of Indian History. This work has cost the author not merely labour but considerable money as well. He has at a very great expense obtained copies of Bombay and Surat Factory Records. His collection of Persian letters is unrivalled in India and we confess that we do not feel ourselves competent to review his book.

S N S

THE SILK INDUSTRY AND TRADE by Ratan C Rawley M.A. M.Sc. (Econ.) P. S. King and Son Ltd. London 12s 6d net Pp. 172+2 V.

The book has been written from the standpoint of the British and French master weavers and spinners. It contains the general features of the weaving and spinning industries of the above two countries. The object of the author is to help the exploitation of India by advising her to export raw silk and silk waste suitable for European looms and spinning factories.

Many are aware of the fact that India was once a great silk manufacturing country. The industry was nearly killed by the jealousy of the British manufacturers after the advent of the East India Company (vide *Industrial Arts of India* by Sir George Birdwood). The winders of raw silk called *Nigoads* have been treated with such injustice that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs to prevent their being forced to wind silk (vide *Considerations of Indian Affairs* London 1772 by William Bolts). India is gradually importing increasing quantities of raw silk and silk fabrics and exporting decreasing quantities of raw silk and silk goods though the quantity of silk waste exported by her is being increased. There is a demand for Indian raw silk in India.

Indian weavers of Kumbakonam, Mayavaram, Conjeevaram, Trichinopoly, Madurai, Salem, Coimbatore, Shikarpur, Benares, Suakuchi (Assam) and other places are anxious to get Indian raw silk but there is no regular supply of it. Imported raw silk from China and Japan is being utilized by the weavers of Bombay, the Punjab and the United Provinces but there is no market for Indian raw silk in these places. Want of any commercial organization to push Indian raw silk on the market is responsible for such a state of things. There are many commer-

* A caste in Malda whose occupation even now is silkworm rearing.

cial agents, firms and brokers for Chinese and Japanese raw silk but no such agencies exist for advertising Indian raw silk. In many places Mysore raw silk is not known at all and in others the quantity and quality of Bengal raw silk required is not available. It will not be economic to produce finely reeled silk with the multivoltine cocoons of Mysore Bengal and Kollegal for European markets as suggested by the author, when there is a considerable local market for comparatively thick thread for which multivoltine cocoons are particularly suitable. The more raw silk India imports and the less of silk fabrics and the more manufactured goods she exports the better it is for her. It should be noted that China and Japan consume a large quantity of raw silk produced by them and export their surplus stock of raw silk whereas France and Italy consume almost all the raw silk produced by themselves and import a large quantity of it from Japan, Turkey and Brucia etc. for keeping their looms engaged. If our demand for silk goods can be met in India by increasing and cheapening the Indian raw silk and by organizing the weaving industry there would be no cause for regret even if the French and British markets for our raw silk were never recovered.

Pierced mulberry tasar eri and muga cocoons (waste silk) have been spun into thread by village women from time immemorial and many old women of Bengal Assam and the Central Provinces earn their livelihood by this industry. Many poor women will be out of employment if all our waste silk is exported but there is no reason why our surplus waste silk should not be exported until some enterprising men establish silk spinning factories in Bengal Mysore Assam and Kashmir like the Chhori and Davil Sassoon silk mills of Bombay. There is a great demand for handspun fabrics both in India and abroad and the more waste silk is spun in India the better it is for her.

We are quite at one with the author about the evils of State control and the merits of private enterprise aided by State capital described by him on page 143 and about the establishment of a silk constituting House in India on page 103. On page 75 the author is anxious to maintain the prestige of India in other countries within the empire by exporting to the United Kingdom increasing quantities of raw silk and silk waste which she can ill afford. To this we are firmly opposed.

The potentiality of the silk industry in India is great and every encouragement should be given to local products by granting subsidies for cocoons reeled silk and manufactured goods as is done in France and other countries. A small tax should be imposed on the export of cocoons, and raw silk waste thereby stimulating their utilization in the country. This however would not hold good for Kashmir so long as unfortunately there is no weaving industry

there. But there is no reason why an artistic people like the Kashmiris should not take to silk weaving if proper initiative is given to them by the Durbar. A tax should also be imposed on imported silk goods but cocoons raw silk and silk waste should be imported free of charge. A central sericultural Institute should also be established with branches in suitable places to advise those who are engaged in this industry.

T R S

IN TRADITIONS IN ISLAM by Rev Goldsack
Published by the Christian Literature Society for India Pp 105 Price As 8

The book says the author in the preface, has been written primarily for educated and intelligent Muslims who as he exhorts them ought no longer to be content to take on trust the extravagant claims made for the traditions (p vi)

The author thinks his is a pioneer spade-work says he —

Books in the English language dealing with the Quran are not rare but so far as the author is aware no critical study of the traditions of Islam has yet appeared in English.

This may be true or not but the book is certainly a novel production inasmuch as it sets out to prove what nobly has ever denied. The writer has taken enormous pains to prove the following three propositions —

First a great part of Muslim tradition is false in claiming to be the record of what Muhammad said and did.

Secondly many of the traditions disagree with the Koran.

Thirdly some of them are full of puerilities and absurdities.

Let alone the enlightened section of the community even the orthodox Muslims would find themselves in full accord with the author in these respects. It is precisely on the grounds above set forth that no Muslim accepts the traditions as gospel truth unless he has satisfied himself of the genuineness of a particular tradition on its own merits. In fact it is a commonplace canon in Muslim theology that all the traditions of which the authenticity is not strictly proved or which are in contradiction either with the Quran or reason are not to be taken as genuine. We sympathise with the author in his mispent labours. It is just as ridiculous as it would be to demonstrate to a Christian that the four Gospels were not actually written by Christ.

It must however be added that much of the evidence on which the writer has based his collateral conclusions is of an exceedingly flimsy nature and ought not to have found place in a book professing to emanate from an earnest student.

CIBALTAR OR THE FOREIGN POLICY OF ENGLAND—By Richard Congreve M A London
Haffs & Co

Turaka Lipi will meet with any serious consideration.

Any one who has studied the question deeply will pause before inflicting a fresh alphabet upon the world already suffering from a babel of scripts.

If we are to have one script for India I would prefer the Roman which is preeminently the ideal alphabet both in its intrinsic merit and in its wide currency.

A modified Roman alphabet (preferably that of the International Phonetic Association) is the only solution under the existing conditions of the script problem not only in India but also throughout the world. No one would tolerate the patronising missionary attitude of the Rev. Mr. Knowles but his position as regards the superiority of the Roman alphabet is unassailable; it is not necessary to discuss the subject afresh here.

The question of a common language and a common script seems to loom large in the visions of some of us but I think too much importance has been attached to it. Hindustani (Hindi or Urdu) has become the *lingua franca* of India without any propaganda but I fail to understand the zeal to make Hindi or Urdu take the place of a culture language like English or supplant the other vernaculars. The script problem is not again so vital at the present moment as to require urgent attention. Whenever difficulties arise a solution presents itself. I have seen a Mohammedan survey assistant from Lucknow sending a report to his superior officer a Bengali Hindu in romanised Hindustani; the orthography of which ignored all rules of transliteration but it served its purpose well. The diversity of scripts has been made too much of I fear. There are in India really 3 great scripts among the population of 310 millions—namely Devanagari, Bengali, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Urdu, Sindhi (Perso-Arabic) besides 3 minor ones—Oriya, Malayalam and Gurmukhi. From personal experience I can say that one acquainted with one of the northern scripts (Devanagari or its current hand Gujarati or Kaithi, Bengali, Oriya and Gurmukhi) can pick up the other three in the course of a few days. The differences between them are not greater than those between the Roman and Gothic forms of the Latin alphabet. Tamil is by far the easiest Indian alphabet to master but Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam are rather difficult at least in comparison. The Arabic alphabet in modified forms as used for Urdu, Kashmiri and Sindhi and occasionally for Panjabi and Lahnda exists as a relic of the influence of Moslem culture in India in spite of the utter unsuitability of the Arabic alphabet for a non-Semitic language. But it will remain at least so long as Mohammedan sentiment will continue to be strong in the matter. Viewed from all points Devanagari is the representative alphabet of India just as Hindi is the representative

language. I would gladly advocate Devanagari for all India as the second best thing that can be done. The Roman alphabet and feeling that the Devanagari—we have the ideal alphabet for India there and I do not think any new fangled script—the *Turaka Lipi* or any other—has even the ghost of a chance for a general acceptance in India or elsewhere.

S. K. C.

BENGALI

WILLIAM TELL.—By Sri Benoy Krishna Sen H. I. Bharati Library, Seragany.

This is an attempt to reproduce the noble history of Swiss independence in Bengali. We congratulate the author on his success in presenting lucidly the career of the immortal Swiss patriot.

SARASWATHI ITIHASA.—By Sri Brindaban Ch. Bhattacharyya M. I. (Carmichael College Rungpur). Price Rs. 1.8 only.

The author is well known already by his various contributions to contemporary journals. As a pupil of Dr. Venk of Benares he had a unique opportunity to examine thoroughly the barnyard ruins in situ and to study the archaeological finds under the scientific guidance of the late lamented Doctor. Hence every page of this excellent monograph breathes a laudable spirit of thoroughness and critical enquiry. It is high time that recent researches of experts in the domain of Indology be made accessible to the general reader in a less jejune and more inviting form than that presented by the terrific volumes of the Archaeological Reports. Hence the Director General himself has written popular treatises on Sanchi and Taxila. Our budding Bengali antiquarian takes a step further and presents us with a documentary history of Saranath in his mother tongue, combining thereby the two processes of systematizing fragmentary information in popularizing the knowledge of Indian antiquities. We congratulate him on his success.

KALHAN

KANNADA

* KATYAYANI by Venkatesh Tirko Kulkarni. Pp. 40. Price is 4. To be had of the author at Haveri.

BANDHAVIMOCHAN by Mahadev Shastri Janata. Published by Venkatesh Tirko Kulkarni Haveri. Pp. 24. Price Rs. 4.

These two pamphlets are bound together in one volume. The first booklet pictures the life of Katyayani, the wife of the sage Yagnavalkya. The Rishi as is well known had two wives, Katyayani and Maitevi. The two wives represent two aspects of human nature. Katyayani is formed for softness, tenderness, pity, simple, innocent and always busy in the household in bringing up the children. Maitevi is ministering to the

sections including an appendix and is written in good Hindi.

MULA DEVI

Acknowledgments.

(1) FIFTY FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SANITARY COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH for the Year ending 31st December 1918 and the Twenty fourth Report of the Sanitary Engineer for 1918-19

(2) NOTES ON VACCINATION IN THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH for the Year ending 31st March 1918

(3) THE TWENTY SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CALCUTTA ORPHANAGE for the year 1918—a record of the valuable work done by the Orphanage during the year under notice

(4) A SEA PORT FOR H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS Masulipatam suggested—By P. Venkayya

(5) THE KING OF TRUTH—Life of Jesus Christ—By W. E. Tomlinson

(6) INDIAN CIVILIZATION AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE—By E. Raghava Reddi B.A. B.L.—an ably written pamphlet containing valuable suggestions well worth the serious attention of all

(7) WHY NOT A LEAGUE OF RELIGIONS?—By Kate Simmons—A well-written and suggestive leaflet worth serious reading

(8) THE FEDERATION OF INDIA—By B. Houghton Indian Civil Service Retired Published by the Academy of Political Science New York—The author concludes this brilliantly written brochure with the following significant words—

The problems raised by the memorable report of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are indeed worthy of all the statesmanship, all the genius of Parliament and the nation. Their settlement has admittedly been too long delayed. Though Orientals are proverbially patient there may be limits even to their self-restraint. The gravity

of the situation in India is still quite unrealized in England but that it is grave any false step inspired by reactionary counsels will quickly make manifest. It will not do to belittle or ignore or to despise Indian nationalism. We are face to face with a gigantic movement the greatest since one in human history. But yesterday it was feeble, today it is strong, it electrifies all the confines of India, tomorrow it will be overwhelming. Can we set bounds to the march of three hundred million souls or bind with cords the swelling force of an empire? The only way to success the only way compatible with statesmanship and with the fair name of England lies not in listening to the prattle of ex-officials dreaming of a dead past or to the sophistries of a government that clutches at departing power but in honestly joining hands with India and helping her forward. This would tend to show that every member of the Indian Civil Service is not necessarily a bureaucrat nor is he opposed to Indian Reform.

(9) PRAKARA AND KANDI RAJ—By H. W. B. Moreno B.A. Ph.D. M.A. Calcutta—This booklet written in an interesting style and manner reminds us of the famous Tagore Family Album written in the eighties of the last century by Mr. Furrel then Editor of *The Englishman*. The Prakara Raj family of which Dewan Ganga Gobinda Sinha born in 1146 B.E. was the founder and of which Krishnachandra Sinha of sacred memory (born in 1182 B.E.) popularly known as Lala Baba and his pious spouse Rani Khatravani were revered throughout the country for their many qualities of head and heart—is well known all over Bengal for their pious numerous acts of private charity and public munificences of all kinds. We are indeed pleased to find that a book has at last appeared recording concisely the career of this real distinguished family of Bengal.

(10) SOME ASPECTS OF NAYAK LIFE—By K. M. Panikkar—An interesting pamphlet.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

An Inside view of the Hindu University A Rejoinder.

In his attempt to refute a few of my contradictions to his article *Inside View* Mr. Gurtu claims to be a member of every academic and administrative body of the Hindu University to show that he has a more accurate and first-hand knowledge than a mere Senator can have. Now the notion of *Inside View* of truth and untruth "must be diametrically opposed to that of all honest men," for the small connection with the University that I can lay claim to gives me opportunities to know *first hand* and *most accurately* without the least fear of challenge that there never was nor has been till now a

single member of this University belonging to every academic and administrative body. The reader can judge the veracity of a writer who arrogates to himself an *impossible* position in order to establish his credit. The mere Senator, admittedly did not belong to the committee appointed to bring out the results and if Mr. Gurtu made any irrelevant statement at this Committee whose proceedings are essentially confidential how is a mere Senator expected to know it unless Mr. Gurtu himself took him into his confidence? Mr. Gurtu's declaration in the Council is an event which took place when *Inside View* and *Senator* had already written their articles and it is difficult to

View where is the difficulty in the work? What material harm have these imperfections of the University constitution done to the University? Has Inside View taken any trouble to compare the delays and postponements of older and long-established Universities where the work is being done in an established groove? Is there nothing to appreciate in the work of the University? Is there no brighter aspect of the whole affair? In fact Inside View is so perverse that he has neither a single good word for this national institution nor can he bear to hear anything said in favour of it. The 'Outside Critic' sounds a true note when he says that Inside View presents the matter in a manner from which it is improbable that any good can come.

I am behind nobody in my respect to and admiration for Babu Bhagwan Das Sahab to whose articles several references have been made but I am sure he does not regard himself infallible and there are several points in his sober article with which men of my ways of thinking would respectfully differ.

Benares City A Senator of the Benares
12th August 1919 Hindu University

Reply by Inside View

1 The Senator of the Hindu University asserts that there never has been a single member in this University belonging to every academic and administrative body. Now the bodies created by law are the (1) Court and (2) Council—both administrative (3) Senate and (4) Syndicate—both academic and (5) Board of Appointments and (6) Board of Studies—both advisory. A reference to the Minutes of the Hindu University since its creation in 1916 will show that several gentlemen have been members of all these bodies either concurrently or in succession. The endless committees and sub-committees are not bodies.

2 Senator categorically denied Mr Gurtu's intended departure from the University. It was a matter of common knowledge all over Benares that three hours silver eloquence poured into his ears in the palace opposite Ramnagar in May last had failed to shake Mr Gurtu's resolution. He had learned to estimate oratory at its true worth. And yet Senator had the brass to assure your readers in the July number. It is plain truth to say that Mr Gurtu is going away.

Now that Mr Gurtu has gone away the Senator pleads ignorance. Dr Ganesh Prasad and several other Senators were present at the meeting of the Results Committee at which Mr Gurtu reiterated his resolution to resign—his statement not being a part of the confidential work of the Committee.

3 Equally emphatic was the language of Senator in contradicting my statement about the capricious change in the starting point of the

College day. The starting point of the College work is not changed from time to time but from season to season with regular notice and the allegation of Inside View is pure untruth.

Now that an independent inquiry has proved my statement to be true Senator takes refuge behind the students who are alleged to feel sudden fluctuations of temperature in the United Provinces. It is conveniently forgotten that the boys of the Queen's College in the same time and belonging to the same race do not require to have the starting point changed every week or so in summer. They seem to be framed in a more heroic mould. Or is it their Principal?

4 I have already made my contention with regard to Mr Malaviya quite clear. If the money-catcher insists on ruling the University he must be resident on the spot and cease to play the additional role of a peripatetic platform orator who will not attend necessary University meetings nor let those who attend do their work. Secondly, greed of money should not dominate the policy of the University and no promise should be made to intending donors which is either impossible to carry out or opposed to true academic principles. A very ancient book warns us that Cupidity is the root of evils.

5 My motive in drawing public attention to the existing defects and mischievous working of an institution based on public subscription from all parts of India and supported to the extent of one third of its present recurring expenditure out of public taxes needs no justification. Man worship has ruined many Indian sects and it will ruin the Hindu University too unless that institution is made truly national and placed above one man rule—and that man an absentee landlord.

The reformer knows what reception to expect from a certain class among his people. As another *maharajah* (from outside India) said long long ago. If ye be willing and obedient ye shall eat the good of the land. But if ye refuse and rebel ye shall be devoured with the sword—of the after war economic reconstruction and rejection of shoddy goods animate and inanimate however brilliantly labelled.

Which cry to the seers. See not and to the prophets. Prophesy not unto us right things speak unto us smooth things prophesy deceits. Get you out of the way turn aside out of the path.

It is significant that the Senator differs in several points from Babu Bhagwan Das's recently published views on the abuses in the Hindu University and the means of reforming them and still more significant that there are other men of his ways of thinking. Our consolation however is that among the donors of the Hindu University have been Babu Bhagwan Das and on a humbler scale—

INSIDE VIEW

NOTES

Punjab under Sir Michael O'Dwyer

We have already quoted in our July number (p 89) the opinions of Sir Henry Cotton and Mr J R Macdonald on the reputation which the Punjab enjoys among the Indian provinces in the matter of reactionary methods of administration. Here is another remarkable prophesy by Mr Bernard Houghton, a Burma civilian, who wrote as follows in 1913 in his well known book on *Bureaucratic Government* (p 90)

"Since both the summer and winter capitals will be in the Punjab, it (the Government of India) will in practice—though not perhaps in theory—be recruited by civilians from that province. Now, the Punjab is educationally the most backward province in India and its officials are influenced in a special degree by militarist as opposed to popular traditions. Thus argues ill for the supremacy of progressive ideas in the counsels of Government."

We find from the papers that the Hon'ble Mr Chanda of Sylhet is going to move a resolution in the Imperial Council for the removal of the summer headquarters of the Punjab Government from Simla. It is no doubt a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's letter and memorandum on the proposed constitutional reforms, published at pp 228-66 of the Government of India's First Despatch of March 5th, 1919, gives us a very good insight into his mentality, as well as into some of the Punjab methods of administration. In the July number of the *Hindustan Review*, Mr Alfred Nundy, writing on the etiology of the Punjab disorders, says that Sir Michael's humiliation in the Imperial Council at the hands of the non-official members in the autumn session of 1917 roused his anger against political agitators, and that it was commonly believed that in his recent dealings with them he was paying off old scores. This belief derives support from the following passage in para 8 of Sir Michael's memorandum

41-11

The proceedings of September last in the Simla Council the release of Mrs Bhasant, the attitude of the Government of India in the simultaneous examination and in other debates were however interpreted to mean that the Government of India would not allow local Governments to interfere with their policy of conciliating the extremists. The small section of advanced politicians in the Punjab—hitherto quiescent—were encouraged to assert themselves, and to come into line with other Provinces.

That Punjab methods of recruitment had also much to do with the late disturbances there, as shown by Mr Nundy, may also be inferred from the memorandum. Speaking of 'violent political agitation' Sir Michael says that 'the Punjab Government had even before the outbreak of the war taken strong measures to prevent its spread. The war and the necessity of excluding any influences that would interfere with recruiting made a continuance of that policy essential. It is no wonder that as a result of this, as Sir Michael naively puts it "till a few months ago political agitation was at a discount in the Province. Even the Secretary of State's announcement in August 1917 caused little stir."

Indeed, Sir Michael's feeling of violent antagonism towards the lawyers and the public men of the Punjab reveals itself everywhere in these two communications, which are as rabidly anti-Indian in tone as the leading articles in the Anglo-Indian press. In the words of Burke, he compares them to 'grasshoppers under a fern making the field ring with their importunate cries. The politician's "influence for good is generally nil, but he can and sometimes does add to the trouble by injudicious or malicious interference." It is not on them, but on the 'quiet men of local influence' [The essential thing is that they must be 'quiet', the rest does not matter] that Government has to depend. The claims of the politicians to represent the masses are futile. They lack practical experience, though skilled in the dialectics of constitu-

people are represented by the classes, and not by men taken from their own ranks or by an alien bureaucracy.

In Europe there has always been a governing class, a set of persons whom birth or wealth or education has raised above their fellows and to whom has been left the making of public opinion together with the conduct of administration and the occupancy of places in the legislature. The public opinion of Germany, Italy, France and England has been substantially the opinion of the class which wears black coats and lives in good houses though in the two latter countries it has of late years been increasingly affected by the opinion of the classes socially lower. Although the members of the British Parliament now obey the mass of their constituents when the latter express a distinct wish still the influence which plays most steadily on them and permeates them is the opinion of a class or classes and not of the whole nation. The class to which the great majority of members of both Houses belong, (i.e. the landowners and the persons occupied in professions and in the higher walks of commerce) is the class which chiefly forms and expresses what is called public opinion. Even in these days of vigilance and exacting constituencies one sees many members of the House of Commons the democratic robustness or provincial crudity of whose ideas melts like wax under the influence of fashionable dinner parties and club smoking rooms. Until a number of members entered the House who claimed to be the authorized representatives of the views of working men the complaint used to be heard that it was hard to 'keep touch with the opinion of the masses.'

Cause of the Downfall of Burma

'I may here say that the idea that the feebleness or wrong-doing of the Burmese government was the cause of the downfall is a mistake. If the Burmese government had been the best that ever existed the annexation would have happened just the same. It was political necessity for us.' [The author was in Burma during the annexation of Upper Burma and took part in the war]—*The Soul of a People*, by Fielding Hall, ch. VII.

Private Actions and Official Actions.

"Men will do in the name of government acts which, if performed in a private capacity, would cover them with shame before men, and would find them in a gaol or worse. The name of government is a cloak for the worst passions of manhood."—*The Soul of a People*, by

Fielding Hall, ch. VII. [These remarks are specially applicable to the proceedings of numerous officers in the Punjab during the late disturbances there.]

India Home Rule League of America

The Secretary India Home Rule League of America has sent us the following for publication—

Within the period of two years that the India Home Rule League of America has been established we have endeavored to carry on educational work in America through lectures, publications and an Information Bureau which is at the service of the American people ready to tell the truth about India and to guide all students along the right path of research and study of the Indian problem. The great amount of misinformation that is circulated we have endeavored to combat and to refute. Owing to war conditions it has been extremely difficult for us to do our work very efficiently but we have kept on as well as we could publishing regularly a monthly magazine, *Young India*, and lecturing to American audiences on conditions in India. The magazine is the only one of its kind in America and the only source of true information about our country.

Since the establishment of the League in October 1917 we have organized thirteen branches and have secured about 1000 members and subscribers. Each of our branches has become a center of information and education.

Through the work of our officers, particularly of Mr. N. S. Hardiker, we have secured the attention of thousands in audiences throughout the country. We have spoken before labor, religious and educational groups. In a recent trip Mr. Hardiker addressed groups in all the states of the Middle West and the West.

Many newspapers and magazines have opened their columns to us and have assisted us in spreading the truth about India. But the work we have done so far is but preparation for more extensive educational work which we propose to carry on. The press and politics of America have not sought to open the eyes of the people to the true conditions in India and for the purpose of permanently spreading the truth about our country we have opened an office at 1400 Broadway where the editing and publishing of our magazine is carried on. A book shop has been established in conjunction with our work, and this has made it possible for friends to procure books on India. We shall be pleased to furnish books to any of our countrymen in India since we have trade relations with all book publishers. Through the courtesy of the Indian press publishers we have been able to open a reading room and are now in the process of collecting books on India for a library. As

and New York such a Witches' Sabbath of jobbing, bribing, thieving, and prostitution of legislative power to private interest as the world has seldom seen" (I, p 546) "The more educated and thoughtful citizen is apt to be disgusted by the sordidness of many state politicians and the pettiness of most" (I, p 582) Bribery exists among about five per cent of the members of the Congress and fifteen to twenty per cent of them take considerations other than money (II, p 166) "There is no denying that the government of cities [municipalities] is one of the conspicuous failures of the United States. The faults of the State governments are insignificant compared with the extravagance corruption, and mismanagement which have marked the administration of most of the great cities" (I, p 642) — Nowhere is "municipal government so wasteful inefficient, and impure" (II, p 690) This is illustrated by the crimes of the Tammany Ring of New York and similar other organisations, in ch LXXVIII, vol II [See also the chapters on 'Rings and Bosses,' 'Corruption,' 'Spoils,' Part IV, II]

Need for Self Government.

'it is contrary to human nature that three hundred million people should acquiesce in the perpetual domination of a small body of foreigners from a distant land however high minded and efficient the latter may be. The present regime cannot continue for ever, and British rule will have failed of its purpose in India if it does not draw out all that is best in Indians and helps them to build up a fabric of self government, which will stand unshaken on its own foundations. In this view a step in the direction of responsible government may be regarded as essential. — Letter from the Government of Bihar and Orissa to the Government of India quoted at page 288 of the First Despatch of the Government of India on Indian Constitutional Reforms

The Punjab Indemnity Bill

When some time ago Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya told Mr M K Gandhi that an Indemnifying Bill would be shortly introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council for preventing all officers concerned in quelling the imaginary "rebellion" in the Punjab from being brought to book in any way, the Pandit was not misinfor-

med, for the *Pioneer* writes in a recent issue —

"A preliminary list of some of the Bills which are to be submitted to the Imperial Legislative Council next month has already been published but it is far from exhaustive and is a matter of fact, some twenty seven measures are likely to come up for discussion. Among these is the indemnifying Bill which is invariably passed after martial law has been in operation. Certain members who have already objected to the measures found necessary to suppress the rebellion in the Punjab will no doubt take the opportunity of reiterating their objection when the Bill is brought forward and we hope and believe that they will be met firmly and effectively. The Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Council should be of exceptional interest seeing that since the last session we have had not only grave disturbances in India but an attempt at invasion by the Amir of Afghanistan. The insensate opposition to the Rowlatt Act has a direct bearing on these two grave events and this should not be forgotten if the policy of Government is challenged or the action of a great public servant is impugned. We have already had too many mean attacks on Sir Michael O'Dwyer and any attempt to carry on this contemptible campaign in the Council Chamber at Simla should be sternly deprecated."

Of course, all that has been done in the Punjab in recent months is so "noble" that it is undoubtedly "mean" to do anything which is opposite to the worship of O'Dwyerism. The campaign carried on against O'Dwyerism and its patrons and followers is also unquestionably contemptible else why all the attempted and proposed plans official and non official to frustrate it? Whoever else may act in a mean, contemptible or cowardly manner, a bureaucrat never does so, even when his fellows try to obviate the necessity of his having to face the music.

The much talked of enquiry into Punjab affairs has still to be held. In the meantime comes the Indemnity Bill to place all Punjab officials beyond the reach of any possible conclusions or recommendations of the proposed Committee of Enquiry. Even if the Privy Council appeal judgments and the Committee of Enquiry's Report disclose acts of injustice and barbarities, no one must be punished or censured! This is quite logical. If even the hair of nobody's head in Punjab officialdom is to be touched, why take the trouble and incur the expense to conduct an enquiry?

Martial Law in Jamaica

Our readers should be able to guess what we expect as the result of the Panjab enquiry. Of course, we should be very glad if our anticipations should prove false. But in order to enable the public to be duly optimistic or duly pessimistic we may be allowed to draw attention to the result of the impeachment of Warren Hastings which is well known and to tell briefly the story of Martial Law in Jamaica which is not so well known. This story we shall tell in the words of Mr Herbert Paul author of 'A History of Modern England' in five volumes (Macmillan). Our own comments will be brief and in some cases interposed within square brackets in the course of the narrative. The stakes also are ours. Our readers it is to be hoped will not mind the length of the extracts, in view of their importance. They are made from the third volume of Mr Herbert Paul's history.

Lord Palmerston had only just been buried when a despatch arrived at the Colonial Office from Mr Eyre, the Governor of Jamaica, which required the immediate attention of the Queen's Ministers. Governor Eyre writing on the 20th of October 1865 to Mr Secretary Cardwell described a most serious and alarming insurrection of the negro population. Although the negroes of Jamaica by far the largest part of the inhabitants had been legally free for more than thirty years they distrusted their planter magistrates and resented their own exclusion from the soil. *The Governor's language however was exaggerated and misleading [So was Sir Michael O'Drivers]. There was no general insurrection in Jamaica though there was a dangerous local outbreak at Morant Bay.* On the 7th of October the magistrates then and there sitting to try an agrarian case ordered into custody a man named Geoghegan for interrupting the business of the Court. Geoghegan was protected by the bystanders and the police were unable to arrest him. This was on a Saturday. On the following Monday warrants were issued to apprehend Paul Bogle an influential negro and others of like note for riot and interference with justice. The police who attempted to execute the warrants were overpowered by a mob of armed negroes and some of them were severely beaten. This was the signal for a general rising throughout the district of St Thomas-in-the-East where Morant Bay is situated. Paul Bogle sent out an inflammatory proclamation and on Wednesday the 11th of October the volunteers, after the Riot Act had been read [Was the

Riot Act read anywhere in India during the recent disturbances before the crowds were fired upon or bombed?] fired on a crowd of blacks who were marching on the Court House. The blacks however were not dismayed by this timely display of vigour. They routed the volunteers, burned the Court House and murdered about twenty white men. There can be no doubt that these acts of violence were premeditated and part of a scheme for getting possession of land at Stony Gut near the Bay which the negroes alleged to be theirs by right.

The rising had of course to be put down whether the grievances were well founded or not and in the work of suppression the Governor acted with creditable promptitude. General O'Connor who commanded the British troops in the island sent a hundred soldiers to Morant Bay and a man of war was also despatched from Port Royal. By these and other measures the rebellion was confined to the bay and prevented from spreading throughout the island. On the morning of the 13th martial law was proclaimed by the Governor after consulting the Chief Justice [Was any Chief Justice consulted in India before the proclamation of martial law here?] at a Council of War under authority of a local statute. Before Sunday the 15th of October the rising had been entirely quelled and then the work of vengeance began [So British officers are not incapable of the work of vengeance!]. Upwards of four hundred persons were put to death by martial law and about six hundred including women were flogged. At a place called Bath men were flogged by a horrible instrument of torture composed of wires twisted round cords. No fewer than one thousand houses were burned. The infliction of these punishments was continued long after resistance to authority had ceased. On the 30th of October the Governor stated that the wicked rebellion lately existing not throughout the island of Jamaica but in certain parts of the county of Surrey had been subdued while in his despatch to the Secretary of State he said that his first night of quiet and rest was the night of the 15th. The Courts-Martial went on sitting for weeks after peace had been restored and much indignation was excited at home by the discovery that women had been flogged.

But the case which attracted most public interest was the execution of George William Gordon on a charge of high treason. Gordon was a coloured man by religious profession a Baptist a landed proprietor though in embarrassed circumstances and a Member of the House of Assembly. He was disaffected to the Government disliked the Governor and encouraged the negroes in their agrarian demands. His sanity was more obvious than his capacity and he flattered himself that while using incendiary language he could keep within the limits of the law. He forgot that martial law has no

limits or only such as military men chose to set upon their own power. There was no evidence that Gordon had been directly concerned in any murder or in any rising. Governor Eyre ordered him to be prosecuted, because in his opinion he had been guilty of misrepresentation and seditious language. Misrepresentation and seditious language are not capital offences. Gordon, however, was taken from Kingston, where martial law did not prevail, to Morant Bay, where it did, and put on his trial before three officers. Lieutenant Brand, who presided, was a man quite unfit to sit in judgment upon his fellow creatures. On Saturday the 21st October, after six hours inquiry, Gordon was sentenced to death, and on the following Monday he was hanged. *Although Governor Eyre approved of his execution history must pronounce it to have been murder without even the forms of law.*

The Government would indeed have been wanting in regard for the rights of His Majesty's coloured subjects to say nothing of public opinion at home if they had allowed such a category of horrors to pass unnoticed. Nearly four hundred and fifty persons had been shot or hanged, six hundred had been flogged, a thousand houses had been burnt, in a rebellion, *if it deserves so grandiose a name* of which Governor Eyre said that "not a single casualty has befallen any soldier or sailor." [In the Panjab rebellion] too, not a single casualty had befallen any soldier or policeman.] Mr. Cardwell, the coolest and most sagacious of Colonial Secretaries, while giving the Governor full credit for his promptitude in measures of suppression, as well as for the high character he had hitherto borne in respect of justice and humanity, reserved after the receipt of Mr. Eyre's first despatch his opinion on what occurred when the rising was over, and as soon as the whole truth had become known at the Colonial Office a Royal Commission was sent to make inquiries on the spot. Thus the condemnation of a public servant without a hearing was avoided, and proof was at the same time given [almost entirely in theory] that black men equally with white, enjoyed the protection of the law. The authority of Governor Eyre was superseded, and complete executive authority throughout the island was vested in Sir Henry Storks. The Cabinet of Lord Russell were completely vindicated by the Report of the Commissioners. This able and impartial document, written in a spirit of studious firmness and moderation, acknowledged the services of the Governor and his military colleagues in preventing the spread of the seditious movement. The Commissioners found that there was nothing like a general conspiracy throughout the island but that there was abundant evidence of a premeditated rising at St. Thomas in the East. The proclamation of martial law they held to be in the circumstances justifi-

able, and in accordance with the terms of the local statute. In the great majority of cases the Courts Martial were pronounced to have acted justly and upon sufficient evidence. But some grievous abuses came to light, and showed, in the opinion of the Commissioners, that the evils of martial law were extremely grave. Thus at Port Antonio two men were executed because each said that the other had confessed to a murder, though there was no corroboration in either instance of the alleged confession. The affidavits of persons who might have been produced in Court were accepted as evidence. Five persons were convicted on the simple testimony of a man who had himself been sentenced to death as a spy. The Court which tried Gordon consisted of two naval lieutenants, and an ensign in the West India Regiment. "The evidence, oral and documentary," appeared to the Commissioners "wholly insufficient to establish the charge upon which the prisoner took his trial," namely, high treason. Governor Eyre, however, concurred in the justice of the capital sentence, and the necessity for carrying it out. The Commissioners held that martial law had been enforced too long, that proper instructions had not been given to the officers administering it, and that many suffered from it who had nothing to do with the disturbances. They visited with just reprobation the flogging of women. Finally, they found that the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent, that the floggings were reckless, and at Bath positively barbarous, and that the burning of a thousand houses was wanton and cruel. The Report of course necessitated the recall of Governor Eyre. It also involved the just censure of some naval and military officers. "We cannot conclude our inquiry," the Commissioners wrote, "without expressing regret at the tone of levity which is to be found in the letters and language of some of the officers while engaged in serious and responsible duties." These words are certainly not too severe for men like Lieutenant Adcock and Captain Ford. Adcock wrote to Colonel Nelson, "on returning to Golden Grove in the evening, sixty-seven prisoners had been sent in by the barracks. I disposed of as many as possible, but was too tired to continue after dark." Ford wrote, "We made a raid with thirty men, flogging nine men and burning their negro houses. We held a court martial on the prisoners, who amounted to about fifty or sixty. Several were flogged without court martial, from a simple examination. This is a picture of martial law. The soldiers enjoy it—the inhabitants here dread it. If they run on their approach they are shot for running away." Such is the temper fostered by arbitrary power in young and inexperienced minds. One of Governor Eyre's agents, Colonel Hobbs, was so much affected by the criticisms of the Commissioners in their Report, gentle as they were, that he committed suicide by throw-

in Bengal but in the other provinces of the Indian Empire as well. For the present, we will make a few general observations.

The Report is written in an interesting manner and makes instructive reading. The tone is, generally speaking, gentlemanly, though we have in the course of a cursory examination of volume V found a passage which reads almost like a sneer.

The problem of education in our country should be dealt with as a whole, elementary education should be graduated and co-ordinated stages lead naturally to the university stage. The Commissioners were alive to the fact that the educational problem should be treated as a whole for they write—

"Although our reference bids us primarily to consider the needs of the system of University training we have found it impossible to consider this problem without at the same time taking into account the needs of secondary education and especially of that higher branch of it—the intermediate stage—which is at present carried on by University institutions. And this inevitable enlargement of our purview brings us up against a problem of great difficulty—the problem of the relative emphasis that ought to be laid upon and the relative scale of expenditure which Government and the people ought to be urged to undertake in regard to these two branches of the educational system. nor is it possible to ignore the fact that the development of the system of primary education will necessarily involve an immense and an increasing expenditure. We should fail in our duty if in putting forward claims on behalf of university education, we did not also hold in view the not less important claims of the other educational grades upon the resources available for educational purposes."

But though the Commissioners did not in their investigations and deliberations forget the existence of primary education, there does not appear to be in their report recommendations relating to the reform, reconstruction and extension of that grade of education like those regarding secondary and higher secondary education. There is also, consequently, no suggestion, proposal, or recommendation to show what, in the opinion of the Commission, ought to be done to co-ordinate primary with higher grades of education. As matters stand at present, boys and girls in High Schools have often to learn again in English

what they had already learnt in their vernacular schools through a vernacular medium. This is an avoidable and not irreparable waste of money, time and energy.

The Commission's Educational Proposals

It may be said in general terms that the purely educational recommendations of the Commission relating to education in the arts and (theoretical) sciences, if given effect to would undoubtedly improve instruction in colleges and secondary schools. But it is also unquestionable that education would in that case become far more expensive than it is at present. Who is to meet this increased cost? Without, for the present, entering into details, we agree with the Commissioners in holding that Government will have to pay a larger proportion of a substantially larger expenditure, if the evils we have described are to be amended and the reforms we have advocated are to be carried through. Now, even in independent and free countries like England State control of universities is considered detrimental to the cause of the progress of knowledge and education. It impairs freedom of teaching and freedom of learning. It must also go against the maintenance and growth of civic virtues—particularly in a dependent country like India. However, leaving aside these vital considerations, we may admit that in those branches of knowledge which Government may not object to foster, in those theories of political science and economics which Government may choose to inculcate and in that kind of history which Government may be interested in teaching, instruction would be better in the reorganised and reconstructed secondary schools, colleges, and universities than in existing institutions of those grades. The physical health of the students may also improve. But if things are done for them by an alien bureaucracy, but not by their own countrymen, it would not be good for their manhood and the manhood and self respect of the country. State control and State subsidisation of education does the least injury when the people are self governing. Therefore, if Government, that is to say, the tax payers, must

pay the greatest share of the expenses of the education of all students, let us resolve to be self ruling so that we may not be compelled to give up any part of the little liberty we have in exchange for Government educational grants

We have made remarks on State control, because though the Commissioners have expressed the view that there are many drawbacks to the system of direct and detailed State control "they have yet held that the State ought to remain ultimately responsible for the inspection and supervision of higher education" (p. 134, vol. 1) and Indians know what this inspection and supervision by the foreign bureaucracy in a dependent country would mean and imply

"Government Sitting Upon Inexhaustible Treasure chest"

Though the Commissioners say, "It is no part of our duty to suggest how the money is to be found," they leave us in no doubt as to the means they would like to be adopted. They clearly suggest and advocate fresh taxation when they write:

On all hands during our travels in Bengal we have heard the demand that Government should give more for education. Often enough those who make this legitimate claim seem to figure Government as sitting upon a huge and inexhaustible treasure-chest from which it dispenses niggardly bounty and they seem to imagine that it is greater generosity on the part of Government which is required. But if Bengal is to have a better system of education Bengal must pay for it and what Government has to show is not generosity but courage in laying the necessary taxation and courage not to be expected until it is plain that those who will have to pay the taxes are ready to do so. Either in the form of fees or in the form of gifts or in the form of taxes Bengal must pay more if it wishes to escape from the vicious circle of its present education and to give to its youth a training which will fit them more adequately to play their part in the world.

We emphatically deny that without fresh taxation it would be impossible to adequately finance education. Neither in the civil nor in the military departments of Government is there the least attempt made at economy or retrenchment. Expenditure has been going up by leaps and bounds excepting in such vital matters as

sanitation, education, industrial (including agricultural) development, technological training &c. We never ask Government to show greater 'generosity.' Our demand is that Government should be just and righteous. Government may not be sitting upon a huge and *inexhaustible* treasure chest, but whenever any expenditure, however large, is required for the military needs, not of India but of the British Empire, whenever the clamour of the British exploiters of India has to be silenced by very costly programmes of railway construction, whenever the Imperial Services have to be propitiated by exchange compensation and other allowances and increased rates of pay, whenever new capitals have, for political reasons unconnected with the welfare of the people of India to be built, whenever for political reasons provinces have to be partitioned, repartitioned or regrouped, and districts have also similarly to be partitioned, and whenever police and C. I. D. expenditure has to be increased Government spend money on so lavish a scale that they do really seem to be sitting on an inexhaustible treasure-chest. It is only when the people think that for their welfare more money should be spent on education, sanitation &c.—it is only then that Government suddenly become aware that the resources of the public treasury are limited.

Let us take the case of the phenomenal growth of military expenditure. We will first give the figures for some years when no one even imagined that there would be a great European war.

Years	Military expenditure in crores of rupees
1884-85	16 96
1887-88	20 41
1890-91	20 69
1894-95	24 09
1902-03	25 91
1903-04 (revised)	26 78
1904-05 (budget)	28 66

The above figures show that within a decade, during which India was internally quiet and at peace and had not to fight any aggressor military expenditure had nearly doubled itself the increased cost of

the army being about 12 crores of rupees. Why have not similar crores been ever available for a righteous and courageous educational policy? Let us take another set of figures

Years	Military charges in crores of rupees approximately
1915-16	33 39
1916 17	37 48
1917 18	43 56
1918 19 (budget)	43 50
1918 19 (revised)	65 88
1919 20 (budget)	61 79

From 1884-85 to 1918 19, a period of 34 years, the military charges had quadrupled, the increase being 49 crores of rupees. The income, neither of the people of India nor of the Government of India has even approximately quadrupled during the same period. Why is it never even imagined that it is possible to spend a few extra crores for making India literate and giving her a most improved and up to date form of educational organisation?

We will now give a few figures relating to railway expenditure. In the budget for 1919 20 more than 36 crores of rupees have been provided for capital expenditure on new construction and renewals from revenue. In his budget speech in 1907 the late Mr G. K. Gokhale said 'Still 13½ crores is a very large amount to spend in any one year on railways and yet the Hon'ble Member has thought it necessary to be apologetic in making the announcement'. In the same speech he also said 'the total of these surpluses during these nine years stands at the high figure of 37 crores of rupees, or about 25 millions sterling and nearly the whole of this amount has been spent as capital on railways'. Nearly the same amount is going to be spent in the one year 1919 20, not in nine years, against which Mr Gokhale raised his voice in vain!

Great increases in the expenditure of various civil departments—increases out of all proportion to increased incomes—can be shown. But facts, figures and arguments are of no avail. As the people have not the power to control expenditure whatever expenditure the alien bureau-

crats incur is pronounced indispensable, and whatever expenditure the people ask to be incurred is considered optional! And in addition the people are treated to the sneer that they consider the Government treasure-chest inexhaustible, a sneer against which the two Indian members of the Calcutta University Commission have not protested!

The fact is with the present income of our Government, education could be adequately financed if the people had the power of the purse and if they could consequently prevent the present squandering of public money. But the people have not that power. And now that India is going to be given the boon of responsible government, the great spending departments of the army and the railways and the Imperial Services &c are going to be placed beyond the control of the people's representatives. Moreover if in the Provinces there be divided purses as the Governor would first take all the money, he required for his reserved subjects, it would not be of very great advantage to the people even if education of all grades were made a transferred subject under the charge of the Indian minister. For the latter would not have enough money to spend for the adequate improvement and expansion of education. Fresh taxation, however unrighteous and impolitic, would thus be inevitable. For secondary, higher secondary and University education, by which only a small fraction of the people would directly benefit it would not be right to tax the mass of the people anew. A special education super tax would be the most appropriate form of taxation.

Technological Education

Liberal education, culture, &c, are very fine things no doubt. But this broad problem is far more vital and fundamental. The Commissioners have not laid practical stress on this problem, inasmuch as they have not made any insistent and adequate recommendations relating to agricultural and technological education like those relating to general education. Education in the arts and (theoretical) sciences, however excellent, manufactures only con-

1922 Are you not aware that both in Assam and Kumron the Government established plantations for the express purpose of trying experiments for the sale of the settlers and with the avowed object of handing over the plantations to the settlers as soon as the experiment had been shown to be successful and as soon as settlers could be found willing to take them?—That is what I refer to that in the first mootings of the cultivation of tea the Government took the initiative and encouraged it and went to some expense in taking the necessary steps towards it

Government also very generously offered to assist the iron manufacturers of England if some of them were to come to settle in India. Thus the same witness was asked

1927 Are you aware that the Government have recently sent out a gentleman conversant with the iron manufacture and with him several assistants to the province of Kumron to introduce the iron manufacture there?—I have read of it but we offered to do everything at our own expense

1928 And the Government have stated that as soon as the experiment is shown to be successful they are willing to hand over the works to any Englishman that will undertake them?—Yes that may be

Even at present Government are doing much in the way of experimenting to help the European indigo planters and sugar planters and the experiments are carried on with Indian money

There is no reason except the unrighteous selfishness of those Britishers who have official industrial or commercial connection with India why everything that the government of Japan did and are still doing for the Japanese cannot be done for Indians by the government of India

The Calcutta University Commissioners want "a responsible assurance that the necessary provision of teaching and equipment is forthcoming. Why could they not recommend that Government should at least come forward with a big capital and recurring grant on the condition that the public should contribute a similar amount? Not to speak of what the state has done in Japan in the past, let us mention one technological institute recently founded in that country. 'To encourage technological investigations bearing on various branches of industry the Diet adopted in

1915 the representation of prominent business men and scientists in Tokyo to create a free laboratory modelled on the Wilhelm Institute or the Carnegie Institute. The Institute shall be established with a fund of 8 000,000 yens [equal to Rs. 1,20,00,000] of which 1 million to come from the House hold, 2 from Government and 5 from public donation and that required buildings be partially completed in 1917 and the whole by Oct 1918' (*Japan Year Book*, 1918).

As the Commission as a body has made no definite and practical recommendations for training in technology, there is, we think, much to be said in favour of the suggestion made by Drs J W Gregory and Zia ud din Ahmad in their joint note that the University College of Science might be appropriately developed as a college of applied science, since the two munificent endowments of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rash Behary Ghose which led to its establishment were both intended especially to promote work in applied science

The Bogey of Excessive Manufacture of Technological Graduates.

The Commissioners express a fear that 'unfortunate results may follow, and the whole movement towards practical careers suffer a check, if men are turned out in large numbers with an equipment of a kind for which there is very little demand. There is a real danger in the idea that, if an examination is provided and a degree course defined, all that is necessary is done.' There is a real danger in that idea no doubt, but the educated public of India have no such mistaken idea. We want Government to provide technological training and also to do all that national governments in free countries have done and are doing for the development and encouragement of industries. If that were done there would never be an excess of trained technological experts in the country. At present, there has been some industrial awakening in the country. It is not great or sufficient, but Indians are more alive to the needs of the situation than their government. If Government were equally alive so far as the interests of

the children of the soil are concerned so many industries would be started by Indian capitalists that the difficulty would be not to find employment for technological experts but to find a sufficient number of them for the work to be done. But supposing there was a real fear of over production of experts the Commissioners could easily have suggested as they have done in the case of agriculture that the greatest care should be taken (a) not to admit more than a reasonable number of students and (b) to provide for them a scheme of training which would fit them for other cognate occupations should a purely [technological] calling not be available.

Number of Highly Trained Scientific Experts Required

The following sentences penned by the Commissioners are likely to convey a wrong impression—

Degree courses in technical and professional subjects other than those for the established professions of medicine and law are required by a comparatively restricted number of persons even in highly industrialised countries. The highly trained scientific experts whom the industries of a country can absorb—and it is only with the training of such that a university should be concerned—must always be relatively few in numbers.

That highly trained scientific experts whom the industries of a country can absorb are smaller in number than the other men engaged in industrial pursuits is strictly and literally true. But the whole paragraph from which we have quoted above is calculated to produce the impression that the university trained experts are a handful in such manufacturing countries as Germany, England &c. That is not true. There are numbers of works each employing hundreds of university trained experts. Four big works in Germany employ some 1200 such experts. In England British Dyes Limited employ over 120 such experts and Leyenstein Limited some 160 such experts. In India large numbers of such Indian experts would be required to man the new works which are bound to come into existence at no distant date and many such should be required also to

replace foreign experts when the periods of contract of the latter expire. Considering that it would take years to train even the first dozen of such Indian experts it appears to us superfluous and rather alarmistic to talk of the dangers of turning out too many technological graduates when the Commissioners have not urgently recommended the establishment by Government of any institution to train even one such expert.

What should be done

If Government can find money both for the reconstruction and improvement of secondary and university education and for the promotion of the highest technological education let them do so. But if as appears from the Report nothing is to be done for the highest technological training unless and until private benefactors make it possible [we do hope they would not be wanting] it would not be proper to spend large sums for general high education. We are not opposed to the improvement of the latter. But all the improvement which the keepers of the public purse of the country can afford to pay for without fresh taxation can be effected by the education department and the university strictly enforcing their existing rules and regulations. Should it be decided to levy an education tax in the interests of high education (we do not admit that it is absolutely necessary) the proceeds of the tax should be devoted to the furtherance of the highest technological training. As the capital outlay required for the buildings and equipment required for such education must be heavy a special loan may be raised for the purpose the interest being paid from the education tax which should take the form of a super tax. It is necessary to repeat what we have said before that it is quite possible to pay for all sorts of general and vocational education from state revenues without fresh taxation if the people possess full control over expenditure. We speak of taxation only as in the present circumstances of foreign domination the largest portion of our revenues is spent for imperialistic purposes for the benefit of foreign exploiters and for the

advantage and comfort of the imperial service—all such expenditure being borne by our control

Fate of Private Colleges

The Commissioners have proposed to separate the intermediate classes from the existing first grade colleges, and constitute them into separate intermediate colleges. Private colleges cannot possibly continue to pay their way with the fee receipts from their B A and B Sc classes. There are only three ways in which they can obtain a sufficient income (1) private benefactions (2) increased tuition fees, and (3) Government grants. There is not much prospect of any considerable or appreciable private benefactions. If the tuition fees of students are to be raised to derive a sufficient income from them they would have to be raised to at least double their present amounts. This would be a great hardship to the students and their guardians,—for the Commissioners themselves say 'it must be recognised that the Bengali student is usually poor, that he seldom has money even to buy a few books and that any substantial increase of fees would in most cases tell hardly upon him' (Vol V, p 266), 'Higher education in Bengal is being bought at the price of self-denial and in many cases of actual hunger' (Vol IV, p 4). And whether the hardship be great or small, most probably if the fees were doubled, the number of students would decrease, so it might not be possible to obtain an adequate income from the fees paid by a diminished number of students. Even if it were possible to have a sufficient income from a smaller number of students than now, paying fees at double the present rates we would not advocate the change, because we cannot under any circumstances support the exclusion of poor students even of average merit from the benefits of high education. The sum total of national intellectual energy, resources and wealth depends on the largest possible number of a country's population receiving education. Moreover many average students have proved in life their superiority to senior

wranglers and others of that ilk. A system of scholarships, however liberal, can never be a substitute for a scale of moderate fees in the matter of providing facilities for study to the generality of students. Moreover, it is not possible for struggling private colleges to grant a sufficient number of scholarships. That scholarships can never be a substitute for moderate fees or free education for all, is also the opinion of the Royal Commission on University Education in London, whose Report (1913) observes —

even if it may be assumed that there are or will be sufficient scholarships to provide for all the clever boys and girls who need them we do not think that a university education should be denied to the less clever children from these homes provided their parents are prepared to continue their education and provided the student can qualify for admission to the University. We agree with Mr Sidney Webb in the opinion that 'no promise of free places or scholarships can get over the difficulty presented by such prohibitive fees'

Whenever people talk of enabling capable poor students to continue their studies by granting them scholarships in sufficient numbers, they assume that examiners and teachers have a clearly defined standard by which capacity can be gauged and that they are infallible judges of capacity, but this assumption is false. Many dull or average boys have done remarkably well in life even in the domains of science and letters.

The last resource left for the existing private colleges to survive would be Government grants. We do not know whether Government would be prepared to pay handsome subsidies to them. Should Government be prepared, it must be at the cost of the already woefully diminished freedom of the private colleges. We cannot contemplate with equanimity the total loss of independence of all private colleges, even under the sort of "responsible government we are going to have. It would be somewhat like selling our birth right for a mess of pottage. What Principal Griffiths said in the course of his address at the Education Section of the British Association meetings in 1914 in relation to the freedom of British Univer

sties applies with double force in the case of private colleges in a dependent country.

The freedom of the Universities is one of the highest educational assets of this country [Great Britain] and it is to the advantage of the community as a whole that each University should be left unfettered to develop its energies promote research and advance learning in the manner best suited to its environment. It is conceivable that it might be better for universities to striggle on in comparative poverty rather than yield to the temptat on of affluence coupled with state control.

The Commissioners estimate that for the foundation and upkeep of each intermediate College of their approved pattern a capital of 20 lakhs would be needed and they want some 40 such colleges. They appeal to our rich men that they should singly or by a combination of two or three endow such a college. We have not got a sufficient number of such rich men to provide so many colleges. Our opinion is that those who have money to spare for educational purposes should pool their resources for the promotion of technological education and Government should also reserve big education grants for such education. For general education may be somehow financed as it has been hitherto but technological education cannot be promoted without big donations and grants from private persons and Government.

Are the College Fees Charged in Bengal Small?

The Commissioners have expressed the opinion that the fees charged in Bengal are small. Coming to details they say—

At the most expensive of the colleges—Presidency College—they are only 12 rupees *per mensem* or about £10 *per annum* the normal fee is 5 rupees *per mensem* or £4 *per annum*. Smallness and bigness are relative terms. The Commissioners ignore the fact of the very low income of the vast majority of the people of India and even of the majority of the *bhadralok* class seeking high education. The average income of an Indian is £2 *per annum*. And Sir James Meston the Government of India Finance Member said in his last Budget speech

There can be no question that the Rs 1 600

minimum is *no v* [It is ours] a serious hardship and we have decided to raise the taxable limit of income to Rs 2 000. We estimate that we shall thereby lose 75 lakhs or £300 000 but we shall relieve no fewer than 23 000 petty assesses out of the total number (391 000) of people who pay the tax now.

This shows that the great majority of income tax payers had incomes below Rs 2 000. Those who formerly were and now are exempt form a still larger majority. It is they whose wards for the most part seek high education. Agricultural incomes being exempt from income tax the zamindars or land holders do not pay that tax—and they are also as a class not known to be votaries of high education though there are some graduates among them. So in order to judge whether college fees in Bengal are small or not we have to keep in view the average income of Indians and the average income of the middle class *bhadralok* families. A comparison of incomes and college fees in England with those in India will show that fees here are not small but large.

The Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London known as the Haldane Commission informs us that in London the fees for a full three years course for a first degree vary from 120 guineas in Engineering to 69 guineas in Arts at University College from 155 guineas in Engineering to 68 guineas in Arts at King's College from £135 in mining to £108 in Science at the Imperial College and from 114 guineas in Science to 87 guineas in Arts at Bedford College (P 152). Further the fees charged for a full three years course for day students at the London Polytechnics vary from £45 at the South Western Polytechnic to £18 at the Northern Polytechnic for all Faculties. These Polytechnics provide a course which terminates in the same degree as an apparently identical course at some of the colleges mentioned above. The charge for a full degree course at the East London College in any Faculty is £10 10s a year. Thus the highest fees in London for three years are 155 guineas or £162 15s and the lowest £18. In Bengal the highest fees in three

the hurry. Whether there is also any occult explanation or not, we do not know.

"Immediate expenses for 1,500 students" would be Rs 7,00,000 and "additional cost for 500 additional students in Dacca," Rs 80,000, total Rs 7,80,000.

The Vice Chancellor is to be a salaried officer. "Recognising the extreme difficulty of creating a university of a new type we think that Government should be prepared to offer to the first Vice Chancellor a salary of Rs 4,000 a month, that, in addition to allowances for such travelling as may be necessary to the business of the university, a house should be assigned to him, and he should contribute five per cent of his salary towards his retiring allowance, the funds of the university meeting this with an equivalent annual contribution. He should stand high in the order of precedence. All this means that his emoluments would amount to not less than Rs 4,500 *per mensem*,—more than the salary of a High Court Judge. The reason alleged for offering such a large sum is that "it is essential for the proper establishment of the University that this office should be filled by a man of the highest standing."

The salary of the Dacca Vice Chancellor would be equivalent at the present rate of exchange to about £4,400 of English money, and, at the former rate of exchange (£1 = Rs 15), to £3200. There are, besides, the free residence and the university contribution of Rs 2,400 per annum towards the retiring allowance. The total emoluments are much higher than what those scholars get who fill the combined office of principal and vice-chancellor in Scottish universities. Rev Sir John Herkless, D D, principal and vice-chancellor of St Andrews gets £1,790, Sir Donald Mac Alister, K C B, M D, D C L, principal and vice-chancellor of Glasgow, gets £2,000, Very Rev Sir G Adam Smith D D LL D, Litt D, vice-chancellor and principal of Aberdeen, gets £1,500 and residence, and Sir J Alfred Ewing, K C B M A, LL D, vice-chancellor and principal of Edinburgh, gets £1,610. It is not likely that the Dacca vice-chancellor would be a man of higher standing than these

scholars. Exile and separation allowances added to salary proper ought not to make his total emoluments double the salaries of the majority of Scottish vice-chancellors.

New Education Scheme As a Whole.

If Bengal gets the new scheme of secondary and university education sketched out by the Commissioners in its entirety, including, of course such large Government grants as would enable not only the present number of students to have facilities for education but would provide for the normal increase in the number of students, then in spite of certain drawbacks, it will do good in certain directions. But the scheme is so elaborate and intricate that it would be quite possible for bureaucrats to pick out certain parts which would suit their purpose and reject other parts which would be of advantage to the people. If they follow such a policy, the result would be very injurious.

General Education and Technological Education

English education was introduced into the country by such Indian pioneers as Raja Rammohun Roy. The real and substantial reason why Government wanted to give the people English education was that thereby the English administrators would have English knowing Indian assistants and the English exploiters would have English knowing Indian clerks, brokers, &c. There was a deeper reason, too. This is to be found in many publications of the days of the East India Company. One of these is a pamphlet entitled, 'Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain particularly with respect to Morals, and on the Means of improving it', written by Charles Grant, described as the Christian Director of the East India Company. Towards the end of this pamphlet, he wrote—*Wherever, we may venture to say, our principles and language are introduced our commerce will follow.* This is quite true, for the study of English books and contact and intercourse with Britishers in many ways have created new tastes, fashions and cravings, necessitating the purchase and

I am very glad indeed that Mr. Andrews has written as he has.

(2)

Commonwealth of Australia
Home and Territories Department
61 Spring St. Melbourne
13th May 1919

I have your note of the 10th May forwarding a copy of the August number of the Modern Review and have read with much interest the article therein by Mr. Andrews.

I have met the writer on several occasions when he has been passing through Australia en route to Fiji and have had long conversations with him in regard to the admission of Indians into Australia.

The general effect of what Mr. Andrews states regarding my conversation with him is correct though I do not remember saying anything that could be construed into a personal desire on my part that Indians should come to Australia. It would not have been proper for me as an official to express any views on that point either one way or another but I certainly did explain to Mr. Andrews that it was not the fault of our law or its administration that certain classes of Indians did not come here. I showed Mr. Andrews the Parliamentary Paper (House of Representatives 1905 No. 61 copy herewith) from which you will observe that the first communication on the subject was written when Mr. Deakin was Prime Minister but the arrangement was actually completed under the Government of Mr. Watson. It was shortly afterwards endorsed by the Government which was not in form an alteration of the law but a decision as to the method of the administration of the law which had the approval of all the political parties of the day. As far as the paper concerns India I invite your special attention to the letters of Mr. Watson 15th August 1904 and Lord Ampthill 17th October 1904.

I am unable to speak with personal knowledge regarding the attitude of the Universities though Mr. Andrews' statements in the article are in accord with what he told me as the result of his conversation with various university authorities.

It will be of interest to you and your correspondent to know that the matter has since the date of Mr. Andrews' paper been advanced a further stage. At the Imperial Conference of 1917 (at which Australia was not represented) a resolution was carried accepting the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions and at the Imperial Conference of 1918 at which Australia was represented the matter was discussed more in detail and resolutions were passed of which I attach a copy.

These resolutions having been considered by this Government a communication was sent to the Imperial Government intimating that with

the desire to give full effect to the spirit which animated the Conference this Government is now prepared to extend the former arrangement so as to permit Indian merchants, students and tourists to be admitted to Australia on pass ports and to remain here indefinitely without the need of further application so long as they preserve the capacity in respect of which the passport was issued. We emphasize the importance of adhering strictly to our meaning of the term merchant which in our view does not include retail shopkeepers or hawkers but should be confined to persons engaged in wholesale over sea trade between India and Australia.

It was further agreed that Indians already permanently domiciled in Australia might bring in a wife and minor children but nothing was said which would permit of the immigration of Indians of the labouring classes to Australia.

The last paragraph but one of the second letter is very important. The information contained therein ought to have been but has not hitherto been officially published in India. It shows that students, merchants and tourists may remain in Australia indefinitely without any registration as long as they keep to their capacity or profession. Before the law was that they had to register themselves. Now that is done away and they are treated as gentlemen. The last paragraph of this letter is also important. Intending emigrants should note the explanation of the word merchant and also that Indians of the labouring class are not permitted to emigrate to Australia.

New Universities and Lowering of Standards

With reference to the University which is to be established at Dacca in the not distant future we find the following passage in the Calcutta University Commission Report:

Mr. Cunningham fears that competition with Calcutta (unless Dacca is artificially fed by the affiliation with it of colleges from Eastern Bengal) will lead to a lowering of standards. The same fear was expressed in Great Britain when the modern universities were created from 1880 onwards. But those fears have not been realised on the contrary the standards have steadily risen. We may point out that if it be comes known that a university gives cheap degrees the holders of these degrees will soon find that they stand less chance in competition for an appointment than graduates of more scrupulous universities and that the University itself will lose in popularity except with the

weakest candidates the best students will in their own interests both intellectual and worldly go to the University which maintains not the lowest but the highest standards of teaching and of examination. If Dacca cannot compete in the open market and by fair means with Calcutta in the same way that the new universities in the British Empire compete with London and the older universities and with each other our life will have faded from the inside. But we do not think it will fail.

We have quoted the above with a particular object in view. Among the older universities of India Calcutta generally shows a relatively high percentage of passes. In the Madras and Allahabad Universities there is not unoften such a high percentage of failures that almost every year there is an outcry in our papers against these universities. On the other hand Anglo-Indian papers have repeatedly sought to discredit the cheap degrees of Calcutta and we have not yet forgotten the resolution brought forward by a European Fellow of this university for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the alarming increase in the percentages of passes (we do not remember the exact language) though we do not know whether the committee appointed in pursuance thereof have reported or not. When several universities are equally old it is often difficult to say whether those universities are better which show large passes or those are better which show large failures without knowing various other particulars. Some universities may be weaker in teaching and at the same time more reluctant to pass candidates than others. This may account for the apparently different standards of examination or there may be a real difference in the standards. Some universities again may for political or administrative reasons show great enthusiasm in *plucking* candidates and some may be zealous in passing candidates for financial reasons or for attracting more students.

But when a new university established in the neighbourhood of an old one passes a higher percentage of candidates than its older neighbour it is generally thought that it is cheapening its degrees though a unitary university which both teaches and examines its own students may be natural

ly able to show a somewhat higher percentage of passes than a neighbouring big affiliating university without really lowering standards or contravening correct educational principles for in a unitary university the students know what type of questions they may expect and what kind of answers is considered the ideal one.

The occasion for all these remarks is that our attention has been drawn to the fact that though the Hindu University at Benares passed 76 per cent of its candidates and the Allahabad University below 40 per cent at the last B.A. examination nearly all of the Benares candidates had previously passed the Intermediate Examination of the Allahabad University and belonged to the same race and class as the Allahabad B.A. candidates of the year and also that the B.A. examination of the Hindu University in 1919 was conducted on exactly the same courses and text books as the B.A. of Allahabad in the same year but by examiners and moderators of results chosen by the Hindu University. The difference in the proportion of passes in the two Universities is therefore striking. The authorities of the Hindu University can prevent the outside public from drawing unfavourable conclusions from this difference only by impressing the public with the superior teaching capacity and the high character of its teachers.

British Capital and Reforms

The British exploiters of India have all along pretended to be afraid that the carrying out of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms would jeopardise the investment of British capital in India. So they have said that in case the reform proposals materialised they would not only not invest fresh capital in business enterprises in India but would withdraw from the country the capital already invested therein. But in his evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee Sir James Meeson has said that he has no apprehensions regarding the effect of the proposed reforms on the 400 millions of British capital in India. And in fact there is ample proof independent of the personal opinion of any man that the fears expressed by British capitalists are false and pre-

tended *The Empire* of Calcutta has furnished this proof. It has in a manner asserted that whereas the representatives in London of the Anglo Indian (old style) community have been agitating in England against the reforms and declaring that they would be fatal to its interests, the members of the community by not carrying on a similar agitation here and by their conduct in other directions have given the lie to the assertions of their representatives at home. But let us quote some of the exact words used by the *Empire*:

'And lest it be imagined that our accusation against the community amounts only to a charge of supineness in a crisis we would again refer to a fact which has apparently not yet won the notice of any of our daily contemporaries to prove that this support of the Reforms Bill has not merely been passive. A remarkable phenomenon of the moment is the flotation of literally dozens of new industrial companies in Calcutta and Bombay, and we venture to declare that British brains and capital are responsible for the success of ninety-nine per cent of these flotations. And so while those who claim to speak for us at Home are assuring Mr. Montagu that the non-official European community in India is so distrustful of reckless constitutional reform as to be unwilling to invest either thought or money in the country's industry, the community is by its actions giving its spokesmen the lie.'

A lie it is, whoever may be responsible for it.

Indian Evidence before the Joint Committee

It is encouraging to note that there is complete unanimity as regards one very important point in the evidence of the members of the different Indian delegations who have spoken on it. They have all insisted that the principle of responsibility should be introduced in the central Government also. That is to say they have rightly demanded that the Government of India must not be allowed to remain an absolute autocracy uncontrolled by the representatives of the people; some subjects should be transferred to the Indian minister or ministers in the Government of India too. The case for fiscal autonomy, for a joint purse in the provinces for fixing a brief period at the end of which India should have full responsible Government and

other important points have been ably put before the committee by various delegates.

We have greatly disliked the special cables sent out by men of this party or that claiming that its own men have splendidly impressed the committee but that some one else has spoiled the whole thing. We wonder what good such cables are likely to do. Were they intended to do any good?

Deficiency of Good Sense and Self respect

Mr. Eardley Norton who can write piquant reminiscences and make money by professional advocacy recently wrote a palpably spiteful article on Lord Sinha. This has been reproduced even in many Indian-owned and Indian-edited newspapers without a word of comment as if it is wholly true and as if Lord Sinha has never done anything good for his country or is not doing any good work now. This thing is discreditable and shows deficiency of good sense and self respect. We do not mind Anglo Indians denouncing Indian renegades. But Lord Sinha is not a renegade. We have never refrained from criticising his public conduct or utterances whenever we considered them reprehensible and had space and time at our disposal but we do not subscribe to the view that he is a man of whom India or Bengal should be ashamed.

The New Education Member

The Honble Miran Muhammad Shafi who was at first appointed temporarily to have charge of the education portfolio of the Government of India has been made permanent. Though his past record has not been worthy of the approbation of his countrymen but rather the opposite, he is now in a position to do good work. Let him make amends for his past.

The Socialist Party on India's Freedom

Bombay, Aug 23

A Poona telegram states—A special cable to the *Kesari*, Poona from Mr. Kelkar, London says—The Annual Conference of the National Socialist Party held at Northampton on the 18th August passed a resolution on Mr. Hyndman's motion asking for the emancipation of India from British domination at an early

date in a manner to be peacefully arranged between the representatives of the overwhelming majority of Indians and the people of the United Kingdom"—Associated Press.

India is so big a country, its civilisation is so ancient and distinctive, and its potentiality is so great that the only future for it which can be contemplated with complete satisfaction is independence. But it is not yet ready for such a status. Both India and Britain ought to work in peace and friendliness for such a future for India.

High Prices

High prices rule everywhere in India, though we are naturally in possession of fuller information about Bengal than about the other provinces. It is not food alone which has become very dear, though the prices of food are higher than they were in days of famine in previous years, all the necessities of life have become very dear. A Mymensingh telegram, dated August 24, says—

The price of rice is daily rising throughout the district. To day ordinary Bahm and local rice is being sold at Rs 13 to Rs 13 8 a maund in this town. Reports of a very disquieting nature are coming from the interior where in some quarters prices of rice have risen from Rs 14 to Rs 14 8 and supply is not adequate to the requirements of the people. There was a good harvest of Aus paddy but the prospect of Aman paddy this year is very gloomy. It is apprehended that unless there be sufficient rains soon the crop will be a total failure in the district. On account of the abnormal fall of the rivers and want of thousands of bundles of cut jute plants have been left upon dry lands and are thus becoming useless.—Associated Press.

But Mymensingh is not the only district where rice is selling at prohibitive prices. The *Calcutta Gazette* for August 27 states that for a rupee $3\frac{1}{2}$ seers of rice can be had at Mymensingh, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in Brahmanbaria, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in Feni, 4 in Siliguri, Sirajganj, Dacca, Manikganj, Narayanganj, Jamalpur, Kishorganj and Tippera, and only slightly larger quantities in many other places.

Prohibitive prices of food and cloth cannot but affect public health, cloth being so dear in most districts that it is reported that in numerous places women have to shut themselves up in their cottages, huts or hovels during the day literally in a state of nudity.

Terrific Figures of Births and Deaths in Bengal

The latest birth and death statistics for the towns and districts of Bengal published in the *Calcutta Gazette* are for the month of May. From these we gather that in that month in the 72 towns containing 10,000 or more inhabitants, the number of births was 3,236, but the number of deaths was 7,369. Thus there were 4,133 more deaths than births. There were besides 147 still births. In the districts, excluding these towns, there were 78,721 births and 1,15,698 deaths. The deaths exceeded the births by 36,977. There were besides 3,059 still births.

In order that the population of Bengal may not die out, the first thing necessary is the bettering of the economic condition of the country by the improvement and extension of agriculture and manufacturing industries. The next is better sanitation of towns and villages. The multiplication of trained physicians and of hospitals and dispensaries is also an urgent necessity. Considering the need, the estimate of the yearly increase in the number of doctors recently given by Lord Ronaldshay cannot be considered at all satisfactory. There must be more medical colleges and schools.

Month by month the vital statistics for the whole of India should be published in the *Gazette of India*. Statistics of plague seizures and deaths alone, or the occasional publication of the figures for mortality from influenza, will not do. We must know what numbers are being carried off also by fevers, cholera, small pox, respiratory diseases, diarrhoea and dysentery, &c. The Indian States also should publish such monthly figures. And these statistics should be supplied free to all newspapers.

Persons Killed by Wild Animals and Snakes

As if malnutrition and diseases were not quite competent to do the bidding of King Yama the god of death, we have quite a number of wild animals and venomous snakes qualifying year after year with commendable regularity for titles, decorations and medals at his hands. In the calendar year 1918 the number of persons

killed by wild animals and snakes in British India was 24,764. Of these wild animals accounted for 2,164 and snakes 22,600.

The case of Dr Ghosh of Peshawar

Public attention has been drawn to the great injustice done to numerous persons in the Punjab and they have received public sympathy, because they have had some sort of trial and the judgments against them were published in the press. But the injustice done to Dr Charu Chandra Ghosh of Peshawar has not received sufficient public attention and he has not been the object of public sympathy because he has been deported without trial and the grounds on which he has been thus punished are unknown. He is still in detention in Burma. He should be restored to freedom immediately and ample reparation made for the pecuniary and other loss inflicted on him. We know Dr Ghosh personally. He is not a fool that he would have anything to do with conspiracies (supposing such existed in the Punjab) for the overthrow of British rule.

Trial of the ex Kaiser

The ex Kaiser of Germany may be all that his victorious enemies say he is but there have been wicked would be conquerors of the world before him none of whom were ever brought to trial by their enemies. Is international law a sufficient reality and does it sanction such a trial? The trial of the ex Kaiser would be impolitic in any case. It would be likely to surround his devoted head with the halo of martyrdom and may lead to the formation of a strong pro Kaiser party in Germany.

Incidentally it has a tragic interest for that though numerous alleged political offenders in the Punjab were deprived of the right of being defended by counsel of their own choice the ex Kaiser accused of every possible crime and atrocity and described as the arch-enemy of mankind is to have that right.

Turkey

It is feared that the Ottoman Empire may be parcelled out among its victors—Germany and Austria-Hungary have

not been so parcelled out nor any of the Balkan states allied with the defeated party. Turkey ought not to be cut up and distributed among the victors as spoils of war. The victors cannot point to any crimes or atrocities committed by her which cannot be matched by similar or worse things in the recent history of Germany and some of the Balkan states. As regards past history western Christian peoples have been notorious for worse and more extensive work of extermination than any that has been alleged against the Turks. As for Turkey's power to govern herself the Young Turk party has really had no fair chance to prove its capacity. For no sooner were its leaders in the ascendant than European diplomacy embroiled Turkey in two devastating Balkan wars. The Turks are no doubt either Asiatics or of Asiatic extraction and are not Christians but these facts are not crimes. It would be difficult to point out a worse mockery of self-determination than the dismemberment of Turkey were it to take place. And it would be highly impolitic too. Moslem discontent long smouldering all over the Orient would be likely to blaze up at such an unrighteous blow at the Islamic world.

Relief for Distressed Panjabis

The families of many of those who have lost their lives in or as a result of the late disturbances in the Punjab or have been transported or imprisoned are in great distress. The noble appeal made on their behalf by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been very generously responded to by Bombay. But more money is wanted which ought to come from the other provinces though they are all in the grip of penury and famine. Relief is being given by the Allahabad Seva Samiti and Swami Shradhdhananda. Contributions are to be sent to Lal Bahadur Das, Treasurer, Seva Samiti Allahabad.

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From Indian Education in 1917-18 published by the Bureau of Education in India one finds that the total direct expenditure in that year for the education of male pupils in all kinds and grades of institutions

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Expenditure for the Education of the Two Sexes

From 'Indian Education in 1917-18', published by the Bureau of Education in India, one finds that the total direct expenditure in that year for the education of male pupils in all kinds and grades of institutions

was Rs 735,21,383, and that for the education of female pupils was Rs 1,01 47 168. This shows that the people and Government spent for the education of girls and women less than one seventh of the amount spent for the education of boys and men. This furnishes one of the measures of our backwardness and weakness. But how can one expect enthusiasm for the education of girls and women when one finds plenty of admirers for silly, lying and cowardly cartoons and satirical writings directed against educated girls and women? Not that the advocates of women's education and progress care for these nefarious productions. But they create a miasmic atmosphere which prevents the generality of the people from being enthusiastic in the cause.

King's Medals for Police Officers

Recently the Governor of Bengal gave King's medals to nine police officers in Bengal for conspicuous ability and courage displayed at the risk of their lives. Of these eight were Bengalis and one an Englishman. Indian police officers have shown again and again that they are in no respect inferior to European officers. In the detection of crime in particular their help is indispensable to Government. Colonel Sleemans being rare in British Indian history. Still the highest grades of the service are a virtual monopoly of white officers. If Indian officers were treated with justice they would certainly develop still greater ability and intrepidity.

Sir Ashutosh Mukherji's Defence of Post graduate Teaching

At a recent meeting of the Calcutta University Senate Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, who is the president of the Councils of Postgraduate Teaching in both Arts and Sciences and is also the president of almost all the Boards of Studies, spoke at some length in defence of Postgraduate teaching as at present given by the Calcutta University. There was much exaggeration and some vituperation in his speech, the elimination of both of which would have strengthened his case. We think it undeniable that it does not argue the highest

competency in the staff that none of them are *practically* thought to be equal in scholarship to Sir A. Mukherji, who has to give his best energies and time to judicial work. If no university professor, whose whole business ought to be research, study and teaching, can equal another man who is a High Court Judge and has to do the administrative work of many Boards, Councils and Committees, set and moderate many question papers, and examine answers in many subjects, the conclusion is irresistible that the postgraduate teachers are mediocrities, in scholarship and manhood combined, say what Sir Ashutosh will. Not being votaries of the cult of neo-sarvism, we naturally think that Sir Ashutosh is not a demigod and therefore he can not be a profound and up to date scholar in so many subjects. Therefore, there ought to be many university professors superior to him in scholarship in many subjects. If there be such, why are they not presidents of any council and many boards? If there be not, why speak in superlative terms of the whole staff?

No one ought to be a university professor in Arts or Science who can not give his undivided allegiance to the goddess of learning. Practising lawyers or would be practising lawyers ought not to be entrusted with the work of postgraduate teaching. Law is a jealous mistress. Not less jealous is Learning. "We cannot serve both the goddess of learning and Mammon."

Students have personally complained to us of the incapacity of some professors. Other complaints from them have appeared in the press. There has also been much criticism in the press and on the platform. It should not be taken for granted that all the critics are actuated by personal animosity. Complaints ought to be thoroughly enquired into, and what is wrong righted.

We think the best defence of the existing system of postgraduate teaching lies along four lines of argument. (1) A far larger number of students (1589 in 1917-18) now receive postgraduate education than was the case or could be possible under the old system, thus making it possible to add more to the sum total of the intellectual wealth of the country than

before, (2) There is now more original research both by professors and students than under the old system (the work of eminent men like Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray is independent of any system) in consequence of which there is an atmosphere of original thought and work. (3) The existing system and arrangements give greater opportunities to Indian graduates of Indian American and British universities to prove their capacity as teachers and original workers than the former system (these opportunities are found to react beneficially on the students also as if they find men of their own race distinguishing themselves as teachers and original workers that fact encourages them more in the pursuit of knowledge than the success of foreign scholars in these fields). (4) The present system and arrangements have made the teaching of many more subjects possible than under the old system thus giving students greater facilities to follow their individual bent.

Reforming energies should be directed to the prevention of squandering of public money and to the weeding out of superfluous and incompetent teachers.

Deaths from Influenza in India and in England and Wales

Dr Addison the British Minister of Health said in the House of Commons that during the six months ended 31st March 1919 in England and Wales alone there were 136,000 deaths from influenza. England and Wales contain a population of 35 millions. The population of India is 315 millions. So if the death rate had been the same here as in England and Wales in six months the deaths from influenza in India ought to have been nine times more or about 12,24,000 or 4,08,000 in two months. But what is the estimate of Major Norman White I. M. S. Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India? It is that in one season in 1918 not less than six million persons died of influenza in India, the vast majority within the space of two months. So the death rate from influenza in India in 1918 was fifteen times what it was in England. The reasons are not far to seek. We have a much

lower resisting power than Englishmen owing to our lifelong and chronic semi starvation and there is woful lack of facilities for medical treatment to boot.

Higher Salaries for European I. M. S. Men

Government have not published the report of the Medical Service Committee. It may be published after final orders have been passed on it. That is a peculiar way of consulting public opinion. But as public opinion in India can be flouted with impunity the report could as well have been published now. In the meantime in a Notification published in the *Gazette of India* August 13 1919 we find the following —

No. 350.—In accordance with the orders received from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India sanctioning an increase in the pay of officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employment the pay of the various appointments concerned will when they are held by officers of that Service be fixed at the rates shown in the accompanying statement with effect from the 1st December 1918.

2. Exchange compensation allowance when admissible is payable in addition to the rates referred to above.

3. The present classification of Civil and Agency Surgeons as 1st class and 2nd class is abolished with effect from the 1st December 1918.

4. The object of the revision is to attract to the service European candidates with the highest professional qualifications and the question whether Indian candidates entering permanent service after 1st December 1918 shall be eligible for these increased rates of pay and if so to what extent and under what conditions has been reserved for further consideration. All Indian officers already in permanent service on 1st December 1918 will be eligible for the rates of pay now sanctioned.

Of course as India is the country of the Indian Indian candidates with the highest professional qualifications need not be attracted to the service and so it has not yet been decided whether they are to get the increased rates of pay. As for attracting Europeans with the highest professional qualifications the following paragraph from a letter written to India by Mr A. P. Gonzalez will be found instructive —

Some years ago the Government of the then N. W. Provinces enjoyed the services of Mr

Hankin a scientist of European reputation on a salary of Rs 800 1000 per month whereas for the same position the military officer draws Rs 1500 1800. But the Government of India acting no doubt on the advice of its medical officers who are distinguished members of the I.M.S. did not wish such specialists to be brought to India as professors because in the words of the resolution "It seems doubtful to the Government of India if officers so recruited would make as suitable lecturers in medical schools as medical officers of the Army."

Why doubtful pray? It is well known that qualified and competent non service men can be had to do the work of the I.C.S. I.M.S. I.E.S. and other Imperial services on much lower salaries than their members get.

Cancellation of Fiji Indentures Postponed

In a communication to the press Mr M. K. Gandhi states —

Following close on the heels of the cable from South Africa comes one from Fiji which reads as follows — "The Indian Imperial Association regrets Fiji Government postpone cancellation Indian Indentures Association strongly protests. We thought after the Viceroyal pronouncement about Fiji that we had seen the last of Fiji indentures with which Messrs Andrews and Pearson have made us so familiar. It is evident from the cablegram that the Government in the Fiji Islands had decided upon immediate cancellation and that they have now altered their decision and intend postponing the cancellation. It is to be hoped that the Government of India would throw some light on this change of programme. The public are entitled to view with the strongest suspicion any postponement of the cancellation of indentures."

This is intolerable. Some member of the Viceroy's Council ought to ask a question to give an occasion to Government to make a statement after which the public will be in a position to decide what ought to be done.

Franchise for Women

At a public meeting of the women of Bombay Mrs. Petit read out the following telegram sent by her to Lord Selbourne, Chairman Joint Parliamentary Committee Government of India Bill —

"Bombay women favouring women's suffrage have read with pain and surprise Lord Southam's evidence before your committee franchise to women in India is not desired

by women themselves. That belief is not founded on fact. Largely attended Indian women's meeting recently held in Bombay enthusiastically claimed franchise. Similarly various women's representations were submitted to Southborough Committee. Women ask no favour but claim right and justice. If the vote is denied it will mean serious check to women's advancement in India."

Sir Sankarwar Datt has promised to advocate the enfranchisement of Indian women during his sojourn in England. The Bombay ladies themselves have sent to England as their delegates Mrs. Hirabai Ardeshir Tata and her daughter Miss Mithibai Ardeshir Tata B.A. Cobden Medalist. This should advance the cause of women much more than any male advocate.

The Depressed Classes in Madras

According to an order issued by the Government of Madras out of a total of 8157 schools under public management in the Presidency, the children of Panchamas and other depressed classes are admitted in only 609. This is a very undesirable state of things. The expenditure of public money ought to be for the benefit of all classes of people equally. One main reason for the policy of exclusion is the opposition of the higher castes but the attitude of the depressed classes themselves raises a difficulty of almost equal dimensions viz. the inherited and ingrained reluctance of the Panchamas themselves to assert their claims where they conflict with traditional usage and caste custom. In these circumstances it is some encouragement to learn that some suggestions concerning the educational progress of the depressed classes have been submitted by the Secretary of the Servants of India Society Madras Branch to the Madras Government. They include among others the starting of Panchama elementary schools throughout the Presidency and in every locality which is inhabited by 100 or more Panchama families within a radius of two miles and the organization of Co-operative Credit Societies and Stores especially in urban areas. The removal of the restrictions regarding the use by the Panchamas of public roads, public wells, etc. is also urged.

The N-W. Frontier Scandal

The disgraceful and disastrous breakdown of the medical arrangements and other discreditable failures in Mesopotamia have not sufficed to kill the myth of the wonderful efficiency of the Anglo Indian bureaucracy. The scandals concerning medical arrangements and provisioning in connection with the expedition to Afghanistan are also likely to give only a rude shock to the myth. But even if killed several times it will rise again phoenix like from its ashes and bureaucrats will continue to believe in their own perfect efficiency and in the incapacity of the people of India.

"Chicago Battle"

Mr P. W. Wilson the special correspondent of the *London Daily News* wrote from New York on July 30th in part as follows —

Three days race rioting at Chicago has resulted in 29 deaths and about 500 certified wounded.

These troubles following the less serious outbreak at Washington leave an intensely bitter feeling especially among blacks throughout the country. The effect in New York was such that a two days patriotic concert in Carnegie Hall where a negro regimental band was to play only drew an audience of fifteen persons and despite the recent fame of these coloured troops the demonstration was abandoned.

A NEGRO ON THE BEACH

In Washington the riots began because offences against white women led to no conviction. There as in Chicago the negroes secured firearms and ammunition and did their full share of wounding. In Chicago the ostensible reason for the riots was the accidental presence of a negro bathier on part of the lake shore reserved for whites.

But this is not the whole story. Last year Chicago imported about 60,000 negroes for common labour. No special housing was provided by an admittedly ineffective municipal government. The negroes therefore overflowed into the white streets thus provoking the kind of animosity sometimes felt in East London owing to the presence of aliens.

Chicago is quite accustomed to vendettas especially among Italians and there is constant strife between Highland and Lowland Persians. Hence her inability to handle coloured people suddenly relieved from the social restraints of the South. Last July the President issued a grave appeal against lynching. The Chicago riots

occurred on the actual anniversary of this fine document which unfortunately has passed unheeded.

RECORD OF LYNCHINGS

From 1883 to 1917 3,740 lynchings have occurred of which 2,743 were coloured victims and 997 white. During 1918 an additional 68 negroes and four whites were lynched often under indescribable circumstances.

On the fundamental question of inter marriage the United States takes a view opposite to that of Brazil where the races mingle freely and are producing an entirely new nation.

The most serious religious riots in India pale into insignificance before these facts. Yet there has not been any O'Dwyerism or Rowlattism in America nor has anybody contended that Americans having proved themselves incapable of self government some foreign nation must play the part of earthly providence there.

Are European Officials Friendly to the Depressed Classes?

The facts brought out in an editorial note in the *Servant of India* relating to the defeat of a resolution in the Bombay legislative council asking for increased facilities to the depressed classes should be more widely known than they seem to be. The Bombay Government allowed the official members to vote freely on the resolution but

only one member (Mr Gebbie) exercised the freedom in favor of the untouchables while as many as seven used the freedom to vote down the resolution. The official Noes were the Adyocite-General, Major General Jennings, Mr Robertson, Mr Rennie, Mr Sale, Mr Mountford, and Mr Sathe. The resolution was ultimately defeated by 20 votes to 14 but the decision is indicative of the official and European rather than the non-official and Indian opinion. Left to the non-official Indians the vote would have gone 13 for and 11 against. It must also be noted that among the non-officials who cast their vote against the resolution is Sir Dunshaw Pettit who only wanted to go farther than the resolution before the Council and the non-official majority would have increased slightly if he had recorded his vote in favour of the resolution. Indians unfitted for self rule is often inferred from their narrow views in social matters should not the narrow views in European officials be held to make them unfit for other rule? Is rule over others? In non-Brahman circles civil rules are too readily credited with liberal leanings at least in social matters. The vote on

this resolution should give them furiously to thank!

How the Reforms will Increase Public Expenditure

What advantage the Montagu Chelmsford reforms may bring to India cannot yet be definitely or approximately forecasted. But that they will lead to the increase of public expenditure is certain. Already, partly in view of the reforms and lest Indians use their power (should they get any) to cut down expenditure in the direction of the salaries of the European services these salaries have been increased considerably in one service after another, and there is provision in the Reform Bill that no authority but the Secretary of State is to have power to alter them. In addition a Memorandum issued by the India Office shows the additional expenditure affecting Indian revenues involved by the Bill.

Clause 2 Governor's Salaries—It is not proposed to increase the salaries of the Presidency Governors or of the Lieutenant Governors of the United Provinces Punjab and Behar and Orissa though the three latter will acquire under the proposals of the Bill the status of Governor. The increased annual expenditure under this clause will therefore be confined to the enhancement of the salaries of the heads of the Central Provinces and Assam. The present pay of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces is Rs 62 000 (£4 133)* per annum and that of the Chief Commissioner of Assam Rs 60 000 (£4 000). It is proposed to increase the salary of the former to Rs 72 000 (£4 800) and that of the latter to Rs 66 000 (£4 400) a total increase of Rs 16 000 (£1 066) per annum.

Clause 3—Additional expenditure will be involved by the appointment of Ministers in all the Provinces referred to in Clause 2 of the Bill and of Members of Council in the United Provinces the Punjab the Central Provinces and

Assam. The salary of neither the Members of Council for provinces where they do not at present exist nor of Ministers for any province has at present been fixed. Under the terms of the Bill clause 3 (1) the salaries of Ministers are to be determined by the Governor subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in each case. The salary of Members of the Executive Council of the Lieutenant Governor of Behar and Orissa is Rs 60 000 (£4 000) each per annum. For Assam one Member of Council is proposed on a salary of Rs 42 000 (£2 800). Assuming that this proposal is accepted and that there are two Members of Council in each of the three other provinces where they do not now exist and that their salary is fixed at the same figure as those in Behar and Orissa the annual extra expenditure involved will be £26 800.

Clause 26—The Bill also provides for the appointment of a Public Service Commission consisting of not more than five members including the chairman. It is contemplated that these will be salaried appointments but no salary has at present been fixed and the question of making the posts pensionable is left for subsequent determination.

Clause 27 provides for the appointment by the Secretary of State of the Auditor General. The salary proposed for this appointment is Rs 60 000 (£4 000). The salary of the existing Comptroller and Auditor General is Rs 54 000 (£3 600) per annum.

No estimates are given of pensionary charges likely to be incurred from Indian Revenues on account of appointments of Ministers and Members of Executive Councils. The latter at present draw no pensions if they were non-officials before appointment and if members of services they fall under the ordinary rules relating to such cases.

[*The sterling equivalent of a rupee is in all cases in this Memorandum treated as 1s 4d.]

Autonomy for Portuguese India

Autonomy, says the *Bengalee* has been granted by the Republic of Portugal to Goa Damao and Diu. The event will gladden the hearts of all lovers of freedom.

An Urgent Request to Our Subscribers

When writing for change of address complaining of non receipt of the *Review* or on any other business our subscribers are requested kindly to quote their "Subscriber's Number," *hand written* on the wrappers of the *Review*.



सङ्गीत

MUSIC

By the courtesy of the artist Mr. H. alal Babbarji

THE MODERN REVIEW

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WHOLE

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BUDDHA AND YASODHARA

By THE SISTER NIVEDITA

FAR away in Northern India stood the old capital of Kapilavastu. And there on a day more than twenty five centuries ago the city and palace were filled with rejoicings for the fact that the young prince Gautama was born. The king had given the usual handsome presents to the servants who brought the news and to everyone who had done anything however trifling and now he was seated in an inner room waiting anxiously while a group of wise men worked over papers and books and strange instruments together.

What were they doing do you ask? A very funny thing. They were reckoning the position of the stars at the little one's birth and reading the story of his future life from them. Strange as this sounds it is a very old custom in India and is faithfully carried out to this day. This star prophecy is called a man's horoscope. And I know Hindus who possess the names and horoscopes of their forefathers for thirteen hundred years back!

It took these wise men of Kapilavastu a long time to work out the horoscope of the young prince for the promise that they read there was so extraordinary that they had to be very sure that they were all agreed beyond the possibility of a mistake before they announced it. At last they came and stood before the king.

Well said he anxiously will the child live?

He will live Maharahmah replied the oldest of the astrologers.

'Ah' said the king. It is well. Knowing that he could wait patiently for the rest.

He will live repeated the wise man taking up his tale but if this horoscope is cast aright on the seventh day from now his mother Queen Mava will die. And that shall be the sign to you O King that your son is either to be the greatest monarch on earth or stung by the woes of men is to abandon the world and become a great religious teacher. Then he handed over the papers to the father and withdrew with his companions.

The Queen will die—a Great King—or a

religious teacher these words echoed and re-echoed in the ears of the sovereign as he sat alone and thought over the prophecy. The terrible event that was to be the sign scarcely seemed more awful to him than the picture that the last words conjured up—A religious teacher—a beggar—the words were one and the same. The king shuddered. But stay! The words had been *stung by the woes of men* he will abandon the world—My son shall never know the woes of men said the father with determination feeling that he could thus force him to the destiny that he preferred that of a mighty conqueror.

On the seventh day the soul of Queen Mava passed away even as the wise men had said. Every tenderness and care had been lavished on her during that last week but to no purpose. On the day foretold she went to sleep like a happy child and woke no more.

Then amidst King Suddhodana's grief there was an added feeling of anxiety for he was sure now that the astrologers had told the truth and he was determined to save his son from the fate of a beggar when he might instead of that become the richest and most powerful sovereign in the world.

Those about the boy as he grew up could well believe that some wonderful future was in store for him. He was so bright and full of fun so clever at books and games and above all he would give so much love in a word or a glance that all who were near him grew devoted to him and he had no rivals. He was full of pity, as they always said of him. He would nurse a broken winged bird back to life with endless care he could never bring himself to shoot dumb creatures for sport with his bow and arrows like his friends the young nobles of Kapilavastu. He did not think it manly he said to rejoice in the pain and sorrow of the little brothers. So he knew the trouble that comes upon one who is wounded by an arrow but of no other kind of misery had he ever heard. His home was a palace. Round it lay a garden and this again opened into a great park.

dreaded. This was not life in which his son was moving but a play, a dream. Truth is better than any falsehood and sooner or later the thirst for realities must awaken in the prince.

Even so it happened. One day Gautama ordered his chariot and bade the driver take him through the city that lay beyond the walls—his own city of Kapilavastu the capital of his future kingdom. The amazed charioteer obeyed. It was not his place to refuse. Yet he dreaded the anger of the king when he should know.

They went into Kapilavastu and that day Prince Gautama saw life as it really was for the first time. He saw the little children at play in the busy streets. In the rows of open shops called the bazar the merchants sat and bargained with customers about the goods that lay before them. The embroiderer and the potter and the brass smith sat cross legged on their counters hard at work while in apprentice would pull the string that worked the bellows hidden in the mud floor—that the fire might burn up and heat the metal—or turned the wheel for the potter's use. Up and down trudged the weary looking carriers with the loads. Here and there a monk passed holding his long staff and glistening white with ashes. Ill fed dogs snarled at one another over scraps of food and screeled moved even for the bullock carts that trundled in from the country with their loads of fruit and grain and cotton.

There were very few women and those not young for the time was towards noon and the morning bath was over. Let a girl now and then passed them perhaps with her veil down and the great brass jar on her head in which she was carrying water to her home.

But the streets were full of colour nevertheless for part of the dress of men in the East is the shawl or chudder of brilliant hue and woven of silk or wool thrown across the left shoulder and brought under the right arm. Hence in a town thoroughfare though there is none of the musical tinkle of women's feet there is abundance of pale-green and rose of purple and yellow and turquoise blue and the passing crowds are always bright to look upon. And Gautama turned to his charioteer and said: 'I see here Labour and Poverty and Hunger—yet so much Beauty and Love and Joy are mingled with them—surely in spite of them life is very sweet.'

He spoke musingly as one in conversation with himself and at the words 'The Three Woes of Men—Weariness and Disease and Death—' drew near to him. The great moment in Prince Gautama's life had come.

First came Weariness. It came as an old old man with bald head and toothless gums and trembling hands. There was no light in his blind and sightless eyes, there was no hearing in his ears. Weariness seemed to have made him

into the grave of a man. Leaning on a crutch he held out a palsied hand for alms.

The prince leant forward and gave eagerly—gave far more than the old man could have dreamt of asking. He felt as if his very soul were drowning. 'O Chhandakā,' he cried to his charioteer. 'What is it? What is it? What ails him?'

'Nay,' said Chhandakā soothingly, 'it is nothing. The man is merely very old.'

Old, said Gautama, thinking of his father's grey hairs and of the venerable ministers of state. But old people are not all like this!

Yes, said the charioteer, if they are only old enough.

My father? said the prince though the words nearly choked him—'My father? Yasodhara? We ourselves here?'

All men, said the charioteer solemnly, are subject to old age and old age if it goes far enough will end always thus.

Gautama was silent, overwhelmed with horror and with pity. It was only for a moment however and there stood beside the chariot one whose whole skin was covered with pale pink patches terrible to see and the hand that he held out had lost many of its joints. Most of us would have covered our eyes and hurried from the spot. But this was not the impulse of the prince. His brother, he said in rich tones trembling with sympathy and reverence as he gave him a coin.

It is a leper, said Chhandakā as the man started in surprise at the gentleness of Gautama's voice. 'It is a leper—let us drive on.'

And what is that Chhandakā? said Gautama.

It is one who is overtaken by disease, said Chhandakā.

Disease, disease, what is that? said the prince.

Sir, it is an ill that befalls the body, none knows how or why. It destroys comfort. It makes a man cold in the height of summer or hot in the midst of mountain snows. One sleeps like a stone under its influence. Another goes mad with excitement. In some cases the body itself drops to pieces little by little. In others it maintains its own form but shrinks till the bones are visible. Let again it swells and grows hideous in its size. Such is Disease. No man knows whence it comes or whether it is driven and none of us know when it may attack ourselves.

And this is life—that life that I thought sweet! said Gautama. He was silent for a while. Then he looked up.

How can men get out of life? he said. 'What friend have they to release them?'

Death, said Chhandakā. See! there come the bearers of the dead carrying one to the riverside to burn.

The prince looked up and saw four strong men bearing a low bedstead on their shoulders,



BURDEN OF LIFE
From a plaster figure
By the courtesy of the artist
MR. DEVI PRASAD RAYCHOUHURI

From that time other names dropped from him and he was known as the Buddha or Blessed One

In that moment of supreme illumination he learnt that the thirst for life was the cause of all wretchedness. By ridding themselves of desire men could attain to freedom. And he called Freedom by the name of Nirvana and the life of struggle for it he called the Way of Peace.

All this happened in the forest at the place now known as Buddha Gaya where stands to this day an ancient temple with a great Bo tree beside it and to be only second in descent from the sacred tree itself. And Buddha lingered there some days to think out many things and then he left the forest and came to Benares where he preached his first sermon in the Deer Park to five hundred monks. From this time his fame went about and numbers of disciples began to join him but by the first two merchants whom he met on their way to Kapilavastu he sent a message to Yasodhara and to his father that he was certainly coming home. Their joy was unbounded that at last they had heard from him. The old king would have liked him to make a royal entry but when the crowds were gathered and the troops arranged about the gateway with banners floating and horses neighing a beggar clad from throat to foot in yellow and gathering food here and there amongst the people happened to pass near the king's tent and lo it was he his son who had gone out in the night time seven years ago and came back now the Buddha.

But he did not stop till he had passed within the palace and stood in his own rooms before his wife and son. Yasodhara also wore the yellow cloth. Ever since the morning when she awakened to learn that the prince had abandoned

the world and gone to dwell in the forests ever since that morning she had done what she could to share his life. She had eaten only of roots and fruits. She had slept always on the floor or some roof or verandah. She had put away all ornaments and the garments of a princess.

And now she knelt reverently and kissed the hem of the left side of his garment. They said but little. He blessed her and went. And then, she seemed to waken from a dream. Hurriedly she called her boy— Go ask your father for your inheritance she said.

'Mother which is my father?' said the boy timidly looking at the crowd of men with shaven heads wearing the sacred colour.

But she scorned to give any description. 'Your father she said is the lion yonder, that passes to the gate.'

And the boy went straight up to him. 'Father give me my patrimony,' he said. But he asked three times before Ananda chief of the disciples said 'May I give?' And Buddha said 'Give. And the yellow cloth was thrown about the lad.'

Then they turned and saw the mother behind veiled but evidently longing to be with her husband. And the kind hearted Ananda said 'Master may a woman not enter the order?' 'May she not be one of us?'

And Buddha said 'Why do the Three Woes not come to women as to men? Why should their feet also not tread the Way of Peace? My Truth and my Order are for all yet this request Ananda was for you to make.'

Then Yasodhara also was received into the Order and went to dwell near her husband in his garden and so her long widowhood came to an end and her feet also were set at last upon the Way of Peace.

THE ARCH FROM EAST TO WEST

A free translation of passages from

ROMAN ROLLAND

[The extracts which follow are a free translation of certain leading paragraphs taken from the monograph on Empedocles of Agrigento written by Roman Rolland and sent by him together with the Declaration of Independence of the Spirit to the poet Rabindranath Tagore.

These passages should be read in connexion with the occasion on which they were sent as illustrating one of those

early epochs in the history of mankind when the human spirit boldly declared its independence and pressed forward into the unknown. It may be remembered how the French author expressed to the Indian poet his profound admiration for this wonderful old Greek sage and hoped that the Indian mind would love him also.

In the monograph Roman Rolland more than once refers to the intimate

These men were poets, philosophers and religious teachers, but at the same time, engineers, physicians, and states men. The energy of their forceful spirit like a stream of lava, blazed across the rocks themselves a turning passage for mankind. It was not sufficient for them to look the Sphinx in the face they took her by the throat. They were eager to resolve, in action, the riddle which had met them in their inner meditation. For them life was a whole to think was to act. The world of the moral order in man was one with the world of Nature. They chanted their hymn,—

*"The Law Universal
Justice sovereign and supreme,
Reaches out on every side of the world
Through the vast and ample ether
In the immeasurable flame of light
And in the mind of man"*

These Titans of Greek thought set themselves to conquer the unknown God, the hidden principle which governs both the outer world and the inner mind of man.

First of all, Anaximander, amid the fall of Empires, promulgated the law of Justice, the Inflexible Nemesis which brings back into the Infinite Vastness those beings and things which have gone astray. He writes these words—

*'The beginning of all things is the Infinite vast From the Infinite vast all things proceed, and into it all things return
Necessity is the dissolving factor
After nateh they undergo suffering for their injustice, and release from their injustice
This suffering and this release are accomplished in the time order'*

But Heraclitus, the solitary thinker of Ephesus, prophet of a royal race of daring seers, refuses the solution of Anaximander. Justice, with him, is the perpetual shock of opposites. It is eternal war, fraught with eternal pain. Moral grandeur is its flower. He sings,—

*Strife is the Mother of all things and
the Queen
She sorts out Gods and men, slaves and free
Life is a Bow, and the Bow deals Death
Midway between the passive renuncia-*

tion of Anaximander and the tragic chant of Heraclitus as he plunges into the eternal strife, Empedocles draws us onward to his ten to the great symphony of the Life Universal whose harsh discords, as the cycle ever returns resolve themselves in light. The hand of past neglect has not been altogether harsh to his verses. Some four to five hundred lines remain complete, out of the five thousand which he wrote. Few enough no doubt when one thinks of the blank spaces with their unsolved problems, but numerous when compared with the sayings of any other Greek philosopher before Socrates. These fragments of his poems have all the beauty of some marble remains of a great classic statue.

What is apparent to us in these early quests of Greek philosophic thought, is the Fairy Arch difficult to trace which links East and West together. This Arch touches the shores of both worlds. It is half made up of legendary things. Its foundations are laid in the dreams of Asia in the cosmogonies of Babylon and Persia, in the cult of Mithras, in the Orphic mysteries of Greece, in the misty spring time of early Christianity. It has echoes as far away as ancient India and many scholars have discussed its relation to the old Sankhya philosophy.

At the same time—it should be noticed,—this Greek philosophy was firmly established in the soil of Science. It had an atomic theory which opened the way to modern discovery in physics. The two great currents flow side by side—the experimental science of Alcmaeon and his successors, and the metaphysical research of Pythagoras, whom Empedocles celebrated in his 'Lustral Poem'. Empedocles shared this quality of his age. He was no less great in action than in thought. He took part in the struggles of his own city, as a patriot. By the wonder of his many-sided genius, he inspired, in later ages, Plato and Lucretius, Bernardo Telesio the forerunner of Bacon and Galileo, Newton, Leonardo da Vinci, Goethe, Schlegel, Novalis, and above all Schopenhauer. No one, perhaps, has realised like him the ideal of Goethe, the man of many parts.

hope of quenching that thirst at last by devotion and purification

The classical Greek world was proof against the attractions of this new religious cult from the East because of the concrete way in which it tried to realise its own ideal. It took the City for the tangible object of its religious devotion. To the Athenian for instance the City was the one sufficing unity which grouped all the intellectual forces of the citizens round it and gave to them their final moral sanction.

But in the Sicilian towns of greater Greece such a unity was not possible. All the blood of Europe Asia and Africa moved side by side in them without a common mingling in the cup of life. Colossal fortunes jostled with abject poverty. We have to go for a parallel to those new towns which have sprung up with a mushroom growth in modern America. At Agrigento or at Syracuse the moral unity of the city could only be realised in and by some magnificent Tyrant a Prince of the Renaissance (such as Machiavelli loved to picture) who imposed himself by force of magnificence and intrigue on a people always ready to revolt if opportunity occurred and a leader appeared.

How could such an environment satisfy the deep longings of a soul so vast as that of Empedocles? In the sphere of poetry it could command verse brilliant if it is true but written to order by some Poet Laureate like Pindar. And Pindar himself shows how the secret life of pomp and power could not efface his deep home sickness for the supernatural world. The City state of Sicily lacked the profound spaciousness of the Eternal Kingdom the Civitas Dei. Containing innumerable multitudes of men rich and poor master and slave African and Greek it needed the immeasurable arms of an Infinite God to embrace them all.

As a poet visionary a herald prophet of the future Empedocles dared to throw open the boundaries of the Mediterranean Sea of thought to introduce the Greek spirit to the Ocean perspectives of the One the all-embracing God. It is this vast Atlantic

Ocean of religious thought that fills his poems with the rhythm of its eternal flux and reflux—the mystical drama of life in which all men play their part.

The characters in this World Drama of Empedocles are the four elements and the two Cosmic Forces. Earth air fire and water are the four elements. Love and Hate are the two Cosmic Forces. These latter are also called Peace and Strife. The plot of the play is as follows—A furious combat is waged between Love and Hate. This combat first stirs up then moulds into shape and finally dissolves the Elements. There is a hidden Law of Divine Necessity which commands the process. The universal Soul protests while it suffers. Eternally it awaits for the supreme deliverance aspiring towards Love and Peace.

It is an oracle of Destiny the poet sings in ancient divine decree eternal sealed with a powerful oath that if one of the souls of men has been defiled with blood in compact with Hate it shall wander far from the haunts of the blessed thrice six thousand years and being born again and again in time shall follow through all mortal forms the sad and changing path of human life.

This is why the mighty pursuance of the air dashes itself against the sea the sea breaks upon the land the land throws it back. One receives it from another and all cast it out.

Even such a stricken one am I Today I am what I am but I was a God I went as trav because I put my faith in furious Hate.

Just as the breast heaves with each breath so there is a balanced rhythm in the four acts of the tragedy. There are two periods of completeness—the Empire of Hate and that of Love. There are two periods of change—the change of Hate into Love and that of Love into Hate. The poem of Empedocles begins at the stage of Hate. The cosmos has been annihilated. The elements strangers to one another have no communication. Life is extinct.

The shining face of the Sun was not seen nor yet the shaggy strength of the earth nor the vast sea.

call it by various names.—Grace, Joy, or Love Divine But no mortal can ever know its endless vicissitudes "

If, for a moment, legitimate pride in his own powers makes Empedocles elated, one sees, as suddenly, this pride return upon itself in deep humility. His exaltation sinks, and he criticises himself bitterly. Thus, after having been adjudged on one occasion the honour of a God, he cried,—

"Why humour me with such a thought as if it were a great merit to elevate me above them,—the thrice dolorous race of mortals ?"

He is one of them, nay more he is each of them, and of all beings—of plants and animals, as well as men. For along with Pythagoras, he believed in transmigration. He says,—

"I was, at one time, a boy and a girl, a tree and a bird, and a mute fish of the sea."

To the humble multitudes as well as to his own beloved disciple, he opened his arms and his heart—

"When I arrive," he says "in populous cities, the men and women venerate me and follow me in crowds. They ask me eagerly for the way that leads to salvation."

"Some wish for oracles from me. Others, innumerable, stricken for long with sharp pain implore me for the word that will cure their diseases."

It has been noted that Empedocles has only used the Greek word 'Soul' once, and then in the Homeric sense of physical life.

But there is for him another 'Soul,' supernatural mysterious, within which, like Socrates later, he called his 'daemon.' This 'Soul' is distinct from the sensible and intelligent consciousness. It partakes of the sacred spirit filling the Universe,—that love which ever seeks to realise the unity of the Divine Sphere, the Blessed God. Thought, powerless, refuses to explain such a supernatural mystery, of which even intuition can only touch the surface, it is less possible still to explain its uprush of liberative power.

Each one of us has to struggle to free his life from evil and to win peace, for the

Unity of the Divine Sphere can only be realised through the All. This is why Empedocles constantly exalts that divine Essence in all things, which alone can re-light in our hearts the longing for the final vision. He says,—

Neither War, nor Hate nor Zeus, was God among them but love alone was Queen.

According to Empedocles, animals share in intelligent life with men and plants are moved by certain desires, they feel and suffer and have joy. He has a horror at every blow dealt at life. Sacrifices of animal on the altars are no less hateful to him than War itself. He cries,—

Unhappy mortals will ye never cease from this miserable slaughter? Senseless, do ye not see that ye are slaughtering yourselves?

In the cult of the ideal of love, there is no room for animal sacrifice, nor for any eating of flesh—

'The altars are not soiled with blood. It is regarded as the worst abomination that men after tearing life from the body should devour the body's beautiful limbs.'

The two liberating religions of mankind, which sprang from the hearts of Buddha and Jesus united humanity in the common bonds of suffering and love. It was the same renunciation and love that Empedocles preached at Agrigento. Yet, all the while, he kept his Greek sense of the real and also the Greek cult of beauty—that bright smile of the Mediterranean Sea and the Sicilian shore. His rapture of devotion did not veil from his eyes the glory of the outer world. It bathed them in the blue sky and sunshine. His life did not run beneath the earth, absorbed in inner meditation only. It was like an estuary of the open sea, flooded with light.

We need to hear in our day the rushing sweep of his chant, as he cries,—

"It is Hate that dies."

Amid the shock of storm clouds, charged with lightning and with thunder, we may gain a far-off glimpse of that fresh washed cloudless heaven, which already smiles

upon the distant soil and soon will fill the heavens with light.

What matters it, if our own mortal eyes shall never look on its fulfilment? The Divine Sphere, the Perfect Universe, the undimmed Sun of Humanity will return.

The Unity that once was, will be, again and again. In the heart of the dreamer of dreams, it is now present, for as Empedocles sings,—

"The sweetness of its immortal wave surges to and fro in all our limbs."

TO WEI CHEN

Like a time-worn map of ancient continents,
With unreal outlines marked by unreal names,
And wreathed about with monsters—unicorns
And fabulous beasts—so China seemed to me
In my young days when I read of that far land;
Its curious names, its chopsticks and its dragons,
Its magic echoing of fairy land
Brought no more real knowledge than if one
Had spoken of the moon and moon dwellers;
And even stranger than the friendly moon
Which ever printed its familiar outline
Upon my hovering sky, and belonged to me
As my haunted woods and open smiling fields.
Unreal people wearing unreal clothes,
Unreal customs never taking place,
A comedy of unreality;
Such were you, China, to my youthful mind,
A non-existent and incredible land,
And hedged about by a fabulous, huge wall
O'er which my imagination could not peer.

But when you came, Wei Chen, with your bright face,
Your friendly hands and voice and shining eyes,
And all your show of gentle courtesy,
The great wall fell or vanished like a mist,
(The magic was your human friendliness)
And China lay before my happy eyes
A land of fields and rivers, towns and hills,
A place of homes and schools and human hearts;
Land of bright flowers and gay-plumaged birds,
Of mountains and of daring waterfalls;
A poet's land, of saints and sages hoar,
Land of great souls marching across time's plains
In long procession, victors over death;
Land of great dreams and of the dreams come true;
Land of my heart's desire: the seas still flowed
Between my shore and her, and yet through you,
Wei Chen, I stood upon that distant shore,
And the stored friendliness of ancient time
Flowed round me and I felt myself at home

In dragon cities, under templed hills,
In old pagoda places and gray streets,
Amid the thronging, friendly multitudes,
Whose words, and not whose hearts, were strange to me

To-day because you let us claim your friendship,
Your country is my country, your home mine,
And if I hear her slighted, in my heart
Comes a deep pang, and at her generous praise,
I thrill with joy as of a gift bestowed
O worthy land, that ever brings to birth
The treasure of great hearts and noble minds !

MAICE SEYMOUR

MR TILAK'S WORK IN ENGLAND

By ST NIHAL SINGH

BAL Gangadhar Tilak arrived in London at the end of October, 1918, in connection with the libel suit that he had filed against Sir Valentine Chirol. He had been compelled to give a pledge that while in Britain he would address no meetings. Since the war was going on and no one could leave India without a passport, he had to submit, which he did *under protest*.

I THE LIBEL SUIT

Soon after he arrived he found that (the late) Dr T M Nair had preceded him under similar conditions, but Lord Sydenham and his colleagues had made it so hot for the Government that the restrictions placed upon his freedom of speech had to be withdrawn. The Marathi leader had not come here to play into the hands of any reactionaries, and had, therefore, no influential friends such as the late leader of the non Brahmins had. On the contrary, he had powerful political (and personal) opponents who had much to gain by keeping his tongue tied. But what is sauce for goose is sauce for gander, and Mr Tilak lost no time in letting the officials know that He is a persistent man and finally, I think, the officials were glad to

buy their peace by letting him have his freedom. Besides, as I heard it said at the time it was thought that the talk in which he would indulge would damn him in the eyes of that public from which would be drawn the jury before which his case would come.

Whether or not the use that Mr Tilak made of his freedom to speak in public on Indian matters did him harm or not, is a debatable point. But it is certain that the publication of the Rowlatt Report, shortly after his arrival here, did him no end of injury. In my judgment, if that report had been indited with a special view to prejudice Mr Tilak in the eyes of the British public, it would have done him far less harm, for then the British public, knowing that Mr Tilak had not been asked by that committee to state his side of the case, would have been on its guard.

Shrewd man that he was, Mr Tilak tried to have the publication of the Rowlatt Report suspended. Through some body's mistake—that was the official explanation vouchsafed in Parliament—copies of that document had not arrived at the time that they should have, and therefore, the publication of the Report in Britain had been very much delayed. That greatly

that the reason was that not a single copy of those resolutions had reached the acting editor and even the Indian papers containing the proceedings and resolutions of that Session had not arrived. He was reminded that the war was going on and that there was such an institution as the censorship. But Mr Tilak said the resolutions were available in London and he asked if the acting editor would print them if they were placed at his disposal. He did print them but in small type and not in a prominent place and without any editorial comment. The reason given as to why no editorial comment was made was I am informed that the proceedings and resolutions passed by the Moderate Conference had not come and in a short time Annual Session of the Congress was to be held at Delhi.

In his tussle with the Committee and with *India* Mr Tilak constantly found himself confronted with the cool assumption that he was a mere busy body who had no mandate from anybody to intervene. Had the Congress armed him with the powers of a plenipotentiary? If so where was his authority? If he had any why did he not produce it? Anyway had the Congress itself any power to dictate to the British Committee? Was not the British Committee an even older organisation than the Congress and in any case did it not enjoy the prestige of being a body to which the Congress had looked for guidance? As for *India* it was the property of a private Company over which the Congress had no control. As for the subsidy it received—well had any string been tied to it?

A man less redoubtable than Mr Tilak would have given up in despair and disgust. But not that Maratha leader. He knew that he was morally in the right. He knew that the time was with him. He could afford to wait.

It was true that the censor was all powerful. Any letters that he might write and any cables that he might send might not reach the Delhi Congress in time. But some day the censorship would end and sooner or later the Congress deputation would come. And the Congress if it was

truly alive was sure to re-assert without hearing from him that its Committee in London and the newspaper *India* needed juggling up.

That is exactly what happened. The Delhi Congress passed a special resolution withholding supplies from the Committee and charging its deputation upon its arrival in London to look into matters and to set things right.

But even after his hand had been strengthened by the arrival of the Congress deputation with full powers the Maratha leader found it difficult to persuade the Congress Committee and the newspaper *India* to give wholehearted and loyal support to the Congress. Week after week month after month on one pretext or another decision was deferred.

Finally Dr G. B. Clark—that true Scottish Radical—thought that the time had come for action. Dr V. H. Rutherford and Mr Parekh took the same view. As directors of *India* they asked the acting editor whether or not he could conscientiously support the Congress policy. The issue of that paper published that week contained the announcement that in view of the change of policy to be adopted immediately in the journal the gentleman who had been editing it since January 1st 1918 was no longer responsible for its editorial control.

I understand that a Scottish lady Miss Normanton who had been acting as editorial assistant for some time was appointed acting editor. So far as I know she has never been to India and has no special knowledge of that country but I hear that she is both able and progressive and sympathises with our movement. I further hear that Mr Kelkar the able editor of the *Varhatta* (Poona) who is in London has been appointed associate editor and that the paper will be produced under his general supervision.

The question of the reorganisation of the Committee remained to be settled. Would Dr Clark, Dr Rutherford and Mr Parekh be able to conquer internal opposition? It was extremely difficult to forecast the future for the simple reason that there was much dead wood in that Committee.

NO, NEVER!

GIVE INDIA HOME RULE HER SONS
DEMAND AND DESERVE ITQUESTION CANDIDATES and urge
them to support Home Rule for India

Send for Literature from

HOME RULE FOR INDIA LEAGUE,
1, Robert Street, London W C 2

These leaflets were not issued by the thousand, but by the hundred thousand. For the first time an Indian had the political wisdom and the enterprise to do so

A little later Mr Tilak brought out a pamphlet entitled 'Self Determination for India,' in which he pointed out the justice and the necessity of admitting India to partnership in the British Empire on a footing of equality with the self governing dominions. He showed how external ambitions and internal aspirations render it absolutely imperative to emancipate India from pupillage and democratise the Government so that India will be governed by her own sons for her own benefit and for the common welfare of all mankind. He traced the history of Hindu culture, and quoted European authorities to prove that India was a nation—and a grown up nation at that—fit to be freed from the trusteeship imposed upon her by Britain which, he claimed, had not proved her fitness to be a trustee, citing the backwardness of our country to prove his contention.

As elected representative of British India Mr Tilak sent a Memorial dated March 11, 1919, to M. Georges Clemenceau, Senator, President of the Peace Conference, Paris, urging that Conference to concede to India the right to be represented at its deliberations by representatives chosen by the people. He also asked the Conference to declare that Indians were capable of governing themselves, that they were 'entitled to the application of the principle of self determination, and that in the exercise of the principle' they were also 'entitled to determine the form of government founded upon accepted democratic lines, which they deem most suitable for self-development according to the genius of the people.'

I did not think at the time, and do not think now, that that was the right move

for Tilak to make. The Indian question is a domestic one for the British to settle, and I hope that British statesmen will not be so short sighted as to make it an international issue as their inability to grapple with the Irish question has made that a world rather than an Imperial issue.

A short time after sending this memorial to the Peace Conference Mr Tilak issued a four page leaflet entitled 'Indian Constitutional Reforms'. It contained a comparative statement showing the present Indian constitution and how the Montagu Chelmsford scheme and the Congress League scheme proposed to reform it. Any intelligent person could see at a glance what the largest and most influential organisation of Indians demanded and how far the Montagu Chelmsford proposals fell short of those demands.

Mr Tilak has lectured to all sorts of audiences in all sorts of places. One of the earliest speeches that he delivered was in the Committee Room of the House of Commons to a select party of M.P.s. He delivered another speech at the Caxton Hall under the auspices of Britain and India, which some months before had given an Anglo Indian the opportunity to make out a case in favour of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. A third speech was delivered before the Fabian Society with Mr George Bernard Shaw in the chair.

Of all these addresses, the one that I like best was the one that Mr Tilak delivered at the Caxton Hall while sitting in a chair because he had sprained his ankle. Mr Tilak outlined the conditions existing in India in olden times referring to the accounts of the wealthy, prosperous enlightened India left by foreign travellers like Hsuan Tsang and Megasthenes. He asked the audience particularly to note the vast extent of the Indian Empire ruled over by Asoka and Samudra Gupta. He went on to relate that our country, in those days, not only possessed a wealth of religious and philosophic literature, but was industrially great and self-sufficient in every respect, able to satisfy all her material and artistic wants.

Passing from the pleasant picture of ancient India Mr Tilak gave a graphic

present possessed and reduced to the status of permanent servants in Britain and other countries. Such initiative should only be exercised by the people's representatives. Furthermore Mr Tilak considered the inclusion of a declaration of rights in the statute was absolutely necessary.

For some occult reason Mr Tilak was not cross-examined. That greatly disappointed many Indians who but a short time before had seen him in the witness box of the High Court and who had greatly admired the replies that he had given to Sir Edward Carson who had tried hard to brow beat him.

I am glad to say that Mr Montagu has shown the political wisdom of according to Mr Tilak the privilege of a private interview early in August. What they said to each other of course remains a profound secret.

About the same time Mr Tyson Wilson

the chief Labour Whip gave a dinner in the House of Commons to which Mr Tilak and his colleagues of the Congress deputation were invited. About twenty Members of Parliament were present. The Rt Hon Mr Chines Mr Adamson Mr Bates and Mr Jack Jones spoke—and spoke with great sympathy of Indian aspirations.

Working under the greatest handicap Mr Tilak during his ten months stay in England has laboured indefatigably and zealously to advance the cause of India according to his own lights. Even those of us who differ from him politically, can not deny him tribute for his whole-hearted and sincere devotion to the cause of the Motherland. Above all he like Mrs Besant has worked for the unification of Indian forces at present in Britain though to the regret of every true well wisher of India they both have failed in that object. Tilak deserves well of our people.

COMMENTS AND CRITICISMS

"Hindi Linga Bichar"

Having seen the review of Pandit Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi's *Hindi Linga Bichar* in the current issue of the *Modern Review* I felt tempted to go through the book once more. But I could not find wherein the author asks us to use such words as कठोरता, सहनशीलता and दृढ़ता as masculine. Undoubtedly at the top of page 12 of his book he in justification of a rule for the determination of Gender of inanimate objects maintains that the inanimate objects having the attribute (गुणगोचर) of कठोरता सहनशीलता etc are masculine but he does not mean these words themselves to be masculine nor is it indicated as by the words used wrongly supposed by Mr Muladeva, the reviewer of the book. Pandit Chaturvedi establishes his proposition beyond all doubt by apt and authoritative quotations from the Editor of the *Lharantri* and from Mr John Beames. In justice to the author I hope the reviewer will condescend to go through pages 11 and 12 of the book and then form and express his opinion on it.

HARI KISHORE PRASAD B A
1st Teacher S A Vidyalaya Calcutta

A Peace that Makes for Peace

In his article *A Peace that is no Peace* Mr Andrews claims to have put side by side, with very little comment of his own the professions and practices of the Allied Statesmen towards Germany. His own commentary though slight in quantity is serious enough in quality and taken in conjunction with his title suggests that he regards the Peace Treaty with Germany as bad from beginning to end so unjust indeed that the entire work of the past six months at Paris will have to be undone and an entirely new treaty made. No one need be at any pains to deny that in some of its details the Treaty is open to criticism and that in its actual working there may be from time to time necessity for modification. But that is a very different thing from stigmatising the whole Treaty as unjust and branding the Allies as guilty of forcing not merely an unwilling but an inhuman peace on Germany. The only peace that Germany would have accepted willingly even after her overwhelming defeat would be a peace dictated by herself and to expect that a peace made even in republican Germany would square with the principles of justice as understood by the rest of the world is to expect the impossible. To take one of President

the wanton destruction of the coal mines in the North of France. A careful study of the conditions under which the ceded territory is to be controlled will I think convince any unbiased mind that they are neither unjust nor ungenerous to the inhabitants of the Saar Valley. At the end of the fifteen years a plebiscite is to be taken on the basis of adult suffrage to determine whether the inhabitants wish to continue the control of the League of Nations or join France or return to Germany. Mr Andrews' cynical remark as to the plebiscite being a disguise is a sorry reflection on his faith in the League of Nations or in the possibilities of the growth of a kindlier feeling between the democracies of France and Germany during the next fifteen years. If Germany had taken over Alsace and Lorraine on these terms and honourably carried them out there would probably have been no War.

(b) Poland. If Mr Andrews will take the trouble to study a language-area map of Poland he will see how difficult it is to draw a boundary that will satisfy all concerned and yet not violate the spirit or the letter of the principle of self-determination. As a writer in the *Times* says it is difficult to fix any practical boundary that will not include 1 000 000 or more Germans in Polish territory. The alternative would be to include a considerable number of Poles in German territory and on the whole the former is the lesser evil. A concrete example and presumably a glaring example of apparent violation of the principle of self-determination was dealt with by Mr Lloyd George in reply to his critics in the House of Commons—the district of Brieg. The town is German being one of the colonies established by Germany with a view to Prussianizing Poland but the district is Polish. This is an example of what the premier referred to as the impossibility of having no Germans inside Poland and no Poles inside Germany. In certain areas it may be remarked there is a plebiscite to be held and in the case of other areas definitely handed over to Poland the actual boundaries have to be settled by a mixed commission on which both Germany and Poland will be represented. It is evident of course that Polish national ambitions have created not a few difficulties for the Peace Conference. But after all Poland has a history and it is easier to understand her sentiments towards territories that were indisputably Polish in the great days of old than to satisfy those sentiments without a very real violation of the principle of self-determination. What other could President Wilson and Mr Lloyd George do than they have done? The latter has been subjected to a good deal of abuse in certain journalistic quarters some of them democratic because he has been regarded as being Pro German rather than Pro Polish in reference to this matter of restoring Prussian Polish areas to Poland. Were the two Anglo-Saxon states

men to say: If you do not accept our solution we will wash our hands of the whole business or on the other hand were they to threaten war as the penalty of non-acceptance? They did neither and there is no evidence that what they have done will result in the infliction upon Germany of any unavoidable deprivation of territory.

(c) Shanghai. This is as Mr Andrews says is part of the pre-Armistice agreement and is the price paid for allowing China to enter the War. Japan has driven a hard bargain. We know what the Chinese Government thinks about the matter and what the Japanese Government has declared to be their intention with regard to it. Time alone can show whether their intentions will be fulfilled or whether on the other hand China has gained more by losing Shanghai and entering the War than she would have done by keeping Shanghai and keeping out of the War. What the will of the people of the Province is on the matter I doubt if even Mr Andrews knows.

(4) Economic and Financial Clauses. Mr Andrews says that these are beyond anything ever contemplated in the Armistice agreement.

Seeing that he admits in a footnote that the question of compensation or reparation was expressly left open for discussion by the Allies in their acceptance of Mr Wilson's Points and Principles it is difficult to see how he can assert that these clauses go beyond anything contemplated in the Armistice agreement. The demands made are heavy but it is doubtful whether they are equal to the enormous damage inflicted by Germany directly and indirectly upon all the nations of Europe and unless it can be proved that she is called upon to pay more in one way and another than the monetary value of the injury she has inflicted how can any reasonable man characterise the terms as unjust? As I have already pointed out there are losses which Germany can never make good by any monetary or material payment. The countries she has ravaged will suffer in ways other than material for generations to come. The responsibility for not a little of the chaos and terror now rampant in Russia must be laid at the door of Germany. When all is said and done it has yet to be proved that Germany will be any worse off than Belgium or France with regard to the tasks of industrial and commercial reconstruction which await all countries alike. She has a larger population than France to draw upon and one that will be increased sooner or later by the adhesion of the German-Austrian Republic. Her territory has not been ravaged as those of France and Belgium have been. Her people are capable of doing as much for peaceful progress if rightly guided as they have done in the past under the control of Prussian militarism for the advancement of the ambitions of Prussian Germanism. The years immediately before us will prove a stern testing time in matters com-

Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India to find figures that will give any conception of the shocking infant mortality prevalent everywhere in India.

I have compiled a table from the former report to show child mortality at the beginning of the present decade (1911)

Number of Deaths of Children Under 15 Years of Age in 1911

Province	Under 1 Year	1 Year & Under 5 Years	5 Years 10 Years	10 Years & Under 15 Years
Eastern Bengal & Assam	217 143	130 796	66 529	34 438
Bengal	398 335	269 212	143 184	80 679
U P	505 346	294 030	144 313	104 132
Punjab	187 184	90 429	43 440	38 490
Bombay	116 927	91 431	34 911	27 226
C P	169 180	99 144	24 781	12 093
Madras	224 951	129 957	50 702	32 392
Burma	71 544	31 897	14 315	8 995
Aymer—				
Mewara	6 393	5 066	800	440
N W F P	12 277	5 171	3 033	1 658
Hyderabad As				
signed D st	29 932	13 930	4 332	3 044
Coorg	1 157	626	240	199

1 890 500 1 151 57 526 22 310 807

Total in British India of deaths of children under 5 years of age 3 942 257 Under 10 years of age 4 468 775 Under 15 years of age 4 809 586

What nation on the face of the earth no matter how large it may be can afford to lose its rising generation at the rate of 5 000 000 a year? What nation can afford to lose nearly four million children under five years of age *per annum*? That is what is happening in India and what has been happening year after year for decades past.

Take Calcutta for example. Out of every 1 000 children born in 1912 in the City and Port of Calcutta nearly 260 died. More than 278 males out of every 1 000 males born in Calcutta in that year perished.

And more than one third of the children who died that year gave up the struggle for existence during the first week of life! According to the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner 809 deaths of infants in the first week of life were due to debility while 371 were due to premature birth—primarily caused by the weak physical con-

dition of the parents more particularly of the mothers who themselves in a low physical condition gave birth to babies that sickened and died almost with their first breath or before they opened their eyes in this world at all.

It must be noted that the high percentage of infant mortality is not confined to large cities and congested areas. In the North West Frontier Province where the density of population in 1911 was only 164 to the square mile the ratio of deaths to every 1 000 births was 167.16 in 1912.

Comparing this figure with that for Calcutta in the same year it is evident that the children who are born and reared in a less densely crowded area and have purer air to breathe have a better chance to live than those brought up in crowded cities. But the fact remains that 167.16 per 1 000 births is a terribly high ratio of infant deaths for a province where the inhabitants live much in the open air and are not subjected to the evils of city slums.

The Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for 1912 throws a light upon the subject. We learn in respect of Bengal for instance that only once in the preceding 20 years had so low a death rate (220.6 males and 203.4 female per 1 000 births) been recorded. Indeed the Sanitary Commissioner declared that an infant death rate of 259.6 for both sexes and 278.9 for males out of 1 000 births indicated a much better state of affairs than pertained a decade ago. Further on in the same Report we find him congratulating the officials and presumably the Indians because the infant mortality in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1912 although 206.5 per 1 000 births was the lowest recorded since 1898 when it was 205.3. When the rate had risen to 278.20 *per mille* in Hamirpur in that year it required some stretch of the imagination to feel complacent over the results.

In 1914 45 per cent of the deaths in Bombay took place between the ages of 1 and 5 while in the North West Frontier Province 42 per cent of the total registered deaths occurred among children 24 per cent of them during the first year.

this disease-laden excreta to the health of every person in the town or village?

More than one eminent Indian has discussed this matter with me, and expressed great anxiety respecting it. I remember, when I was in Bombay several years ago an Indian doctor gave an incident that had come under his personal observation. He told me he saw a child come out of a house and attend to a call of nature by the roadside. The excreta lay there throughout the day, and became dry and powdered under the influence of the sun and many passing feet. He saw the mother of the child come out of the house and gather up the dust from that exact spot to use to clean her pots and pans.

I am aware that this is not a nice or polite subject. Neither is death a pleasant prospect. Yet I challenge anyone with an iota of scientific knowledge to deny that a large percentage of the deaths of young and old alike in Indian villages, towns and even some cities, or at least some parts of cities, are due to this cause, and this alone. Surely the "city fathers"—at least some of them must be aware of the tragedy that is continuously being enacted under their eyes. But they take practically no measures, or at least no effective measures, to provide sanitary facilities that will result in cutting down the death rate and strengthening the physique of those who live.

Many other causes combine to snuff out the light of life in the breasts of the little ones of India. First of all, there is grave lack of medical arrangements, especially at child birth. I find no less a person than the Sanitary Commissioner with Government of India complaining, in his Report for 1912, that the Calcutta Municipality employed "only four midwives one for each 72,000 of the female population." Such figures speak for themselves and need no elaboration. Moreover, too poor to buy sufficient food to keep her own body properly nourished, the mother is not able to provide nature's nourishment for her child. She cannot afford to buy milk to feed it, and if she can do so, the milk she is able to secure is so impure that, in itself it constitutes a menace to child life.

For the lack of qualified midwives and women doctors, for the absence of training for motherhood for the death breeding insanitary conditions, for the inability to secure pure milk, and for the general dense ignorance that causes the people to continue to employ methods of life and work and systems of domestic economy that science has proved are dangerous to health—for all these the authorities no doubt are largely at fault. But the people themselves have much blame lying at their doors. One of the chief causes of child mortality in India is the system of early marriage, which plunges immature girls into motherhood for which they are unfit on account of their youth and lack of training and experience of life. An immature mother is likely prematurely to give birth to her child or to produce a weakling that is unable to survive or that, if it lives, will keep down the general level of Indian progress. The purdah system makes it impossible to call in the services of medical men who have been scientifically trained, and since the number of qualified women medical practitioners and midwives is pitifully limited, many mothers and children must, of necessity, die from neglect or malpractice.

It must be remembered that death is only one problem affecting children in India. There is, for instance the problem of caring for orphans and for children whose parents are unfit or unable to bring them up to be useful citizens. There is the problem of providing education, with the subsidiary problem as to whether it shall be academic or industrial in character. There is the problem of caring for backward and defective children, and correcting the waywardness of juvenile offenders. All these are pressing problems. India's future, in a large measure, depends upon their immediate solution.

III THE CURE

The Government can do much to better the conditions affecting children in India. The first step to be taken in my opinion, is to establish a Children's Bureau with committees to take up the details of the various schemes for child welfare. This

knowledge which we earnestly desire I will discuss it without any further discussion.

I may assume that the country will readily adopt Hindustani as the future national language of India if the Hindus and Mussulmans could come to an agreement on the question of script. The adoption of Hindustani as a national language does not in any way affect the Provincial vernaculars. The Provincial vernaculars must be the medium of instruction in the Primary schools of each province with the addition of Hindustani as an all India language the Hindus learning it in Devanagari and the Mussulmans in Urdu characters. For the first four years of a child's life no other language should be thrust on him.

(2) The subjects of study should include besides the three Rs (a) the teaching of Patriotism (b) Hygiene (c) Drawing (d) Geography of India (e) elementary Geography of the World and (f) History of India local and provincial history and geography must of course be taught (g) elements of Civics (h) Music and (i) Modelling.

(3) As far as possible the same text books should be used all over India the local and Provincial Subjects should be dealt with in local and Provincial text books. The printing of text books should be a Government monopoly. All private profiteering from the sale of text books must be done away with. The text books should be supplied free in all Primary schools or sold at cost price only.

The above suggestion does not imply that all these text books must be in Hindustani. By no means. They should be in recognized Provincial vernaculars and in very easy simple language.

Every province should recognize its principal vernacular as the medium of instruction. All attempt to impart education in local dialects should be discouraged. It will be disastrous to our national unity to insist on education being imparted through local dialects. Nowhere in the world is that done and we should look with suspicion on this suggestion from whatever quarter it comes.

The vernaculars to be adopted as mediums of instruction should be as few as may be compatible with the educational interests of the children. A certain amount of efficiency will have to be sacrificed at the altars of Provincial integrity and national unity. For example it will be absurd to insist that for Primary education of the Bengalees the different dialectic variations of the spoken language be recognized or that Bihari be raised to the status of a language or that in the Agra division of the U. P. education be imparted in Braj Bhasha and in other divisions in their divisional dialects or that in the Multan Division of the Punjab education be imparted in the Multan dialect—and so on.

Next comes the question of the classical languages and of English and other modern languages of the world. The remarks that I have made about Sanskrit apply with equal force to Arabic and Persian. In my judgment English should be compulsory in the second half of the elementary school period or say in the last three years from five to thirteen.

The object should be to lay the foundations of a working knowledge of the language as distinguished from its literary side.

The second period of the elementary course should include general elements of modern sciences. The second part of elementary education might have two alternative courses one for those who want to enter life on the completion of the course and also those who want to take up higher courses in agriculture commerce and technology and the other for those who intend to pursue a general course of higher liberal education.

English should be compulsory in both the courses but only as a language not as a medium of instruction. No one who wants to finish his education with the elementary school or to pursue higher courses in agriculture commerce and technology should be compelled to study any classical language. He may learn another modern language besides English if he chooses but his chief concern should be a preparation for life including an

'Education is as a rule the strongest force on the side of what exists and against fundamental change threatened institutions while they are still powerful, possess themselves of the educational machine and instil a respect for their own excellence into the malleable minds of the young. Reformers retort by trying to oust their opponents from their position of vantage. The children themselves are not considered by either party: they are merely so much material to be recruited into one army or the other. If the children themselves were considered education would not aim at making them belong to this party or that but at enabling them to choose intelligently between the parties. It would aim at making them able to think not at making them think what their teachers think. Education as a political weapon could not exist if we respected the rights of children. If we respected the rights of children we should educate them so as to give them the knowledge and the mental habits required for forming independent opinions: but education as a political institution endeavors to form habits and to circumscribe knowledge in such a way as to make one set of opinions inevitable.

On the constructive side Bertrand Russell again remarks

Education is essentially constructive and requires some positive conception of what constitutes a good life. And although liberty is to be respected in education as much as is compatible with instruction and although a very great deal more liberty than is customary can be allowed without loss to instruction yet it is clear that some departure from complete liberty is unavoidable if children are to be taught anything except in the case of unusually intelligent children who are kept isolated from more normal companions. This is one reason for the great responsibility which rests upon teachers: the children must necessarily be more or less at the mercy of their elders and cannot make themselves the guardians of their own interests. Authority in education is to some extent unavoidable and those who educate have to find a way of exercising authority in accordance with the spirit of liberty.

Where authority is unavoidable what is needed is reverence. A man who is to educate really well and is to make the young grow and develop into their full stature must be filled through and through with the spirit of reverence. It is reverence towards others that is lacking in those who advocate machine-made cast iron systems, militarism, capitalism, Fabian scientific organization and all the other prisons into which reformers and reactionaries try to force the human spirit. In education with its codes of rules emanating from a Government office, its large classes and fixed curriculum and overworked teachers, its determination to produce a dead level of glub mediocrity, the lack of reverence for the child is

all but universal. Reverence requires imagination and vital warmth: it requires most imagination in respect of those who have least actual achievement or power. The child is weak and superficially foolish: the teacher is strong and in an every-day sense wiser than the child. The teacher without reverence or the bureaucrat without reverence easily despises the child for these outward inferiorities. He thinks it is his duty to mold the child in imagination: he is the potter with the clay. And so he gives to the child some unnatural shape which hardens with age producing strains and spiritual dissatisfactions out of which grow cruelty and envy and the belief that others must be compelled to undergo the same distortions.

The man who has reverence will not think it his duty to mold the young. He feels in all that lives but especially in human beings and most of all in children something sacred indefinable unlimited something individual and strangely precious: the growing principle of life, an embodied fragment of the dumb striving of the world.

Mr Bertrand Russell then proceeds to point out how public education is used by the States and the churches for the maintenance of the existing order or, at the most where the individual is considered how it is restricted to the idea of 'making money' or the art of 'getting on' or achieving a good position.

Russell feels as all do that some of the things which education achieves at present must continue to be achieved in the ordinary way, in all civilized countries, as for example the preliminary knowledge of the three R's. The actual instruction in these subjects is given now, may be inadequate but it is not positively harmful. 'It is in history and religion and other controversial subjects' that it 'is positively harmful. These subjects touch the interests by which schools are maintained, and the interests maintain the schools in order that certain views on these subjects may be instilled. History, in every country, is so taught as to magnify that country's children learn to believe that their own country has always been in the right and almost always victorious, that it has produced almost all the great men and that it is in all respects superior to all other countries.' Since these beliefs

* In histories of India as prescribed by universities and text-book committees, there is no

who have no experience of teaching are incapable of imagining the expense of spirit entailed by any really living instruction. They think that teachers can reasonably be expected to work as many hours as bank clerks. Intense fatigue and irritable nerves are the result and an absolute necessity of performing the day's task mechanically. But the task cannot be performed mechanically except by exacting obedience.

Discipline as it exists in schools is very largely an evil. There is a kind of discipline which is necessary to almost all achievement and which perhaps is not sufficiently valued by those who react against the purely external discipline of traditional methods. The desirable kind of discipline is the kind that comes from within which consists in the power of pursuing a distant object steadily foregoing and suffering many things on the way. This involves the subordination of impulse to will the power of a directing action by large creative desires even at moments when they are not vividly alive. Without this no serious ambition good or bad can be realised no consistent purpose can dominate. This kind of discipline is very necessary but can only result from strong desires for ends not immediately attainable and can only be produced by education if education fosters such desires which it seldom does at present. Such discipline springs from one's own will not from outside authority. It is not this kind which is sought in most schools and it is not this kind which seems to me an evil.

He sums up his ideas on fear of thought in this manner:

Men fear thought as they fear nothing else on earth—more than ruin more even than death. Thought is subservient and revolutionary, destructive and terrible. Thought is merciless to privilege established institutions and comfortable habits. Thought is anarchic and lawless in different to authority careless of the well tried wisdom of the ages. Thought looks into the pit of hell and is not afraid. It sees man a feeble speck surrounded by unfathomable depths of silence yet it bears itself proudly as unmoved as if it were lord of the universe. Thought is great and swift and free, the light of the world and the chief glory of man.

But if thought is to become the possession of many not the privilege of the few we must

have done with fear. It is fear that holds men back—fear lest the cherished beliefs should prove delusions fear lest the institutions by which they live should prove harmful fear lest they themselves should prove less worthy of respect than they have supposed themselves to be.

Should the working man think freely about property? Then what will become of us the rich? Should young men and young women think freely about sex? Then what will become of morality? Should soldiers think freely about war? Then what will become of military discipline? Away with thought. Back into the shades of prejudice lest property morals and war should be endangered. Better men should be stupid slothful and oppressive than that their thoughts should be free. For if their thoughts were free they might not think as they do. And at all costs this disaster must be averted. So the opponents of thought argue in the unconscious depths of their souls. And so they act in their churches their schools and their universities.

No institution inspired by fear can further life. Hope not fear is the creative principle in human affairs. * * * The wish to preserve the past rather than the hope of creating the future dominates the minds of those who control the teaching of the young. * * * Education should not aim at a passive awareness of dead facts but at an activity directed towards the world that our efforts are to create. It should be inspired not by a regretful hankering after the extinct beauties of Greece and the Renaissance but by a shining vision of the society that is to be of the triumphs that thought will achieve in the time to come and of the ever widening horizon of man's survey over the universe. Those who are taught in this spirit will be filled with life and hope and joy able to bear their part in bringing to mankind a future less somber than the past with faith in the glory that human effort can create.

I have given these long extracts in order to show how one of the foremost English thinkers of the age a man typical of what is best in English thought feels in this matter. The reader also must think independently and not accept his opinions like gospel truth. That there is a great deal of truth in what he says cannot be denied.

ART IN MUSLIM INDIA

I ARCHITECTURE

PATHAN architecture especially in Upper India the kind of stone has a certain gloomy massiveness and solidity but in general it lacks the elegance

of finish delicacy and wealth of decoration of the buildings of the Mughal period. The brick palaces and mosques of the Bengal sultans (at Gaur) however form a class

Ayur and many others Aurangzib built only the small Pearl Mosque in Delhi Fort and the tomb of his wife at Aurangabad but some grand mosques were built by other persons in his reign such as Wazir Khan's mosque at Lahore Zinat-un-Nissa's mosque in Delhi etc

II PAINTING

Painting received a great stimulus at the Court of Akbar and continued to improve till the fall of Shah Jahan. The Quranic law forbids man to reproduce the form of any living being and hence orthodox Muhammadans* can not draw anything except plants flowers and geometrical designs (arabesques). Akbar was not an orthodox Muhammadan and he engaged many painters and patronised their art.

On account of the Quranic prohibition rich Muhammadans (especially in Central Asia) used to employ Chinese painters whose name (*nakkash-i-chin*) became proverbial in Persian literature for excellence of workmanship. In the earliest paintings of Khurasan Bukhara etc we see complete Chinese influence especially in the faces and the representation of rocks sheets of water fire and dragons. There are some dated manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna the illuminations of which enable us to trace the history of Saracen art in India step by step with absolute certainty. The sumptuous *Shah-namah* presented by Ali Mirdan Khan to the Emperor Shah Jahan in 1639 A.D. (though executed much earlier) represents the pure Chinese art of Central Asia. Specimens of this school must have reached India early in Akbar's reign and even before.

In the Court of our truly national king Akbar this Chinese (or extra-Indian Muslim) art mingled with pure Hindu art—whose traditions had been handed down unchanged since the days of the Ajanta frescoes and the Bharhut and Ellora reliefs†. Thus Muslim art in India underwent its first transformation.

The rigidity of the Chinese outline was softened. The conventionality of Chinese art was discarded. We note a new method of representing rocks water and fire which is no doubt suggestive of the Chinese School but it is clearly the Chinese School in a process of dissolution and making a nearer approach to Nature. The scenery and features are distinctly Indian. In short the new element in the old is unmistakable even to a casual beholder. The Khuda Bakhsh copy of *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuri* is the best contemporary example of this change that we possess in any public library in India. Readers in England have a slight better and more developed example (though of Akbar's lifetime) in the illuminated *Shah-namah* (Persian translation of the *Mahabharat*) preserved in the South Kensington Museum.

This process of the Indianisation of Saracen art continued after Akbar's time till at last in the reign of Shah Jahan the Chinese influence entirely disappeared the Indian style became predominant and the highest development was reached (as we see in the Khuda Bakhsh copy of the *Padishah-namah*) in delicacy of features and colouring minuteness of detail wealth and variety of ornamentation and approximation to Nature (but without attaining either to true perspective or to light and shade).

This Indo-Saracen art was entirely developed in the courts of the Mughal Emperors. The subjects chosen were portraits of living men scenes from the Persian epics like the *Shah-namah* fancy portraits of saints and *dar-i-shes* pictures of historic scenes landscapes imaginary female figures especially at the toilet, hunting scenes episodes from the popular Persian love poems and also scenes of Hindu mythology to illustrate the Islamic translations of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharat* made by order of Akbar or detached scenes of Hindu mythology.

Portrait painting reached its perfection

scenes of Krishna's life done at Murshidabad about a century ago and now in Mr P.C. Narayana's possession, looks exactly like a twin brother of the stone reliefs of Bharhut showing our old rural life.

* I knew a Muhammadan hawker of Agra who refused to deal in marble mosaics representing even parrots.

† In their relief scenes at the pastoral

about the middle of the 17th century (under Shah Jahan). True expression was not studied but so far as we can judge fidelity to the living original was secured in a high degree and the colouring and drapery reached the perfection of delicacy. The master secrets of these craftsmen were their indigo and gold colours, which three centuries (often of neglect and rough handling) have failed to weaken, fade, or cause to take off. Their night scenes and fire works were speciality skill in which has been lost by their unworthy grand children.

III THE SO-CALLED RAJPUT SCHOOL OF INDIAN PAINTING

What Dr. Coomaraswami calls the Rajput School of painting is not an indigenous Hindu product, nor has it any natural connection with Rajputana. The various Rajas of the Mughal Empire used to enlist painters trained in the imperial court and employ them in representing scenes from the Hindu epics and romances and other subjects of a purely Hindu character, but the style and art ideas of these painters are exactly the same as those of the painters* employed by the Mughal Court. There is a certain crudeness,—the use of strong colours a return to rigidity of outline, and a certain bareness or poverty of environment—in the Rajput School because it falls short of the perfection of detail, delicacy of touch and elaboration of ornament which marked the climax of Mughal art in the age of Shah Jahan. The Rajput Princes who patronised these painters were less rich and civilized

than the Emperors of Delhi, and hence their painters represent a comparatively primitive school, or more correctly, suggest the idea of their being the work of the immature pupils of the old masters of the Mughal Court working in a less cultured atmosphere and for poorer patrons. The art traditions of this so-called Rajput School have continued with little change or development at Jaipur till to day. Catering for the modern European market has effectually destroyed all hope of its rising above old convention or showing a life of its own.

Indo Saracen painting rapidly declined after the death of Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb's puritanical simplicity and miserliness, the imperial bankruptcy caused by his many wars, and the disorder and impoverishment which seized the Mughal Empire under his successors, led to the starvation of artists and the disappearance of all genius in this line. Cheap inferior pictures continued to be drawn and the life of the artist in India became miserable in the 18th century, except under a rare Rajah or Nawab here and there, till the invasion of Nadir Shah (1739), which left chaos behind it. In the last quarter of the 18th century there was a revival of art under the patronage of the Nawabs of Oudh. But European art now began to exercise a fatal and dominating influence upon Indo Saracen art. The result was the bastard Lucknow School of Painting,—a contemptible half breed product without any of the good features of either the Indian or the European style. Taste, conception and execution alike were vulgar and affected,* and none of these works is enlivened by a single spark of genius. In the 20th century there has been a revival of interest in the old Indian paintings, thanks to the teachings of Mr. Havel, Dr. Coomaraswami and Sister Nivedita. The price of genuine old Indian pictures has been greatly raised by European and American collectors and there is at present a considerable trade in faked old Indian pictures,

* So thoroughly were the painters of Hindu subjects imbued with the spirit of their masters who drew Muslim or Mughal Court pictures that the result is often comic to a modern critic. I have seen some beautiful and genuinely old Indo Saracen Hindu pictures which represent the elders of Mathura dressed and armed like Mughal courtiers going out to meet Krishna and Ram advancing to the conquest of Lanka with his army marching in exact divisions with all the arms equipment and transport of the Mughal imperial army, *artillery not left out!* The Karamchands broyle with daggers. A few strokes with a brush can turn him into Akbar. Kalha is only a Mughal noble lady at her toilet, with fewer ornaments.

* The so-called old portrait of Akbar fondling his Christian wife described by Father Hosten is only a specimen of the Lucknow school probably done after 1825.

that is modern copies made from a few genuine old originals but artificially treated to look old and passed off on unsuspecting European buyers as genuinely antique art works.

The new school of Indian paintings which is represented by Abanindranath Tagore and his best pupil Nando Lal Bose deliberately imitates the Ajanta style. The Mughal school has also found a few modern imitators but these are all artificial products and not works of a living inspiration or genius hence they cannot possibly cause a new birth or development of a living *growing* Indo Saracen art. They lack the divine madness of the true creative spirit.

The so called Kangra School represents a belated but pure survival of Indo Saracen art dealing with Hindu subjects. Its chief master was Molaram who lived in the Garhwal hills at the end of the 18th century. These hill tracts had escaped the anarchy which ruined the Mughal Empire in the 18th century and also the influence of European art which began to move up the Gangetic valley from 1763 onwards. Therefore the Kangra School retained well into the 19th century the unadulterated form of an art which had been completely modified or disappeared in its cradle lands of Agra Delhi etc. Molaram's colouring is extremely beautiful and his representation of animals plants etc. has remarkable delicacy of touch and charm in spite of their palpable conventionality. His night pieces are of special excellence.

The last attempt to revive Indo Saracen painting was made by Ranjit Singh (about 1825-40) but the result in spite of its elaborate prettiness is only suggestive of the last gasp of an old and discarded horse suddenly flogged into life.

There was no development of art during the Maratha predominance (1750-1800). But Hingane the Maratha envoy at Delhi and other officers of his race collected many old Mughal paintings and Sanskrit manuscripts illuminated with very fine miniatures at Delhi and the Rajput courts and sent them to the Deccan for the Rajahs of Satara and the Peshwas of Puna.

The decadence of the Mughal royalty and nobility as the result of Nadir's invasion gave the Marathas a rare opportunity to collect the richest art treasures of an *older* generation and several of these still survive in the Bombay Presidency as I discovered during my tours in Maharashtra.

In one branch of sculpture namely ivory carving (often in miniature) perfection was reached in the Mughal period and the art has continued with hardly any decay to almost our own day when it is fast dying out for want of patronage.

IV THE TEXTILE ART

India has been famous from very ancient times for her fine cotton cloth. The hot climate of the plains promoted the manufacture of thin muslins for the use of kings and nobles. Silk rearing and silk weaving were also a highly developed and flourishing art even before the Muhammadan period. Velvet and scarlet cloth were never indigenous in the country but were imported from abroad (usually Europe) and these were special favourites of our Muhammadan rulers. A rich trade in them was carried on by foreigners especially European merchants throughout the Mughal period.

It is difficult to speak with certainty on the subject but the Muhammadans seem to have introduced or at least to have greatly developed the variety and richness of embroidery. Large numbers of skilled artisans were maintained by our Muhammadan rulers to work figures with coloured cotton thread or silk thread or metallic thread on cloth of various kinds. There was immense variety in the designs classes of fabrics and the nature of the material used (see *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. I). The shawl industry of Kashmir and the Panjab was distinctly the creation of the Mughal Emperors. The kinkhab and other kinds of embroidery work which they required for themselves and their courtiers made them maintain large State-factories of weavers and embroiderers in many towns besides patronising private artisans. Ahmadabad in Gujarat Masulpatam and a few other towns were the most famous among the seats of the

cloth industry. Carpets for the floor and hangings for the walls were most likely introduced into India by Muhammadan rulers and the perfection of ornamentation, floral decoration and artistic harmony of colour in these was reached in the reign of Shah Jahan when extremely costly carpets were manufactured for the court. Cloth canopies for the throne were exclusively used and these were also manufactured at great cost in a sumptuous style, usually of Ahmedabad and in Kashmir (They were known in the Hindu period, too).

The court was the chief purchaser of these things but a certain quantity was also produced for exportation abroad by private traders. Silk embroidery was carried to a high artistic level and the muslin industry of Dacca flourished greatly as the result of royal patronage during the Muhammadan period.

V. THE JEWELLER'S AND GOLDSMITH'S ART.

These were, no doubt, highly developed in the Hindu period, but they received a great impetus under the Mughals, who lavished large sums on them, partly from

their natural love of luxury and partly from the political necessity of giving costly ornaments in return for presents received from others or as gifts of honour to foreign rulers and their own sons and officers. (For Shah Jahan's jewellery see my *Historical Essays* "The Wealth of India".)

VI. POTTERY AND METAL WORK.

Ornamental pottery and metal work were also very highly developed. The Hindu kings of old are not very likely to have used porcelain or any kind of costly earthenware, as their religious prejudices confined them to stone vessels and cheap clay pots and pans which could be thrown away after one use. As the metal vessels in Hindu houses have to be daily scrubbed, there was no room for ornamental brass or silver vessels for show or metal vessels with inlaid work (*koft gari*) in a Hindu household. Hence, inlaid metal vessels, porcelains, Bidri pots and even sumptuously decorated brass and silver vessels were characteristic of the Muhammadan period of India and not of the Hindu.

JADUNATH SARKAR

INDIAN PERIODICALS

*Mass Education in India

In the course of an article in the July number of the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society*, Mr. Wajid Ali, B.A. (Cantab) writing on the subject observes:

Friend and foe alike deplore the ignorance of the Indian masses. Ignorance is undoubtedly an evil but to attribute complete ignorance of things to the Indian ryot is almost as preposterous as to hold Nando Ghosh responsible for all the evils of the universe. In some respects the ryot is the most cultured proletarian in the world. In his folklore he has an unwritten literature which can compare with the best of its written rivals. Many scholars hold that India is the original home of those wonderful nursery tales which delight men of all ages and all countries. Then again the ryot is very often a better philosopher than his compatriot, the 'bhadralok'. His conception of the Universe is deeper and more humane and his code of morals is much less sophisticated. He is also in

his humble way, a connoisseur in art. He enjoys his country ballads, and can often sing them with great feeling. He goes to the village Jattras and has a true appreciation of real drama. And above all a mystic vein pervades his life. I have often come across peasants who have shamed me by their deep and profound observations.

The ryot then is not a savage or even a barbarian. The modern idea that the Indian proletariat is ignorant is the outcome of the fallacy that education is synonymous with literacy. This is only another illustration of the incorrigible bourgeois tendency to place artificiality over intrinsic value. If education meant literacy, then Mohammad, Homer, Akbar and many other giants of the human race would be classed with the savage. Letters are only one kind of instruments for imparting education and are not by any means the only kind. There used to be education long before letters were invented. The great authors of the Vedas and the Upanishads were not literate men. The Iliad and the Odyssey were composed before the Greeks had learnt the use of alphabets.

Great civilizations like that of Peru flourished long before writing was known.

Man therefore can be educated without the knowledge of letters. Mere learning again is not education. Even an extensive knowledge of books does not necessarily mean that its possessor is really educated. He might be in the words of the Persan moralist 'Chirpai biro kitabi chand' a quadruped with a load of books on its back. Education means the proper cultivation of body and mind. Books are a means of imparting it so are painting, music, folklore, gymnastics, sports and many other things. The ancient Greeks used to make music and gymnastics an essential part of education along with poetry, mathematics and other subjects. No single method is sufficient. All have to be used in combination to produce a really good result.

Continuing the writer observes

We often notice that an English working man has a clearer conception of the British Constitution than an M.A. of the Calcutta University who has spent years in the study of the subject. The reason for this apparent anomaly is the fact that while our scholar gets his ideas only from books the other man imbibes them from his surroundings. Constitutional ideas have become a part of the national culture of the British race. It is when an idea becomes a part of the national culture that its influence is most deeply felt. Such for instance is the case with our religious ideas.

We have however to confess that though our popular culture is so rich in religion and folk literature it is hopelessly out of date in politics, economics, science and sociology. These things we have to learn from Europe as the Europeans have to learn from us their religion and philosophy.

The problem for the Indian reformer then is how to make the scientific conceptions of Europe also a part of our national culture. It must however be remembered that we have not only to introduce a strong vein of western culture but to systematise and modify by our own in such a way that they might together make a consistent and harmonious whole. If we succeed in this we shall have produced a civilization which would be superior both to that of India of the past and of Europe of the present. We should remember however that the body should be looked after in the same way as the mind. No nation that neglects the health of its members can survive. In this connection I do not think that we can do better than revive the sports that have delighted our countrymen for thousands of years.

Looking at the question from this broad point of view I cannot help holding that literary education must form only a fraction of what we have to impart to the youth. Our activity must cover a wide field. We have to study and use the methods by which religious culture has been introduced into the country. We have to press into our service the actor, the ballad singer, the artist, the folklorist, the musician and the athlete to mention only a few out of many. The education I am speaking of cannot be fully imparted at the school. We have had nearly a hundred years of pure school education and the result has been disappointing. We have to convert the whole atmosphere in which the man breathes into one vast school. We should try to establish schools by all means but

they are not sufficient by the natives and even if we do not have them we should prosecute our object by other means.

Imperial Unity : The Case of India

In the course of a long article under the above caption in the June number of *East & West*, Prof. Bryn Naram, M.A., writes—

At the meeting of the Imperial Conference held in May 1911 Mr. Joseph Ward proposed the creation of an Imperial Parliament with legislative power in Imperial affairs and an executive of twelve responsible to the electorates of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland. The President of the Conference, Mr. Asquith, then Premier, did not accept the proposal. He thought that the creation of an Imperial Parliament and an Imperial Executive would impair if not altogether destroy the authority of the Government of the United Kingdom in such grave matters as the conduct of foreign policy and he declared in unequivocal terms that *authority could not be shared*.

But the feeling which has grown up in the Dominions during the war is that it must be somehow shared. The people of the Dominions have helped to win the great war; they have fought hard and fought well. But as to the future we are told the result on may be expressed in two words: *Never again*. In unanswerable fashion they have asserted their right to a place in the Supreme Council of the Empire' (Marriott in the *Nineteenth Century* for January 1917).

British statesmen no longer deny the right. But if the claim of the Dominions to share the authority of the British Parliament in matters of foreign policy is admitted the constitution of the British Empire must be reformed. What are the possible lines of reform?

The necessity of reform in the existing constitution of the Empire has been shown. The more important plans for securing Imperial unity have been considered. The whole question may now be discussed with reference to India.

One of the disadvantages arising to a dependency from its dependence on the dominant country, wrote Cornwall Lewis some eighty years ago, 'is that it is involved in the wars of the dominant country. For example if the dominant country should be plunged in wars either from the necessity of self-defence, or through its own ambition or the ambition of other states the dependency is necessarily a party of them. Hence its trade may be disturbed, its merchant vessels exposed to the risk of capture, and its territory even, made the theatre of war without its having done anything to provoke hostilities or having had any means of preventing them and although it is only as it were a formal party to the dispute' India became involved in the great war on account of the political connection with the United Kingdom. Of the events which led to the war India knew no more at the time than the Dominions and with the causes of the war she was even remotely connected.

When war broke out we in India also realized like the people in the Dominions that war is an interest

which overmasters all other interests. As in the Dominions projected internal reform and development had to be indoned and as much of the labour and capital of the country as could be spared was turned to war uses. The Dominions played an important part in the war so did India. British India, it is recognized, broke the power of Turkey.

The writer continues

For the people of the Dominions should be asked to fight for the Empire when they have no share in determining the foreign policy of the Empire, is held to be an anomaly. But what is anomaly in the case of the Dominions is also an anomaly in the case of India unless old-fashioned ideas to the relation of a dependency to the dominant country are to prevail. It should be recognized that the hardships which war imposes and the sacrifices which it demands are as cruel in the case of a dependency as in that of a self-governing portion of the Empire from which it follows that in matters of peace and war which affect the whole Empire a dependency has as much a right to be consulted before any decision is taken as any other part of the Empire. And if any Federal organs of consultation or legislation are created provision must be made for the adequate representation of a dependency.

The problem has not always been thus stated. In 'The Problem of National Unity' published a quarter of a century ago Mr. George R. Perkin thus answered the objection that India is an insuperable obstacle to a Federal system for the Empire:

"India is practically a Crown colony, and as yet the United Kingdom has shown no inclination to govern it otherwise than as a Crown colony. The same duty may be rightly accepted and duly fulfilled by British people as a whole under any system of common Government. To accept it would create no new national burden or risk, would react no more upon the ordinary political development of the various states than it has upon that of the United Kingdom."

The problem of India is solved by transferring her from the control of the United Kingdom to the joint control of the United Kingdom and the Dominions.

In Mr. Herbert Samuel's scheme provision is made for the representation of India in the Imperial Assembly, but the Imperial Executive will consist of the representatives of the United Kingdom and of the four great Dominions. It is admitted that the Assembly will be merely a place for discussion, a Parliament in the etymological sense of the term, it is also clear that the representatives of India in the Assembly will be a mere fraction of the total number of the Assembly. If India is not represented on the Imperial Executive, she will have practically no voice in the conduct of foreign affairs of the Empire of which she is an important member. The Federal Executive and the Federal Assembly will practically control the destinies of India. Under the system proposed India will have two masters, the United Kingdom and the four great Dominions. Will the new arrangement be acceptable to the people of India? Professor Dicey says: "The Parliament and the Government of the United Kingdom may be chargeable with grave errors they have fallen into many blunders. But they have never forgotten—they will never, one trusts forget that—they hold a trusteeship whether it be India or in the

Crown Colonies or in the Protectorates, or within our own borders of the interests and fortunes of fellow-subjects who have not yet attained, or perhaps in some cases may never attain, to the full stature of self-government. Is it credible that for instance, the people of India will see with indifference this trusteeship passes from the hands of an Imperial Parliament (which has more or less learned to think imperially and in England has maintained the equal political right of all British Subjects) into the hands of a new made Imperial Congress which will consist in part of representatives of the Dominions which it may be of necessity, cannot give effect to this enlarged conception of British citizenship?"

The writer concludes :

The answer of every educated Indian who understands the question will be "NO." India claims to be treated on a footing of equality with the Dominions in all matters affecting the Empire. She will never accept the Dominions as joint trustees with the United Kingdom of her interests.

At the same time that we press for changes in the Government of India we should also insist on India being given a proper place in the councils of the Empire and this place should not be inferior to that of the Dominions. It is only fair that if we are asked to make the same sacrifices as the Dominions in peace and war, we should be accorded the same treatment.

The Problem of Intermarriages

The July number of *South India Research* opens with an interesting article on the above subject from which we make the following extracts—

The question of intermarriages is based on principles vital to the constitution of every society. A race that has for centuries devoted itself to high intellectual pursuits loses its integrity by marrying into a race that is trained exclusively for physical work. The European loses much by freely marrying into the Indian family, cross breeding then is guided by biological laws of heredity. The social reformer forgets the fact that he would sometimes run his race by enthusiastically advocating interracial marriages. The statement that all men are equal by birth, and that the restriction to intermarriages is only based on mere sentiment fatal to the progress of the race does not take into account the law of heredity and cannot be acceptable to the scientists of the twentieth century. Whether it be the intermarriage bill of the Indian Legislative Council or the constructive religious reform of sections that carry a Crusade against caste, the law of heredity is beyond the control of man and must produce its natural results favourable or unfavourable.

Continuing the writer observes :

To a clear biological eye the result of any fusion of races becomes visible before the event. Determine first the type of the individual that you desire to produce and this determines the laws according to which the fusion has to be made. If in your love and enthusiasm for reform you advocate the removal of all

barrers for marriage, nature is no longer under your control and the law of heredity may prejudicially denationalise your race.

Marriage then is sacred to man. Open the pages of any ancient history you will find special laws restricting cross breeds. The integrity of the race has to be preserved its particular greatness has to be maintained. If fusion were necessary it has to be so regulated as to preserve and even improve all that is great in it but not diminish even a particle of what centuries of toil has achieved for it. Else the superiority of it is gone. A quality becomes fixed in a race, not at your pleasure or your command, but by centuries of controlled application. It is easy to break an edifice, but it is not so easy to construct an ideal one. The laws that guide intermarriages have

to follow the principles of biology and should never be left to the whims and fancies of lay enthusiasts.

The writer concludes with the following words

Intermarriages then have to be viewed in the light of their effect upon the future of the land. Their purpose is to improve the race far above its present standard. In making intermarriages, the scientist has to determine the strength of the existing biological forces and shape them with all the skill of his art. It is not the work for a layman. It has to be controlled by science and as every experiment is, it has to be modelled and remodelled as suits the results. Surely then America is right in restricting intermarriages between the Americans and the American Negroes.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Policing of Asia

In view of the question of the future of Turkey is now engaging the attention of the statesmen throughout the world the following extracts from a recent number of the *London Review of Reviews* cannot fail to be interesting.—

LIEUT COLONEL A. C. YATES does not view with approval or equanimity the proposal which has been made in some quarters that America should make herself answerable to the League of Nations for the peace, order, and good government of Constantinople and the Middle East and says so with some force in the March number of the *Nineteenth Century*. The assumed 'disinterestedness' of the United States is, he says, in no sense entitled to weigh against the almost immemorial 'interest' of Great Britain, France, and other European Powers. 'Europe is well qualified to take charge of Constantinople and the Straits.

The near future will connect the Euxine and the Baltic, and therefore the Mediterranean and the North Sea by a great canal system permeating Europe from NW to SE. Both termini of this system must be controlled by the Powers of Europe. The United States, be it remembered have a Panama Canal, and that they as a 'World Power' hold and guard Europe will do the same for the necks of the Baltic and Black Seas, while Constantinople as the seat of the League of Nations, as proposed by others before Mr Venizelos will guard the outlet to the Mediterranean.

As to the ex-Turkish Provinces, Col Yates reminds his readers that when Turkey surrendered unconditionally, the British and French Governments issued a joint declaration promising the complete and final enfranchisement of the oppressed peoples the establishment and ultimate recognition of native governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia, and the encouragement of local initiative, economic de-

velopment education and administration of impartial justice. Britain and France as pre-eminently those countries which for centuries have been vitally interested in the East have shown by this declaration that they claim the right to supervise the reform of the emancipated provinces of the Turkish Empire. Moreover the British Empire, as mistress of India, is vitally concerned with the Buffer States which lie between Europe and India. Even as far east as Persia comes within her legitimate sphere of influence. Persia is only fit to be put in leading strings and, if it is to have any association with the League of Nations, it should be as the 'ward of Great Britain'. Therefore, concludes the writer—that which we have shielded we have won the right to administer. The United States of America will not forget that, valuable as are the services which they have rendered in this war to the cause of justice and liberty, the Western World itself still presents problems which await solution. There is a 'Middle West' situated between the Gulfs of Mexico and California, which for misdeeds of recent occurrence owes a debt of retribution, and that not to Washington alone. The good old aphorism *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* has not yet outlasted its time. Let the United States patch up Liberia and set its iron heel upon the neck of Mexico. Europe will police Asia or at all events the Near and Middle East, and Europe in this connection means, *impulsu*, Britain.

The Future of Turkey.

There is at the present moment a great deal of talk as to the future of Turkey. We take, therefore, the following from the May number of the *Review of Reviews* (London).—

One has heard very little of Turkey since the Armistice, but it is to be assumed that the subject is

told me of Sir Hall Caine who he said, rises up at four o'clock every morning and begins work at once. Mr Wells sometimes gets up in the middle of the night when he feels an urgent desire to put his thoughts on paper. When I complained to Mr Yeats on one occasion that my day was so fully occupied that I had hardly any time for writing he advised me to get up an hour or two earlier in the morning and gave me an exhibition of some exercises in Swedish drill which he performs every day. He did not appear to be impressed when I reminded him that I seldom got to bed before midnight.

Wherever I turned whatever I read I was taught that if I would have health and wealth and wisdom I must shake off my sluggardly habits and quit my bed at an early hour of the morning. I said to a friend who thus advised me that I had been born at midnight and that children born at that hour do not feel the same urgency to early rising than children born at other hours feel but I was told that this was a fantastic notion and indeed I thought so myself. Think I said to myself of the novels and plays that you might have written had you formed the habit of rising at six or seven A.M. instead of at eight thirty or nine. Well I asked you have given to sleep what should have been given to literature and the drama. I classed myself with politicians and journalists and actors most of whom eat their breakfasts at an hour when other men are beginning to think of luncheon or at all events of snacks. It was odd I told myself that all the early risers of my acquaintance were not notably wise or healthy and were all of them poor. Servants rose early but I had not observed outside the pages of fiction that they were very wise and I knew that no one could possibly become wealthy on £20 per annum even when caps and aprons were provided. Almost all workmen rise early and almost all rich men rise late but workmen as a class do not monopolize wisdom or health whereas the rich though they do not monopolize health and wisdom very nearly monopolize wealth and certainly possess their share of health and wisdom. Nevertheless such is the tyranny of a moral apothegm particularly of one which makes for discomfort I believed that I a practised sluggard from childhood was possessed of less vitality than those who rose up early in the morning and I thought it was very unlikely that I would ever amass a fortune.

Since then however I have made a discovery. It is this. All these preachers and writers on early rising are in the wrong. It is not natural for man to quit his bed at dawn he does so by a distinct effort of will and in most cases because of the compulsion of circumstances. There never was in real life a young woman who sprang lightly from her couch and ran swiftly across the room to fling open her window and lean out to greet the dawn. The workman who rises at five A.M. on weekdays lies in bed

until twelve o'clock on Sundays and the ambition of every servant is to marry someone wealthy enough to allow her to lie in bed in the morning while someone else gets up at an early hour. Hence the vogue of the novelette. The little rhyme which is taught to Catholic children—

Nature gives five
Custom takes seven
Laziness nine
And wickedness eleven

may be sound in theology but it is unsound in nature. I do not believe that there is a cow on this earth which is content with five hours of sleep. I am told by people who are competent to know that nuns suffer severely from loss of sleep and are frequently found slumbering during their devotions.

Political Reform and Hinduism

Mr A. G. Hogg in the course of a long article under the above caption writing in the July number of the *International Review of Missions* (London) observes

What are the features of Hinduism which lend support to the suggestion that in India political and religious reform constitute very much a single problem. The question is complicated by the old difficulty that Hinduism is so much more of a social system than a creed. The feature which first leaps to the eye is caste and as we shall see caste is indeed one of the religious obstacles to the evolution of responsible government. But if for the moment we consider caste simply as a system of social cleavage and neglect the doctrine of karma which is its religious basis it does not seem inconceivable that the obstacle to responsible government presented by the caste cleavages might in time disappear without a religious revolution. For caste has proved itself to be an institution which can bend without breaking. Under modern influences it is becoming possible without disloyalty to caste to act in ways which formerly would have involved breach of caste. And this elasticity of the caste idea to survive changes in the content of the caste prohibitions suggests the interesting question whether Hindus might not conceivably learn to believe in that political equality of all citizens which responsible government presupposes without surrendering in other respects the dogma of human inequality that is the essence of caste. In Britain sincere admission of political equality is by no means incompatible with most undemocratic social distinctions. Is something similar in the way of inconsistent compromise out of the question in India?

The Colonisation of Mesopotamia by Indians

We take the following from a recent issue of *The Review of Reviews* of London

One of the best forms in which the country will derive great advantage is the colonisation of Mesopotamia by the Indians. The productive areas of Babylonia will furnish many a wandering labourer with sufficient to live upon comfortably, if he engages himself in agricultural pursuits. The poorer classes of India will consider it a boon to migrate to a country where they will be free from the fear of famine. Not a few are driven to dire destitution every year by the awful ravages of this calamity. The Indian Government has done much to combat the evil by opening up canals in the land where no natural supply of water is procurable, but yet the danger exists, and it is a very real one.

This plan would be helpful to both countries. India might then do without her costly famine departments, labourers and tradesmen emigrating could not but enormously increase their earnings and religious ties need not stand in the way. The educated Indian and a better form of Government must inevitably produce profound psychological and material changes.

After a complete survey of the Babylonian regions has been made, the next move will be to intimate and extensively advertise the opening prospects and concessions which the Government is willing to make in favour of the emigrants. A separate department may be installed the work of which should consist in receiving applications and arranging matters. Such applicants should be required to produce evidence of their respectability, and industrious habits, so that every nondescript that might feel inclined to leave the country should not infest the new land. In the beginning a batch might be taken, the expense of which would be covered by Government, so that after a few years these prosperous people would write giving glowing accounts of the better life which would serve as a regular and inexpensive advertisement. A really good start is of fundamental importance and the movement would soon make a headway of its own accord.

Climate and conditions are much the same as in India. Two main points are favoured by the writer for such settlements round the coast of the Persian Gulf and the Basra region. Irrigation is required and a railway system. Markets simply wait to be exploited by European traders.

National Physique

The following lines from *The Review of Reviews* (London) will be found interesting —

"You cannot have an Al Empire with a Cq population," said Mr Lloyd George recently. 'We cannot rear A men in B3 houses, amid a B3 environment' says Captain E. Brown, R.A.M.C. carrying the same theme, in the *English Review* for March. Captain Brown says that the wholesale medical examinations of men of military age have given us a pretty clear picture of the physical standard of the adult manhood of the nation, and the only conclusion that can be drawn is that it is deplorably low, and that the number of preventible physical defects and disabilities is beyond all reason. Many are entirely preventible, many more could, and should, have been avoided in individuals by fresh air, proper food, physical training in youth, a healthy environment, and an intelligent and enlightened rearing of children, and Captain Brown suggests that the whole standard of health of the nation could be raised and a massed attack on disease made by the institution of a State Medical Service. Such a Service would have five principal advantages. It would mean an equal distribution of doctors, the latest advances and the best treatment of any disease would be brought home to every member of the medical profession, it would make medicine that power in the State which its importance and vital interests demand that it should be, it would co-ordinate all the branches of the medical profession, and if intelligently put into practice it should produce a higher and more independent status of medical men. Furthermore, Captain Brown suggests that the general health of the nation would be enormously raised, and many preventible diseases such as rickets ("the one disease which is mainly accountable for the production of B3 men and women"), stamped out, if the entire population from infancy to middle age were to be periodically examined and categorised, and each individual's defects (if any) recorded on a medical history card.

The Reconstruction of Religion.

Mr Stanley A. Cook, M.A., writing in *The Expository Times* observes —

All who reflect upon the social, industrial and other problems of the day are fully alive to the necessity of Reconstruction. But it also happens that the question of the Reconstruction of Religion is very much in the foreground, and perhaps it is hardly recognised how vital this is. The reason can be briefly stated. A living Religion—Religion after Reconstruction—permeates the whole of the individual's life and of social activity, and influences men's attitudes to the social and other problems. In addition to this the social and other non-religious problems are invariably found to involve all that is felt to be personally most real and true. Accordingly, on the one hand Religion cannot be indifferent

to men's conceptions of Reality and on the other all Reconstruction of whatever sort sooner or later is seen to concern men's ideas of Reality. No reconstruction, no Religion can have any endurance if it is contrary to the

Ultimate Realities of the Universe. Reconstruction, Religion and Reality are the three great Rs of the age.

INDIAN LABOUR UNDER THE INDUSTRIAL MILL-STONE WITH A PLEA FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION BEFORE THE COMING LABOUR CONFERENCE

THE social and economic conditions in Indian urban life which are the contributory causes of prostitution as described in my previous article affect the working classes more than the other sections of the community. But social conditions of labour life in the city factory and the crowded workshop in Bastees and Chawls have other more serious aspects detrimental to life and efficiency. Long hours and long shifts, overcrowded slums and congested latrines have detrimental social and moral as well as economic effects.

The prevailing uniformity in the hours of work and the traditional division of day and night shifts throughout the year must be given up. India is a land of well defined seasons and climatic extremes and it is well known that the afternoon hours in summer are much more exhausting and impose a greater strain on the nervous energy than the corresponding intervals in winter. It is an important problem of the scientific management of industry in India to determine the most efficient system of day and night hours and the proper time of working in the hot and cold weather. Both the system of shifts and the hours of working should also be so regulated as to allow the operatives sufficient leisure for food and for rest. What leisure for food is possible to a factory woman who has to attend work at 6 in the morning and except for an interval of half an hour after 12 labour till 6 p.m. in the evening? What time has she for recreation, for leisure to attend to the

affairs of her house or to the requirements of her children? And yet I found such a factory woman in the slums of Madurai who has three children and who in spite of her sickness and general prostration has to work for 11½ hours in a crowded workshop in the tropical heat of 110° because her husband has gone back to his village for illness. The Factory Act in India needs immediate amendment. The hours of labour are far too long and young person under the age of 15 years should not be employed. And how often the factory inspectors wink at or are deluded when gunny bags and baskets cover boys below the minimum age out of sight when they are on their round? Eleven hours of work for a woman and 7 hours for a child under 9 years of age with half an hour of interval during the day in oppressive heat is a cruel exaction for the pittance they receive. No child can grow to be strong and vigorous, no woman can help neglecting her health and by weakening her vitality impairing the future of the family and the race in these conditions. In Bombay Presidency alone the number of women employed in factories has risen from 51,171 in 1913 to 56,215 in 1917. Irregularities and breaches of the law relating to the conditions of work for women who are even more marvellous than the men, factory workers continue to be frequent and among those the employment of women for night work is the most serious. The chief Inspector of Factories remarks that it is very difficult to detect irregularities and to check the abuses that continue

to exist notwithstanding the stray prosecutions instituted year after year. The appointment of women Inspectors of Factories attending to the observance of the few provisions in the Indian Factories Act relating to the employment of women and if possible of children is also an imperative need. There is need of regulations to protect women labourers and miners from immoral exploitation by overseers, time-keepers, head-clerks and even managers who often use fines for dubious purposes. Apart from the grave abuses connected with the prevailing exploitation of Indian labour and the illegal employment of women labour, the prevailing legal hours of employment and long hours of labour present serious problems. There is indeed something dreadful in the expectation that mill labourers, men, women and too often children also shall rise in the morning (because whistles are forbidden) stagger half asleep to the mill gates, snatch a little more sleep on the stones outside the gate, toil a monotonous task from day-light to dark with one short recognised interval for food and several short unrecognised intervals for sleep or tobacco. If the mill labourer's hours are reduced, he will feel fitter and will consciously or unconsciously work harder. Already in the few experiments that have been made in Calcutta and elsewhere in reducing hours it has been found that there was no decrease in output but on the contrary a slight increase. Labourers in England are already working 8 hours daily and agitating for a six hours term of work and considering the physical condition of European and Indian labourers and the general incapacity of the latter to work in the overcrowded factories, the Indian hours of labour are absurdly long. The English experience carefully sifted and preserved in parliamentary reports and in laws and rules shows clearly that the eight hour day is a healthy measure which pays. The idea had long been maintained but it is now moulded into fact in the crucible of war. A nation needing maximum production for the life and death struggle in which it was engaged found that the best results were obtained by shortening the hours of labour.

America followed suit and during the brief time in which industry was keyed up to the maximum pitch the eight hour day was rapidly applied voluntarily by employers and involuntarily under order of the war labour board. But under the conditions of work in the Indian factories, fatigue the cumulative result of excessive labour has been a health hazard of the first magnitude.*

The low wages, the long hours of labour and the general economic pressure coupled with the peculiar psychology of the Indian factory hand who is primarily an agriculturist and has not been able as yet to adapt himself to the alien city environment have led to strikes which have been known ever since the first modern factory was erected in India. For the past five years Bombay has been earning an unenviable reputation in this regard and in January last the general strike of the cotton mill operatives was not only the biggest strike known in the history of mill industry in India but was quite new in its aim and methods. Hitherto strikes have been sectional and isolated but in this case not only 100,000 cotton operatives were out and every cotton mill was shut down but the strike spread to other sections of labour. The unrest spread with the rapidity of a haystack fire affecting dockyard hands, workers in the mint, employees of Engineering works and shipping companies and *methnis* of the cloth market. It seemed that a general strike was imminent. Considering that labour in India is not consolidated in a trade union, the strike was wonderfully well organized. As employers were deaf to the legitimate demands of the work people there was nothing left for them to do but to combine in a general application of coercive measures. This in fact is the very foundation of syndicalism and shows the magnitude of the new forces which are bringing India into line with the international proletariat which is emerging from the Peace Conference and which the

* Health Problems of Industrial Workers in a Reconstruction Labour Policy (The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science January 1919)

European or Indian capitalist ought now to take stock of

In the end the mill owners consented to make several concessions to the strikers but the end of the strike came because of the ravages of cholera. It is true that the Indian labourers having no trade unions can get no strike pay to sustain their unity and resolution. The recently instituted labour union of Madras marks a new advance in the direction of the organization of Indian mill labour. In one of the recent Madras strikes I found that though the mill operatives pulled on together their capacity for indebtedness to the local shopkeepers could not help them beyond three weeks though they denied themselves fish or mutton and were satisfied merely with rice sauce pepper water and milk in one meal a day their daughters and wives who do not work and earn continually finding fault with them complaining to me that they are shirking work for sheer idleness. But the strength of caste ties and of social sympathies puzzles the western mill owners. Nor can they understand the power of resistance of the urban labourers in India arising from their ability to go back to the land a resource of endurance in unemployment which western mill hands do not possess.

But such advantages of the Indian factory hand are of no avail on account of the bad unhealthy housing conditions and general condition of innutrition. The diseases arising from a labour strike in India are unknown in the West and the relation between the frightful rise in the mortality and a labour strike is a matter which ought to be pondered over. Thus we have a striking difference between a strike in India and a strike in the West. The testimony of Dr Turner the Health Officer of the Corporation is much to the point. He wrote: On the 10th January the cholera deaths were 26 and declining. On the 9th January the mill hands struck work and the mills were closed. A few days later the cholera mortality rose to 48 on the 17th and 311 to day. Instead of being able to use the latrines of the mills the 150,000 persons resorted to the congested chawls passages lanes open spaces. Instead of



IN FORTY HUNGRY AND DIRTY

Mill hands during the rest of half an hour in the noon to take food. The work time in this case is from 6:30 A.M. to 12:30 A.M. and from 1 P.M. to 7 P.M. In these lodging places which are the seed-beds of drink disease and vice men and animals are indiscriminately herded together in misery.

being at work from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. they hang about the chawls and the streets eating and drinking whatever they can get parading the streets and joining funeral parties. A visit to a mill chawl in the early morning will find the rooms and verandahs full of people who would otherwise be employed in comparatively sanitary mills with sanitary arrangements and a certain amount of time for rest certainly better off than in the overcrowded dark and dirty chawls. Overcrowding the chawls at night is bad enough but when the occupants who should be out at work occupy the chawls all day and night using the latrines and bathing places which become full of excreta which cannot be removed at once and when cases of cholera and deaths occur in these chawls the danger of spreading the disease is more than doubled. The side issues of the labour strike are disease and death. Cholera is proverbially the most difficult disease to control. The person attacked even if of robust health if not put under expert medical treatment at once has very little chance and his position is worse still when reduced by want of food bad food and lowered vitality overcrowded houses and congested latrines.

the age of 14) may be employed for more than 6 hours in any one day. The employment of women and children and also of adult males in factories where the shift system is not in force has been prohibited except between 3.30 A.M. and 7 P.M.

The weekly hours of work in factories as fixed by law in various countries are

48 hours—Great Britain (textile mills) Norway Germany Australia (by law in New South Wales) Russia

54 hours—Assam Tea Plantation for women up to 18 years

72 hours—India (men and women workers)

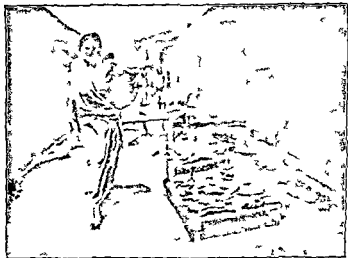
98 hours—Japan (men and women workers)

Asia and Africa are the home of the 12 and 14 hour day, the long hours of labour mean less opportunities for rest and recreations, monotonous work and unwholesome enjoyment as well as bad housing and low standards of living. The hours a man works indeed frequently determine the character of his home and domestic life, his pleasures as well as his capacity to resist exploitation.

A newly aroused civic and economic conscience in India must demand (1) a 54-hour week limit for factory labourers (2) a 42-hour week limit for miners (3) a 36-hour week limit for women miners (4) a 48-hour week limit for factory women (5) a compulsory interval of an hour in the middle of each working day and (6) an age limit of 12 years for young persons and a legal night rest for 11 hours.

Cluses of the Indian Factory Act must also demand (1) a minimum cubic feet of space in the labourers tenements (2) a maximum disparity of 3 to 4 in the proportion of sexes in the labour quarters and (3) a minimum number of latrines.

In the absence of international regulation the greatest difficulty in shortening the Indian hours of labour will be in the competition with Japan where the strain of the factory work, especially upon women, is far greater than in India. In Japan the factory



GRAND GR D

A factory girl working 12 hours a day with a child in her womb. She has realised that life is a burden—

Oh God, that bread should be so dear
And flesh and blood so cheap

law promulgated on September 1916 prohibited the employment of boys under 15 years of age and girls and women for a period exceeding 12 hours a day but provided that in the weaving and knitting industries the working hours may be extended up to 14 hours during the two years following the promulgation of the law. The period expired on September 1919 from which date the working time for boys under 15 years of age, girls and women could be accordingly reduced from 14 to 12 hours.

But one does not fear of the enforcement of these factory laws. Japan's intense anxiety to return the markets opened to her textiles by the war has encouraged an official tendency to forgive factories for extending the hours of labour beyond the limits prescribed in 1916. The girls who work for 14 to 16 hours have no

Sundays The working week is of 7 days though there are certain holiday times. One shift is in the day time say from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. and the other say from 6 P.M. to 8 A.M. The same dormitory the same bedding does double duty for the two batches of workpeople. There are girls from 15 to 20 girls of 12 girls even younger. In 1916 there were over 636 000 factory girls in Japan of these 5 500 were under 12 87 000 under 15 and perhaps three fifths of the remainder were under 20. These girls are recruited from the villages by the agents of the factories they are paid an initial cost of recruiting and they work generally for three years of indenture. The number of women who are recruited as factory workers reaches 200 000 every year but of these 120 000 do not return to the parental roof. Either they become birds of passage and move from one factory to another or go as maids in dubious tea houses or as prostitutes. The exploitation of child labour in match works glass works and the like is not less serious than the exploitation of woman and girl labour.

If India was dumb at the Peace Congress and Japan reiterated her demands for race equality and was heard let her demand race equality in the labour clauses of the peace agreements in the coming Congress at Washington Humanity is the same the world over and the conditions of progress are the same. The Easterners are not to be regarded as the proletariat of the world. If the West strikes after a 40 hours week the East need not have 112 hours week in order that she may be industrially efficient. But Japan is wedded to the ideal of mere mechanical efficiency while India will be inarticulate and stupefied before the close league of self selected nations which wrangling among themselves for the fat of the world are yet unanimous in that one point of ruthless exploitation of the tropical peoples and their resources for the benefit of the West.

Thus the ideals of human equality and

the conditions of social progress deemed equally precious for all will not be equally applicable to all but will be differently interpreted and determined for others differently by unequal contracting parties in the International Labour Conference. In spite of the talk of race equality and self determination such matters as concrete freedom equal treatment freedom from race restriction are today not seriously considered new indignities are being heaped upon the Indians themselves in the Transvaal within the empire and the most drastic laws are being passed depriving them even of the very meagre trading and land rights that they were still allowed to retain. In spite of the talk of labour amelioration and the international recognition of the sovereign rights of the proletariat throughout the world humanity has still to painfully learn that the humane conditions of treatment of labour which represent the irreducible national minimum are not applicable to the tropical regions and the dangers and abuses which drag civilisation with its elaborate and scientific implements of exploitation downward — back into savagery will be perpetuated the forced labour in the rubber and cocoa estates of Europeans the pretty free use of the lash and other unspeakable and unmentionable modes of torture the tragedy of a Damaraland or Congo drenched with blood the hateful immorality and prostitution by day and night in the African and Indian mines and plantations where women's souls are often sold with their bodies to overseers inspectors and managers the exercise of barbaric force and civilised fraud in the recruitment and employment of indentured or so-called free coloured labour the acquisition by force and diplomacy of Shantung the hateful lynchings of coloured men in some of the American estates or the indignities of Indian traders and mill hands and despoliation of the native lands in South Africa.

RADHAKAMAL MITTAL

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

AN EPISTOLE OF JAINISM by Puran Chand Vahur, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S. etc. and Krishna Chandra Ghosh Vedantachintamani Formerly Joint Editor of the Patriot Ahmedabad, etc., published by H. Duby Gulab Kumar Library 46 Indian Mirror Street Calcutta 1p xxx+706+1xxviii Price Rs 6 Foreign Rs net

The book on our table is a critical study of the Metaphysics Ethics Philosophy History etc. of Jainism in relation to modern thought describing in the last chapters the temples the festivals the places of pilgrimage the literature the art and the architecture of Jainism and finally giving five appendices treating of the date of king Chandragupta, firmans and sunnuds, *Ugams* and *Ugamas*, Tirthankaras of present era and the list of the *Gaccha* heads. There are also ten illustrations, two of which are coloured representing the painting of pre-Mohamedan and Moghul Periods.

The time has come when for a true appreciation of ancient thoughts in our sacred or other writings they should be explained in relation to modern thoughts and unless it is done even our own children would hardly care to understand them. So it is very gratifying to see the attempt of the present authors directed towards it.

The book begins with an introductory chapter. Here among other things it has been said (p. 3) that from a reference in the *Rigveda* it is held that Jainism 'must have been contemporary with the Vedic culture or even earlier than the latter'. The reference has not been stated definitely, but we think it to be x. 130. 2 which runs as follows—

मुनयो वागधरमा विप्रश्नामसु न सदा etc *

This reference is generally made by modern Jain writers in order to show the antiquity of their faith but it has not yet been critically explained as to how the passage can imply or support the view held by them. On the other hand it seems to us that there is nothing in it which can refer to Jainism.

It is said in the concluding part of the introduction (p. 14) that according to Buddhists their *nirvana* is annihilation. In the early days

of learning Buddhist scholars understood it to be so but is recent researches show they were utterly mistaken and so the old view should not have found its place in such a good volume of the present day.

The authors then proceed to enunciate and interpret the Jain principle of epistemology in the first two chapters. From chapter III its science and philosophy have been discussed. But the real discussion begins from chapter IV ending in VIII. In these chapters the reader will find a full treatment of the Jain theory of formal logic and the Jain logic and *manas* explained ably—with mention or refutation of the views of different branches of Indian Philosophy. *Śāṅkhya* doctrine holds a unique place in Jain logic or philosophy and it has been taken up and discussed in chapter VIII. Then comes in the next chapter (IX) the criticism by the authors of the great Shankara's commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* (II. 2. 31) in which the latter opposed the *Śāṅkhya* or *Saptabhāṅga* form of reasoning. Here the authors in the following chapter (X) have tried their best to refute Shankara's criticism taking their stand on the Law of Relativity of Hegel while evidently Shankara's arguments were all based on the Law of Contradiction as the followers of Aristotle would say. No applying that Law of Relativity our authors have faced no difficulty in refuting Shankara. The principal arguments put forward by them against Shankara are essentially nothing but what Hegelians say in establishing their Law of Relativity. It would have been far better had they been able to produce some more cogent arguments in favour of *Saptabhāṅga* or *Anekantavāda* originally offered by our own ancient teachers themselves which abound in Jain works.

Here one may ask Did Shankara really understand the Jain philosophy? The answer will be in the negative as our authors have shown. But something may be said in favour of the former. So far as the fundamentals of Jain philosophy are concerned there is nothing misrepresented by Shankara and this shows that he understood it clearly. And yet he had to oppose it as he was bound to do being himself a commentator who in accordance with the prevailing practice of the country must explain the views principally of the authors of the original taking up the standpoint of the latter. Thus the celebrated commentator Vachaspathi Mishra has explained each of the chief systems of Indian philosophy from their own points of view taking no notice whatever of the others. It may therefore be said that Shankara's view

* Cf. मुनयो वागधरमा इव वा सपरिनिम्बिनः ।

सकालं वाचते वाणिनां सदा विनीतसु ॥

श्रीमद्भाष्य XI 6 47 In the place of वागधरमा there is another reading वागधरमा ।

regarding the Jain philosophy was not his own but of Badarayana or Vyasa the author of the Brahmasutras. Be that as it may we have reasons to believe that among all the commentators of Brahmasutra Shankara was the best as regards the knowledge of the systems that have been criticised and repudiated by Badarayana in his aphorisms. The foot note given here* will clearly show how the commentators even those who are held in great estimation have sadly misunderstood the Jain system of philosophy. Sometimes Shankara is seen charged with a blunder committed actually not by himself but by his commentators who could not understand him (Mr Yamakuru Sogen *Systems of Buddhist Thoughts* Calcutta University 1912 pp 112-124). As regards the passage in question Mr Sogen cannot ascertain that the commentators actually represented the traditional interpretation handed down by Shankara. Jain commentators too have committed the same mistake for instance one may mention the commentary of Haribhadra on the Buddhist philosophy section in Haribhadrasuri's *षट् दशम समुच्चय*. Even Gunaratna another great commentator of the same seems not to have rightly understood the true significance of some Buddhist terms. The case is the same with other branches too and the consequence is evident everywhere. Even Shankara's view has been so represented by his deferent followers by their own interpretations that what the former himself has said is very difficult to understand now. So the commentators though they may render much help in various respects should be taken very cautiously.

Now from chapter XI to XXXV of the book under review various aspects of Jainism or Jain philosophy have been discussed including Soul God Karma phenomenology law of Karma birth bondage emancipation and means of emancipation etc.

* The word *सद्वा* in *सद्वावाद* means nothing but may be or in one way or somehow (*कथञ्चिद्*) but see how it is explained by the following commentators of Brahmasutra (II 2-31) —

(1) *सद्वा* इति यद्वा — Shrikantha Shiva charitra

(2) *सद्वा* यद्वा यो यद्वा यद्वा — Vallabha charitra

(3) *सद्वा* यद्वा यद्वा यो यद्वा यद्वा — Anantacharya

(4) *सद्वा* यद्वा यद्वा यो यद्वा यद्वा — Jayanatha a commentator of Shulbhadra's School

(5) *सद्वा* यद्वा यद्वा यो यद्वा यद्वा — Shrinivasa in his commentary on that of Vallabha. See also the meaning of *सद्वा* as given by Kamatya Anantacharya and others.

So the book truly deserves its name *An Epitome of Jainism*, and we do not hesitate to say that the object of the authors in writing it will be fully realised. We shall be glad to see it read widely.

We think the volume of the book might very easily be reduced to a considerable degree by condensing the matters dealt with therein. Something could also be abandoned altogether without making the book defective in any way. It is unfortunate that it has not an Index of subjects added to it. Many Sanskrit words are printed inaccurately and their transliteration is also very bad.

VIDHUSHIEKHAR BHATTACHARYA

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF LORD SINHA With a portrait and a biographical sketch published by Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co Madras pp 111+224+69+vi+6=378

We are indeed indebted to the enterprising and patriotic spirit of the publishers of this interesting volume which furnishes us with a comprehensive collection of the speeches of Lord S. P. Sinha of Raurpur which will not fail to be welcomed by a large section of Indians and Europeans alike. The speeches collected so far begin at the Twelfth Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in December 1896 and end with a dinner given in honour of Lord Sinha by his friends and admirers both British and Indian, on the occasion of his appointment as Under Secretary of State for India at the Savoy Hotel in London on March 7 1919. The book which is nicely printed is neatly bound in cloth and is priced at Rs 3.

R. MUKERJIA

THE BLISS OF A MOMENT by Benoy Kumar Sarkar

This slight book of translations is difficult to adjudge. What the poems are in their original Bengali I have no means of knowing. It is quite possible that they may carry a music far beyond these English versions. But it is in this very secret of music that Benoy Kumar Sarkar's translations fail to appeal to me. It is clear that the writer has loved the scenes he depicts—the Japanese village the Shinto shrine the great waves of the Pacific the sun set in California the bleakness of a northern December the resurrection of the springtime—but there is a uniform lack of the living movement of words and of that magic of rhythm which cannot be described or analysed or explained. It is difficult to write thus about a book which has given the author himself such evident joy and has been to him in very truth 'the bliss of a moment'. And I would not have my own individual impression carry too much weight. Others may find what I have failed to find. I owe Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar such a debt of gratitude for his brilliantly suggestive prose works that it is with all the

not mean the check of Hindi, especially when it continues to be in use in schools and law courts. The rebirth of Provençal literature within recent years does not seem to have affected the position of French in South France. Moreover, a *lingua franca* should not try to stifle the life out of the real vernaculars. But in the case of Magahi it does not seem likely that it will ever become a literary speech. It has lost a great deal of its old purity by the influence of bad Hindustani, it has no existing literature, its speakers do not evince any love for it, they regard their mother tongue as rude and vulgar, although they are numerically nearly four times stronger than the speakers of Assamese. But nothing really great can be produced in a language that is not inherited but is to be acquired and for this reason, literary effort in Hindi or Urdu among the Biharis is sure to remain unproductive of anything abiding at least so long as they will continue to speak one language at home and another outside it. The publication of the rich folk literature of a people has in many cases been the incentive for higher culture of its language. People get rid of the superstition that their mother tongue is a cripple which can only somehow hobble on in the domestic circle and that they ought to learn elsewhere in their journey through life. I think it will be a great thing for India if the soul of Magadha finds a fresh expression in her own speech for I believe in a confederacy of languages and cultures, not in their suppression by a single type.

For this reason, I feel very glad that this little book of Magahi proverbs has come out.

This booklet, which by itself is not a remarkable product in any way forms the first number of a 'Magahi Literature Series', which the compiler seems to have under contemplation. He deserves every support but I wonder whether he will obtain it and it may be after all a thankless task for him. I would suggest trying the pages of oriental journals first for the publication of Magahi ballads, folk tales and songs which Mr Bhattacharya intends to present to the public. Apart from wider issues which might develop the publication of Magahi folk literature a series of Magahi texts will be of inestimable value for the student of Indo-Aryan modern languages. Besides, the folk literature of Magadha as of any other part will have a great value for the ethnologist and student of social history. The *Kahana Sangrah* which consists of some 400 proverbs, seems to have been made independently of J. Christman's *Bihar Proverbs* in Trübner's Oriental series. Christman's work was compiled mostly in the Bhajpuria area of Bihar it contains some Hindi proverbs also which have got a common currency and it is a very valuable book, which amply repays study. Mr Bhattacharya apparently is not acquainted with up-to-date methods followed in the work of the kind he seems to have taken up. He is quite content to give the proverbs (which number

some 400) in a loose alphabetical order, without any notes or translations, either in Hindi or English. The orthography should be revised in a number of cases, but obviously the compiler was handicapped by want of a standard. His work seems to have been rather hastily done. Notes and translations would increase tenfold the value of a work like this. The best work that I have seen on the proverbs and idioms of an Indian language written entirely in the vernacular is Bhude's work in Marathi, but we can hardly expect a similar work in Magahi. We are promised a second part of proverbs connected with Agriculture. We shall wait with interest Mr Bhattacharya's further labours in this field, and shall regard it as a most welcome thing if other Indian scholars resident in Bihar take up this line of work so that we may ultimately have a literature on the dialects and ethnology of Bihar fit to take rank with the *Bihar Peasant Life* and other works of Grierson.

S K C

HINDI.

GURU DEVA KE DATH YATRA PART I (*Travels with my Master*) by Mahabir Prasad, B Sc., L T. Published by the Vijnana Parishad, Allahabad. Pp. 121. Price 6 Annas.

The present booklet is no 5 of the series of scientific books which the Allahabad institution, above noticed, has published. It is a Hindi translation of the serials which appeared in the pages of this Review for 1916 from the pen of Sriyut Basiswar Sen, under the heading, *Round the World with my Master*. The language is excellent and the subject full of interest. The translator has done good service to Hindi literature and to the cause of popular education by bringing out this volume. Let it be hoped that the second part of Sriyut Basiswar Sen's contributions on the same subject will also be made accessible to the Hindi knowing public in the near future and the treasures of Sir J. C. Bose's discoveries be made known more widely than has hitherto been the case.

PRESIDENT WILSON AUR SANSAAR KI SVADHINATA (PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE WORLD), by Sukhasampatiraj Bhandari. Published by Jistmal Luniya, Central India Books Agency, Indore. Pp. 83. Price 9 annas.

It is a very timely publication and the booklet is nicely printed. It contains a Hindi translation of the War utterances of President Wilson and the introductory portion which covers the first 34 pages of the whole is devoted to an account of President Wilson and his ideals. The author notes with approval the fact that some people regard the American President as an incarnation of those powers which manifest themselves on occasions when Virtue is overpowered by Vice in this world, to restore things to a normal condition again. The great part which the president of the greatest Republic in the world

has played in the recent world war and the utterance he gave to the noblest ideals of state are responsible for this exaggeration. Indeed it was thought by many that if the words of President Wilson were translated into action with as much genuineness and liberality as they raised hopes of the end of all the miseries which the dark dealings of many generations of diplomats and politicians had bequeathed to the present generation was within view. Unfortunately however even the most enthusiastic among these are gradually realising that their dreams are not going to be fulfilled and a large portion of mankind—the coloured races—is not to get its birthright for at least sometime longer. The author has noticed this point in the very beginning but has generally not allowed this thought to obscure the bright hopes which a perusal of the speeches and writings of Professor Wilson kindle in all liberty loving hearts. The publishers are to be congratulated on their having chosen the most opportune time for such a publication which affords a very interesting reading in spite of the many irregularities of grammar and idiom which disfigure almost every page of this book. Some of these defects appear to be due to the influence of local dialect while others are more serious. As examples of the former may be cited the use of *ब्रह्मा* in the masculine (page 4) *जगता ब्रह्म* (page 4) the peculiar sense of *विश्व* at page 23 and *द्वन्द्व* at page 24 while the following expressions only a few among many such will afford an illustration of the disregard of grammar. These are—*जनता को नाबिक* (p 2) *पूजा को शीकर* (p 11) *द्वन्द्वको जनहितकारी धीर मन्त्रपूज काम* (p 28) *हिन्द का दृष्ट* (p 30) and *ब्राह्म को द्वाबर* (p 34). The volume contains two half-tone pictures, one a bust of President Wilson and the other a portrait of the gentleman to whom the book is dedicated.

DOCTOR SIR JAGDISH CHANDRA BASU AND UNKE AVISHKAR (OR SIR JAGDISH CHANDRA BASU AND HIS DISCOVERIES), by *Suklasampattirai Bhandari*. Published by Jitmal Luniva Central Ind A Books Agency Indore. Pages 56. Price 6 annas.

In printing and get up as well as in style this book is similar to the one above noticed but the subject matter is entirely different as will appear from the title. The author has given in a small compass a sketch of the life of the great Indian scientist Sir J C Bose and a popular and short account of his principal discoveries. There are two half-tone illustrations in the book illustrating the apparatus of Professor Bose besides two others, one a portrait of the Professor and the other of the gentleman to whom the book is dedicated.

Both the above volumes are numbers 4 and 5 of the series which is appearing under the name of the Hindi Vayayuga Grantha Mala.

UCLA DEPT

CHANDRAGUPTA—by *Pi d't Surya Naraya D k s't M A L L B P bishel by Natlur i Prem*. Hind Grantha Rat akar office Bombay. Pp 157. Price One Rupee or cloth bound Re 1 6.

This is a Hindi translation of the Bengali drama of the same name by the famous dramatist D L Roy who is known as the Shakespeare of Bengal. The rise of the Maurya power and the successful beating back of the Greeks who had entered the Punjab in the fourth century B C is a subject of national pride from very early times and Sanskrit poets took due advantage of the theme. The drama *Mudrarakashas* is a classical work in Sanskrit hardly surpassed in any other literature. The Bengali of D L Roy is a play dealing with the same subject but in a slightly different manner and varying the *dramatis personae* to suit a modern stage. The translators are writers of repute and they have done their work well.

BHISHMA—by *Pandit Rup Narayan Pande*. Published by Natluran Prem Hind Grantha Rat akar office Bombay. Pp 192. Price Rs 1 8 0. paper co er Rs 2 0.

This is also a Hindi translation of D L Roy's drama of the same name. The language has a smell of artificiality in places which is excusable as the works of an artist can never be copied or reproduced. The volume is nicely bound.

CAVOUR by *Pandit Haribha Upadhyaya*. Published by the Hind Grantha Patnakar office, Bombay. Pp 182. Price One Rupee or cloth bound Re 1 6 0.

This book is a translation of the Marathi volume entitled *Cavour itna Itah cha Ramdas* and is written in very lucid style. As the author himself admits it is not a literal translation and this accounts for the success of the present attempt. The get up is excellent. There is a half-tone bust of Cavour and a map of Italy in the volume. It affords very interesting reading.

VAKTRITVA KALA by *Krishnagopal Natlur*. Published by Narmada Prasad Misra Varanasi. To be had of Ramprasad Misra B A Dakhshinra Jubilee C P. Pages 183. Price One Rupee and two annas.

The book attempts to deal with the art of elocution. It is the first book of its kind in Hindi but it is rather disappointing. The treatment of the subject matter is far from satisfactory and the language can hardly be said to be felicitous for such a subject.

HITA SIKSHA by *Bhayanlal Jan Pishel* by *K mar Deendra Prasad Jan Arrak*. Pages 116. Price 6 annas.

This is a translation of the Gujarati of *uj Motilal Shah*. The get up is charming. The language is good and the subject matter is the old theme of moral teaching. The treatment of the subject is good and only such morals are inculcated as are common to many religions.

SRAMAN VARAD by *Nathuram Premi* Published by the *Hindi Granthi Ratnakar Office* Bombay Pages 30 Price 2 annas

This is a Hindi translation of an old story in Pali which has been translated in many languages of the world. It is a Buddhist moral tale, teaching social service. A good booklet.

JIVAN PATHA PRADIP, by *Gangadatta Pande* B A L.T., Head master, High School, Meerut Pp 55 Price 4 annas

This booklet is intended to impart moral instruction to young men and to guide them to avoid the evils with which they are surrounded. The language is simple and clear. Let us hope that the book will serve its purpose and not lead to a temptation for the forbidden fruit.

'MULA DEVA'

GUJARATI

PRABHU BHAKTI NAN KAVYO (प्रभुभक्ति ना काव्यो) by *Hiralal Tribhuvandas Parekh* B A printed at the *Jin Mandir Printing Press* Ahmedabad Paper cover Pp 160 Price As 8 (1919)

This is a selection of poems and verses—old and new—to be found in Gujarati bearing on the subject of 'प्रभुभक्ति' devotion to God. The selection is certainly well made and also representative. The collection will therefore to a great extent serve the purpose with which it is made.

SATYAGRAH ANF MRS. BESANT by *Hargram Kabbas Mehta* printed at the *Frashogard Printing Press* Bombay paper cover Pp 21 unpriced (1919)

Mrs. Besant's views on Satyagrah are well-known. This little pamphlet is written by one from her own camp and may interest those who look to its academic side.

RAJASIN CHANDRAJIT by *Maganlal Mugat* rnm Bhat Printed at the *Surat City Printing Press*, Surat paper cover Pp 54 Price As 8 (1919)

This is a translation of a Bengali Natak of identical name written by the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan. It would be appreciated much in Bengal the home of the Kali than in Gujarat, for the several views expressed on the worship of Kali and its consequent horrors.

RATNA MANDIR by *Hasmanrao Harilal Dhruva* printed at the *Prayabandhu Printing Works*, Ahmedabad Paper cover Pp 132 Price Re 1-4 (1919)

Moti Mahal the well known novel of the Bengali novel writer Harisadhan Mukhopadhyaya, is rendered into Gujarati under the name of Ratna Mandir by Mr. Dhruva. The original is fascinating and the translation therefore is well worth perusal.

I A GRAMATIK NI KATHA (एक दृष्टि नो कथा)

by *Harilal Maniklal Desai*, B A, Baroda Printed at the *Lahore Mitra Steam Press* Baroda Cloth cover, Pp 98 Price As 12, (1919)

The writer has tried to trace in this book the miseries of our Indian student from the start of his school life till his graduation, and after. The futile efforts to secure service and in the case of a law graduate, either practice or a Munsifship, find their inevitable place in it. He has attempted to give the story a touch of humour, but we think it neither successful nor rightly placed.

(1) BHALAN (भालन), by *Ramlal Chunilal Modi* printed at the *Arva Sudharak Press*, Baroda Cloth cover Pp 159 Price Re 1, (1919)

(2) TULANATMAK DHARMAVICHAR (तुलनात्मक धर्मविचार) by *Mulshankar Maneiklal Yagnik* B A printed at the *Jagrut Press*, Baroda Cloth cover Pp 132 Price As 13, (1919)

(3) PARLIAMENT, by *Hariraj Bhagvantraj* B A printed at the *Jagrut Press* Baroda Cloth cover Pp 245 Price Re 1-4 0, (1919)

The Shri Sayaji Sahitya Mala has again furnished us with a crop of three more books, all three being entitled to only modest claims on the score of utility or possibility of popularity. The first book relates to a poet, of the name of Bhalan, known to old Gujarati chiefly for his translation of Bana's Kadambari, in verse. All available materials have been consulted by Mr. Modi and he has been able to produce a work, which as he himself says, though not of first class merit, would still be a finger post to those who wished to follow a more ambitious road. The second is a translation of Dr. Jevon's Comparative Religion. The translator at the outset points out one difficulty, and we think a very real one, viz., that the author of the original has not been so successful with the other religions as with the Christian. Further his ideas about the Hindu religion, our Vedas, &c., are such as cannot be accepted by Hindus. The situation being such and the Department having conceived the very laudable idea of furnishing to the Gujarati Libraries a standard work on the comparative value of the different religions of the world, was it not possible for them to invite an original book, instead of paying for the translation of a treatise which the translator himself rightly points out is wanting in the very essentials of such a subject. As it is we don't think this book would travel beyond the shelves of a library cupboard. The third book is a translation of Sir C. J. Elbert's "Parliament." If the book be widely read it may serve its purpose.

K M J

We have received a copy of a monthly periodical called the 'Samaj Jivan' (समाज जीवन). We do not review periodicals.

In the August 1919 issue of the Modern Review at p 198 column 1 line 4 for he read one in line 8 after and add the in line 18 for Carried read comed in line 21 for put read give it and in the 3rd line from the bottom for name read hand

K M J

Acknowledgments

1 PROCEEDINGS OF A COMMITTEE OF SELECTED CO-OPERATORS UNITED PROVINCES—March 29th 30th and 31st 1919—Superintendent Government Press U P Allahabad Price As 3 or 6d

2 BUREAU OF EDUCATION INDIA PAMPHLET No 5—Notes on Vernacular Education in Ceylon by H Sharp CSI CIE Educational Commissioner with the Government of India Superintendent Government Printing India Calcutta Price As 12 or 1s

3 THEORY AND PRACTICE OF LIFE ASSURANCE with a History of its origin and growth by Jogesh Chandra Mitra FCS FRES published by Mitra & Sons Calcutta Price As 8—A very useful and well printed booklet of 58 pages

4 FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BENGAL LIGHT HORSE I D F SEASON 1918—Printed at the Baptist Mission Press Calcutta

5 THE POOR SCHOOLS SOCIETY MADRAS REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1918 Commercial Press Triplicane Madras 1919—This records the useful work done by the Society during the year under notice for the diffusion of culture civic life piety &c among the poor and depressed classes It is a noble work

6 A PROSPECTUS OF A NEW AND CRITICAL Edition of the Mahabharata undertaken by the Bhundarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona under the auspices of Srimat Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi & Chief of Aundh—This Prospectus

gives a succinct history of Western and Indian Studies Edition and MSS of the great Indian Epic and is sure to be of great help to all scholars given to its study

7 A FEW HINTS ON SANITARY RECONSTRUCTION by Ra Chinnal Bose Bahadur ISO MB FCS—This is a leaflet of 8 pages reprinted from the Social Service Quarterly containing much useful information

8 PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE XII MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE delivered by Mr C Rajagopalachar

9 DRAFT RULE OF THE RAMA TIRTHA PUBLICATION LEAGUE—This leaflet which by the way is an interesting publication has been issued for circulation by the Secretary of the League from 10 Hewett Road Lucknow

10 WISDOM AND WIT OF THE TALMUD Compiled by the Talmud Society Boston Mass U S A Price 25 cents

11 SELF GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA by M V Gopal Rao printed by Scape & Co Cocanada Price As 4 This neatly printed pamphlet of 8 pages makes an admirable attempt to show that self rule was not a strange thing in India in olden times

12 THE REFORM BILL AN EXPOSITION by K Vyasa Rao BA published by S R Murthy & Co Triplicane Madras S E 1919 Pp 80 Price As 8 1s—This booklet is composed of a reprint of the series of interesting articles on the Indian Reform Bill contributed by the author to the Hindu of Madras We have read it with interest and pleasure

13 ANNUAL RETURNS OF THE LUNATIC ASYLUMS IN B H AR AND ORISSA for 1918

14 REPORT OF THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE JAMUKHANDI STATE—1918

15 PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH CONFERENCE OF THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN BENGAL HELD IN FEBRUARY 1919

A HOPE

Should rising mount or some meandering stream
Divide and fix the bounds of human love
For once and all and brand upon man's brow
The mark of hate? Should regions which teem
With brothers hold aloof and somehow deem
Their destinies apart? Should continents grow
To keep the pales which well may crumble now
Or stand as mortal mounds may shape and dream?

Some future age will scoff at all this zeal
Which filled the world with hatred war and crime
By cleaving to diverse lands our mother Earth—
An age when man will find anew his birth
The world encompassing a single clime
And all the nations lapt in common peace and well
Benares P SESHADRI

WILLIAM ARCHER'S "INDIA AND THE FUTURE"

By LYPAT RAI

V

MR Archer's criticism of Indian Art and culture is characterised by the same racial complacency as disfigures the rest of his book. We do not propose to devote much space to this as we are sure more competent persons than ourselves will do the needful. We will give a few samples of Mr Archer's aberrations.

Speaking of the amazing lack of character in Indian history and art Mr Archer remarks it may almost be said that down to the coming of the great Moguls India had contributed only one great character—Gautama Buddha to the world's pantheon—and perhaps never existed. If a claim be put in for Asoka it may possibly be allowed but after all how featureless he is! How kind of Mr Archer to allow this claim for Asoka and poor Buddha! 'And when we pass from antiquity to medieval and modern times is not the contrast almost as striking?' European history, literature and art swarm above everything with great characters. Where are the Indian Charlemagne and Alfred Columbus and Luther Cromwell Richelieu and Napoleon? Against a score of such master spirits India may advance one figure who certainly stands in the front rank of historic rulers, the great enlightened the truly heroic Akbar Shahjahan Aurangzeb Sivaji Huda Ali and perhaps a dozen other men of notable political or military talent are put down as individuals of second rank.

The whole question turns upon one's conception of what are and what are not supreme personalities. An Indian may very well turn round and say that the supreme personalities of Mr Archer's mind are in no way supreme and that Chandra Gupta Samudra Gupta Harsha Sher Shah Rana Pratap Singh Durgadas Mun Singh from amongst the men rulers Akhbar Bai Lachmi Bai and Chand Bibi from among the women rulers Kalidas Shankar Ramkrishna and Tulsi Das and others from among the writers and thinkers Nanak Chaitanya Govind Singh and Tularam from among the reformers were as supreme personalities as those mentioned by Mr Archer. Vincent Smith calls Tulsi Das the greatest man of his age in India—even greater than Akbar himself whose supreme personality Mr Archer admits. Sir George Grierson considers Tulsi Das's poem as the work of a great genius. In the last paragraph of this chapter Mr Archer gives out the bias that he has contracted within the last twenty years against things Indian—a bias which had shut the doors of sane judgment on him—long

before he visited India. He was evidently very much prided by the exaggerated claims set up for India and Indian culture by the admirers of the latter and by the political claims of Young India and it was to demolish these that he started on his visit to India. No wonder then that his studies were so seriously affected by his bias and he saw everything with coloured glasses. He says:

I unfeignedly regret in conclusion the controversial and even deprecatory tone of this chapter. Had it been written twenty years ago, its tenor would have been very different. One could then have dwelt with warm appreciation on the numberless beauties of Indian Art one could have noted without insistence its obvious defects of exaggeration excess and monstrosity and one need not have embarked upon disabbling and quite unnecessary comparisons. The intelligent Indian has undoubtedly a great deal to be proud of in the artistic past of his country. Even its barbarisms are magnificent while its sane achievements are often of exquisite some times of unique beauty. Far be it from me to deny that India is from the artistic point of view, one of the most interesting countries in the world. Her art contributed potentially to the spell she cast upon me but for which this book would never have been written. But when the intelligent Indian is assured that in almost every branch of artistic activity, his country by express favour of the gods stands supreme over all the world one can only advise him in his own interest not to believe it.

The last two chapters of Mr Archer's book—'Education and Epilogue'—constitute practically the only constructive writing in this mass of destructive explosives aimed at a whole nation of 315 millions for the offence of a few of them who have had the audacity of comparing their achievements in the past with those of the Europeans and thus mortally wounding the racial complacency of Mr Archer. Mr Archer is mistaken if he thinks he has destroyed them. He has only strengthened them in the belief that so long as Europe is intoxicated with the wine of racial superiority and so long as that intoxication is justified by their success on the political and the economic side of life it is almost hopeless to expect Europeans in general to consider the claims of the East with any fairness and impartiality. I may be pardoned for reminding Mr Archer that in the judgment of Orientals there is greater insanity in Europe now than there ever was in Asia. Asia is 'barbarous' no doubt in certain respects, but

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP IN AMERICA

I

THE most serious business of American colleges and universities at this time it seems is the training of young Americans for civic life. Citizenship is the only profession declares Dr G Stanley Hall the eminent President of the Clark University which all young men should be trained for. The citizen should have that kind of instruction which will teach him how and when to use civic knowledge.

The State University of Iowa which may be taken as a type of the government higher educational institutions is doing a very significant work in developing patriotism and in training citizens. On account of my personal relation to the University I am somewhat reluctant to speak about its work but since I happen to know Iowa better than any other American State University I may perhaps be permitted to say something about its Department of Political Science which offers many courses designed to prepare young people for intelligent citizenship.

II

Let me begin by giving a short sketch of the programme of studies as carried on by the Department of Political Science. It is obvious that for a citizen the study of political philosophy say from Aristotle on down to our day is of great value but a wide awake American youth is not content with political theory. For him practical government like the proverbial charity begins at home. And so at the very outset he makes an intensive study of American government. Now the study of a government does not consist simply of an analysis of its anatomy or framework it includes a consideration of the actual workings of the government in all of its branches—national state and local. A comprehensive course in American govern-

ment lays particular stress upon the relation of the citizen to the government and upon the rights duties, and responsibilities of citizenship. 'The general content of the course in American government' explains one of my colleagues who has charge of the work is suggested by a threefold division.

First of all the student as future participant and leader in public affairs is introduced to the background of American institutions in State and Nation by tracing the road by which American democracy has arrived at its present stage of development. It is essential to a correct understanding of the workings and effectiveness of State and national government to have some knowledge of our institutional origins as well as of our democratic experiments since the days of the Declaration of Independence. This preliminary general survey of the evolutionary growth of American political institutions practices and ideas precedes that part of the course which deals with the national government and with citizenship in its national aspects.

The machinery of the national government is fully described with emphasis upon the work actually accomplished in furthering the ends for which the American State exists. Furthermore a study of the results achieved and the leadership evidenced by public servants is viewed as of prime importance in the education of those who are being prepared for more than a passive participation in the activities of the government. The actual management of national affairs at home and abroad affords materials for class discussions and essays.

Nor the study of State government including local government in county city township and school district neglected. The relations of the citizen to each of these units of government his obligations and responsibilities are emphasized because his own daily life and life of the community are tremendously affected by them. Likewise the obstacles to prompt intelligent and efficient participation by the citizen in public matters are also pointed out.

My colleague in charge of this particular work has the advantage of both American and English education. He took his B A degree from Oxford University with honors in history and also holds two other degrees



An official meeting on the campus of the University of Chicago

including one in law from an American university

Throughout the course he goes on no opportunity is lost to let him know the fact that a citizen no matter how well intentioned or how well educated along other lines cannot act intelligently on the problems that require solution in government action unless he knows at least the elementary facts about them and has a fundamental knowledge of the machinery and workings of the government

How can the citizen know whether a candidate is fitted to perform the duties of the office he seeks unless the citizen knows what the duties of that office are? How can he initiate and promote changes which he deems to be in the interests of the common good unless he understands the organization through which changes are accomplished?

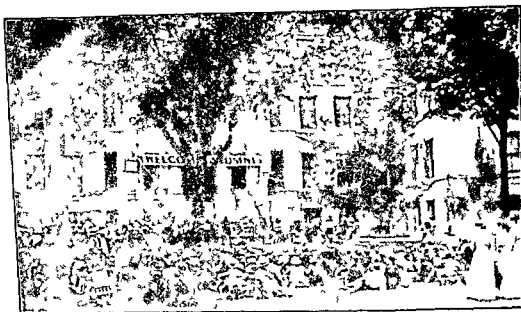
The citizen must be made to feel that as a citizen he is really an important factor in government. When the citizen realizes that the government is his government he will not be against the government but for the government and always for a better government.

A student in order to have an intelligent grasp of the current political issues must study contemporary legislation. It gives him an understanding of some of the more vital contemporary political problems

economic and social problems which are seeking solution through legislation

The phenomenal development of the city in modern times has brought in its train a host of municipal problems. No one—especially those who are to live in the city—can afford to ignore them. Hence a working knowledge of the principles of municipal government and the way the administrative machinery runs in the larger cities of America and Europe is an essential part of the political education of a citizen.

In a free country such as America every one is expected at some time or other to be a member of some sort of deliberative body—a club, a cooperative association, a city council, a political convention or a State legislature. The rules which govern the operation of such bodies should be known by everyone. To this end a course in parliamentary law and practice is offered by the Department of Political Science. The course is conducted by the use of a manual and actual practice work. After the more important rules are learned the class proceeds to form itself into various voluntary associations. In these mock organizations each of the members of the



An informal celebration of the home-coming of the alumni of the University

class acts in turn in various capacities—as presiding officer, recording officer, and parliamentarian. In the course of time a complete constitution and by laws are drafted for some particular association. The subject matter of these instruments forms the basis for the debate and the manipulation of parliamentary rules.

Should an intelligent citizen have some knowledge of European government and politics? Should he be prepared to pass an intelligent opinion on and take an effective part in modern movements in government and politics? Does he realize that there can be no real progress without knowledge? The challenge involved in these questions is met by a course in modern governments. It includes a critical study of the governments of leading European nations—France, England, Italy, and Switzerland.

Political science and law are blood cousins; they are in some respects, most inextricably related to each other. There are therefore elaborate courses in the field of jurisprudence, constitutional law, international law, and common law.

In nearly all the States of the Republic women have now, or will have soon, the privilege of voting. While all the courses in the Department of Political Science are open to women students, their attention is

called especially to the study of the political and legal status of women. The course involves a survey of the "woman's rights" or "feminist" movement in general, and a study of the legal and political status of women in the United States in particular.

One of the most enheartening signs of the time in America is the widespread desire of the people to "get beyond their skin," their people their city, their own nation and get in sympathy with the whole world. Now for the benefit of those who wish to extend their knowledge of world problems several courses are given. One course in colonial government is devoted to the consideration of principles of colonial government, and methods of European and American colonial systems. British, French and the United States possessions are studied and compared with reference to the problems of government, education, commerce, and industry. Another course is devoted to the study of South American Republics. Another course dealing with Oriental politics and civilization makes a comprehensive survey of the political, social, economic, and cultural forces in the awakening of Japan, China, and India. Still another course on world politics aims to give the student a sound

grasp of the pressing political question which affect all nations

III

Generally speaking the method of instruction for the first year University students is through text books combined with lectures. For upper class men lectures are supplemented by assigned readings in a large selection of books and by presentation of papers on special topics. And for advanced students preparing for higher degrees the seminar method is used. The candidates for the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees engage in special study and research under an instructor and present the results of their labour in a formal dissertation which shall not only exhibit evidence of original research but shall in itself be a contribution to the sum of human knowledge.

The student whether a freshman or a post graduate is always encouraged to do his own thinking. He is never taught to accept ready made opinions no matter where they come from. He must so far as practicable think his own way through a problem and draw his own conclusion. Development of independent judgment, mental poise and intellectual honesty rather than sheer memory is the deliberate purpose of citizen training.

In the research method of instruction which consists of individual investigation the teacher keeps in close touch with the student through individual weekly conferences. The investigator is turned loose on raw material on original sources of information—sources from which the authors themselves write text books and is required to carry on his laborious investigation through months and years. He makes use of the University library as a civic laboratory. It is worth while to note that

it is not at all unusual for us to see a student take sharp issue with authors of recognized text books and with established authorities. He may not always be correct and frequently he is not, but the fervent glowing passionate quest for truth which is his guiding motive receives most sympathetic—I had almost said indulgent—consideration at the hands of the professor.

IV

The share of the present writer in this great work of civic education which is going forward at Iowa is very modest indeed but he is glad of the opportunity to have a part in it however humble that may be. He usually has charge of four courses. And of these four it may be said without vanity the two courses which have attracted considerable attention both in and out of University circles are Oriental Politics and Civilisation and World Politics. Five years ago when I was



The staff of the Department of Political Science at the State University of Iowa. Reading from left to right: B. B. Bassett, H. S. Foster, Ivan L. Pollock, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Frank E. Horack, Joseph Briggs, J. Van Der Zee, and Nina Rose.

called upon to give the new course in World Politics it was considered rather a dubious experiment. Last year we had the satisfaction however of finding that the United States government ordered similar courses to be instituted in practically all colleges and universities in the country.

In this connection I cannot help observing that Americans, well meaning Americans, have strange ideas concerning the Orient. The average person in the United States explained one of my young women students in oriental politics 'knows very little, nearly nothing about the Eastern countries especially their governments economic conditions and philosophical views. Consequently Orientals are looked upon generally as ignorant 'superstitious' backward a bunch of queer peoples a swarm of barbarians.'

"So today," wrote Erasmus a man stands aglissat at the thought of paying for his boys education a sum which would buy a foal or hire a farm servant. 'Frugality—it is another name for madness'. After four hundred years traces of the madness of Erasmus are still to be found everywhere. And in America teaching is perhaps the poorest paid craft but irrespective of any monetary compensation I do enjoy my work and do like all my students in all my classes. The men and women who frequent my lecture rooms are bright keen and alert young folks. Quick to catch the point they are, I dare say, the intellectual peers of any students in the world. Nevertheless there are moments of depression when I wonder if my labor will ever bear the desired fruit. I was therefore cheered when I received the following line a short time ago from one of my students. Speaking of the value of the course in Oriental Politics the writer remarked

This course has given me an entirely different viewpoint of Oriental affairs and has helped me more than any other course I have had. It has broadened me and made me take an active interest in the Orient whereas before I paid no attention to it. It has also developed in me a great sympathy for the people of the Orient for I can now appreciate their side of questions as well as ours. The course has indeed changed my philosophy of life.

V

The Department of Political Science at the State University of Iowa has justly

acquired a reputation throughout the land for its high quality of work. And for such an achievement great credit is due to the head of the Department Dr Benjamin F Shambaugh. The one word which sums up the philosophy of this distinguished political thinker and educator is service or as he might put it, citizen training. His views on the subject are so refreshing and illuminating that they are worth pondering over. 'The education of the citizen for citizenship,' says Professor Shambaugh involves a knowledge of the relation of the citizen to the state and its government—especially an understanding of legal and political rights and privileges and legal and political duties and obligations.

The emphasis in such training will shift from time to time in accordance with the outlook of the period and the changing conceptions of the supreme purposes of the state. Thus during the period of the American Revolution the rights of citizens were stressed later the organization of government was emphasized while to-day in the United States the duties and obligations of citizenship are in the foreground.

Again other lines of training or education such as training for the professions vocational training teacher training training in the sciences and training in the arts—which are offered by the state to citizens through courses of instruction in public schools and in the state colleges and universities should not be confused with citizen training or training for citizenship. These many lines of education are all very important aspects of training for life. They contribute culture method technique and efficiency to the life of the citizen. But none of these lines of education nor all of them afford training for citizenship as such. Training for citizenship it must be clearly understood is a specific line of education.

And it is this specific education which the State University of Iowa is providing through its Department of Political Science so efficiently.

SUDHINDRA BOSE M A PH D
Lecturer in Political Science
State University of Iowa

Iowa City USA
July 1 1919

A NOTE ON MR JAYASWAL'S DISCOVERY OF TWO SAISUNAGA STATUES (?)

IT is somewhat difficult for persons outside the narrow circle of students who take interest in Indian Archaeology to gauge the significance of the sensational announcement made by Mr K. P. Jayaswal in the pages of the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society* in March last. Since the discovery of Kamshika's relic casket near Peshawar in 1903 and of the Asokan edict at Maski Indian Archaeology had no startling news to offer until Mr Jayaswal came forward with his dazzling discovery which attempts to throw into the shade the two finds just mentioned. Mr Jayaswal's achievement is no less than a daring attempt to identify on the basis of a new reading of the inscriptions on two pieces of ancient sculpture in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the portrait statues of two early Saisunaga Emperors Udayin and Varta Vandi who have been little more than mere names in Indian history without any authentic details to give them anything like historical reality. The dynasty of Saisunaga is believed to have reigned at Kogir from 600 B. C. The surviving monuments of ancient Indian history do not go beyond the Mauryan epoch (323 B. C. to 184 B. C.). If Mr Jayaswal's reading of the inscriptions meet with favourable reception from epigraphical experts he deserves the gratitude of all students for opening up a new vista in the most distant horizon of ancient Indian history. The artistic monuments of the Mauryan epoch represent an art in an advanced stage of development which supposes generations of artistic efforts and experience behind them and in as much as no actual remains of Pre-Mauryan Art have yet been discovered we have learned to look forward to them rather anxiously but such expectations have only ended in disappointments and the Mauryan remains have till now remained a mysterious veil through which it has been impossible to peer to obtain glimpses of more ancient examples. So that in fact no lithic data exists for judging and estimating the art of the Pre-Mauryan periods. On the other hand the paucity of Pre-Mauryan remains has raised in many of us impatient expectation of a discovery to fill in this blank and have also engendered in us a pardonable though somewhat unscientific inclination to attribute Pre-Mauryan dates to finds which are incapable of carrying such attribution on the basis of scientific evidence. Mr Jayaswal's attribution therefore for more reasons than one deserves careful consideration.

The two statues in question (Illustrations A and B) were discovered near Patna in 1912 and

subsequently presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1920. In 1879 they were removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta where they can now be seen in the Bharhut Gallery. Each of



FIGURE C
Back View of Fig. B
Image of Yaksha from Patna

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Iowa City, U.S.A.
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the figures assume more significance than an accidental resemblance of type. From examples of Ganithara sculptures we know the pot belly is the inevitable characteristic of Yakshas e.g. Jambhadr, Kubera &c. In fact one of the



FIGURE D
Image of Yaksha from Parkham
Mathura Museum

Yakshas the presiding genius of Lanka (Ceylon) actually bears the appellation *Kuberasodara*. Dr Vogel has suggested that the Parkham image is Kubera. Most probably the image

represents Gardhral hako the presiding genius of Mathura and its left hand very probably carried the purse the ordinary insignia (*lauchhannu*) of a Yaksha as in the Mamabhadr image. In the Parkham image both the hands are broken away—but from the indication of the place near the waist where the left hand touched the torso it is almost certain that the left hand had a similar attitude as the image of Mamabhadr. The right hand of the latter image obviously carried the fly whisk.

The two statues from Patna curiously enough imitate the Mamabhadr image in the attitude of their left hand which is obviously of a hand carrying some heavy object. The almost identical bent at right angle of the left hands of the two Patna statues as also the repetition of the folds of the draperies are difficult to explain on the supposition of the so-called family resemblance between the two. There is not only a similarity in postures but also in the folds of the *dhoti* the hanging ends and the knobs of the garments which along with the other common features of the two figures undoubtedly proclaim them as twins. As we shall presently see they are twins iconologically. The mysterious identity of dress and attitude preclude any supposition of their being individual portrait statues. They are in fact 'twins'. And if the study of the two other figures cited above (Fig. D and I) and the attitude of the left hand offer any data—they proclaim very loudly that they are the images of Yakshas. Mr Arun Sen Lecturer in Hindu Art to the University of Calcutta to whom we showed these photographs readily endorsed the similarity of the type and attitude and he has favoured the acceptance of identification of the Patna statues as images of Yakshas.

While the Parkham is divergent in many points from the image of Mamabhadr the twins from Patna are inseparably connected with each other by more points of contact than could be expected on the basis of a common Yaksha type. This mysterious connection seems to be explained by the text of the *Mahā mayuri** which gives an invaluable catalogue of Yakshas which according to the text had seats—at different places in ancient India—each city having its tutelary Yaksha. Apart from the *Mahā mayuri* we have independent evidence of the existence of widespread cults connected with the Yakshas in various parts of India before the advent of the Christian era. But the *Mahā mayuri* by its geographical and iconological data helps us to identify various sites with which the various Yakshas enumerated were associated. Thus the archaeological evidence of the identity of the image of the Yaksha called Mamabhadr derives

* Le Catalogue 'des Yaksha dans La Mahamayuri by MSakiam Levy—Journal Asiatique Janvier—1errier 1915 pp 20 to 138.

BI CAMERAL LEGISLATURES

"If a second chamber dissents from the first it is mischievous. If it agrees with it, it is superfluous"

Abbe Sieyes
"The Labour Party is opposed to a second chamber no matter how such a chamber is constructed"

Philip Snowden
"Its time is past. We can now have Senates no more than we can have trial by battle"

Ramsay MacDonald
"The survival of a second chamber is purely fortuitous. It is a device to thwart democracy"

J. M. Robertson

SOME Indian witnesses before the parliamentary joint committee on the Indian Reforms Bill appear to favour bi-cameral legislatures for India. It is proposed in this article to examine the device of a second chamber.

The stock argument of the protagonists of the bi-cameral system is that practically everywhere there is a recognised Second Chamber problem. What they mean to say is that the bi-cameral system has become almost universal therefore they accept it as a cardinal axiom of their constitutional creed. In the second breath they cannot help admitting that nowhere has that problem been solved. And that even where the Second Chamber has been established on a democratic basis difficulties have not been avoided. [*The Second Chamber Problem p 7*]

The way to solve the Second Chamber Problem is to dissolve it where it exists and the means to avoid difficulties is to be found in not creating or misting them where they do not exist.

Before the November Revolutions of 1918 broke out in Europe, Russia, Greece, Servia and Bulgaria were already uni-cameral and in future most of the European States are in every probability going to adopt Single Chamber systems.

Although the Oversea British Dominions, either following the example of their mother country or forced by necessity and the Mother of Parliaments have adopted the bi-cameral system, yet in the local or provincial Councils of some of the Colonies the uni-cameral system still prevails. The great province of Ontario the most important of the Canadian provinces and the new provinces in the West have all adopted the system of a single Chamber. Similarly following the example of Canada, the incorporated Colonies of the Union of South Africa are relieved of the burden of Upper Chambers. And the result of this uni-cameral system is said to be very satisfactory. The single-chamber system has given satisfaction in Canada for in no province with a single

Chamber is there any serious movement to change to two Chambers. In Nova Scotia on the other hand there has been a strong movement to abolish the Second Chamber. [*The Second Chamber Problem pp 17 and 71*]. Then why did the Colonies adopt the bi-cameral system at all? There were three factors or reasons which led to the establishment of the Second Chambers in the British Colonies.

First The smaller provinces of these Colonies feared the domination of the larger ones and therefore they wished to follow and adopt the same safeguards that were resorted to by the United States of America. Secondly Second Chambers in all countries have been designed as conservative bodies. And the bi-cameral Councils have certainly fulfilled the retarding function of a Second Chamber. Nearly every measure which is claimed as democratic has had to pass the ordeal of several rejections. Even so well tried a measure as the workmen's compensation act is in some cases still held back. [*in the Australian Commonwealth*]. The early immigrants that colonised the colonies and exterminated the aborigines were the land owners and middle classes. These colonists were conservatives by necessity temperament and tradition whether they were British or Dutch or French. The third factor which saddled the Colonies with 'unnecessary' Upper Houses was the authorities of Downing Street who in the last generation attached some sanctity or importance to the bi-cameral system which made it seem profane and out of autonomy without it. [*The Sec Chamber P 71*].

THE HEREDITARY PRINCIPLE ABANDONED
However in all the New States where the bi-cameral system has been adopted the hereditary principle has been deliberately abandoned. Even among the ancient States where hereditary peers still sit in the Upper House the only second chamber where the hereditary peers are in the majority is the British House of Lords. There has been a very strong current of opinion against hereditary Second Chambers even in England for a very long time. In 1879 Lord Bryce [then Mr Bryce] said if I had to select between the present House of Lords and one chamber I should prefer one chamber.

The Second Chamber of Italy is practically a nominated body. Those of Portugal and Canada consist of purely nominated members. Whereas Spain, Denmark and South Africa have partly elected and partly nominated Upper Chambers.

The Second Chamber of France Belgium the Netherlands Sweden Norway (if Norway can be regarded as a bi-cameral State at all) Switzerland the Australian Commonwealth and the U. S. America are entirely elected assemblies

THE REASONS REAL AND SENTIMENTAL FOR THE EXISTENCE OF THE SECOND CHAMBER EXAMINED

Two English political philosophers Lecky and Sidgwick have supplied political and constitutional writers with stock arguments in favour of second chambers. Lecky the Tory his Tory and political thinker believed that the necessity of a Second Chamber to exercise a controlling modifying retarding and steady influence has acquired almost the position of an axiom. Sidgwick on the other hand persuaded people to believe that the main end for which a Senate was constituted was that all legislative measures may receive a second consideration by a body different in character from the primary representative assembly and if possible superior or supplementary in intellectual qualifications.

But as a matter of fact a careful and critical study of the growth and history of Second Chambers furnishes a more rational and plausible explanation for the prevalence of the bi-cameral system than the philosophical apology or utilitarian reasons offered by various writers who have been under the influence of Lecky or Sidgwick or continental constitutionalists.

In Europe or America wherever the bi-cameral system prevails the Second Chamber is based either on historical or traditional foundations as is the case in England Italy and Sweden and as was also the case in Hungary before the November (1918) Revolution swept it away, or it has been forced on them by the peculiar needs and circumstances of the countries concerned as is the case with Germany Switzerland France and the United States of America.

THE SECOND CHAMBER IN GERMANY (BEFORE THE REVOLUTION OF NOVEMBER 1918)

The German Second Chamber the Bundesrath is historically the descendant of the Council of the old Germanic Confederation. It was established with a view to reconcile and unite the independent Germanic States and the Free Cities. It was the keystone of the German Empire. Lowell while describing the Bundesrath said: 'The [fifty-eight] seats in the Bundesrath are distributed among the states and the cities in such a way that each of them is entitled to the same number of votes as in the diet of the old Germanic Confederation when that body proceeded in plenum except that Bavaria as a part of the inducement to join the Empire was given six delegates instead of four and Prussia obtained [twenty delegates] those

of the states she absorbed in 1866' [*Government and Parties in Continental Europe* Vol. I p. 259] *Arbeiter Zeitung* (2 October, 1918) commenting on article IX of the German Constitution says: 'If the Reichstag is the representative of the German people the Federal Council [the Bundesrath] the members of which are appointed by the governments of the individual Federal States is the representative of the different states of which the Empire is composed. The Reichstag embodies the unity of the nation; the Federal Council is the common organ of thirty five states.'

This explains the origin and *raison d'être* of the second chamber in Germany. And if the Socialistic Republic retains this old relic it will be for the sake of similar federalist reasons and not to act as a moderating influence a check.

THE SECOND CHAMBER IN SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Second Chamber is called the *Ständerath* or Council of States. It was forced upon Switzerland almost by the identical circumstances and necessity as was the Senate saddled on the United States. With a view to unite the 22 Cantons (districts) inhabited by three distinct races and speaking as many languages into a strong federated Republic they established the Council of States in which each of the Cantons sent two representatives irrespective of their size or population. It was devised as a compensation for surrendering their autonomy to the Central Government. It maintained the idea of equality and sovereignty of each Canton. Therefore we need not be surprised at such proportional inequities that the Canton of Berne with over 640,000 inhabitants and 2600 square miles of territory has as many representatives in the Second Chamber as the Canton of Appenzel with a population of 14,000 and an area of 61 square miles.

THE SECOND CHAMBER IN AMERICA

At the termination of the war of American Independence the old thirteen States were a loose confederation. But they soon became disgusted with the impotent and pitiable confederation which could do nothing but beg and deliberate they longed for a strong and lasting union. Therefore they contrived to bring the States together into a more perfect confederation' [President Wilson Congressional Government p. 15.] It was not expected that the sturdy self-reliant masterful men who had won independence for their colonies by passing through flames of battle would readily transfer their affection from the new made states which were their homes to the federal government [Congressional Government].

However the American patriots were soon convinced that to become a strong independent nation it was absolutely necessary to consolee into a great Republic the United States. Consequently they adopted the policy of compromise and conciliation. *The Federalist*, which is the

work of a band of American patriots frankly admits. The equality of representation in the Senate is the result of a compromise between the opposite pretensions of the large and the small states. [*The Federalist* p. 395] That is why such a large State as that of New York with a population of 9113114 has no more representatives in the Senate than the State of Nevada which has a paltry population of 81975.

Thus we see that the Senate the American Second Chamber is the keystone of the Union. It has also constitutional ends to serve. The equal representation in the Senate is a constitutional recognition of the individual and residuary sovereignty of each State. It balances the States against the Central Government the House of Representatives against the Senate and the Senate against both the House and the President. The Federalists also believed that the Senate as a second branch of legislature might prove a solitary check on government. It appeared to them the real foundation of the Union. And yet two out of the thirteen original States kept aloof for a considerable period and those that did join the Union did so under a keen sense of self sacrifice. The President at one time was denied the precedence to the Governor of New York.

Apparently America could not be united without the Second Chamber in which each of the 48 States has 2 representatives. That is to say the bi-cameral system was forced upon the United States by necessity and it was not a mere constitutional paraphernalia or a constitutional check on the 'radical proclivities' of the lower chamber.

THE SECOND CHAMBER IN FRANCE

One might legitimately ask why did the Revolutionary and Republican France enact in 1795 that the legislative power shall be exercised by two assemblies the Chamber of Deputies and Senate. The answer to this pertinent question can only be gathered from the Constitutional and Political History of France (between 1789 and 1875). And a critical study of the History will convince the reader that the Second Chamber the Senate had become a political necessity to France for establishing the equilibrium between the rival political parties which were in ascendant when finally the constitution was drawn up in its present permanent shape in 1875.

Another important fact to be borne in mind is that it is the discontented and hungry masses that actually brought about the Revolution, shed their blood for it and suffered for it and on account of it yet the fruits of the victory were enjoyed by the middle classes, the lawyers and other well-to-do classes—the French bourgeoisie. They took the organisation of the State and Society into their hands and established bourgeois institutions. The conservative elements predominated. They adopted all possible consti-

tutional safeguards to keep under control radical proclivities and political enthusiasts.

The two great political thinkers and constitution mongers of the Revolutionary period Mounier and Abbe Sieyès denounced the tri-cameral system of the Ancient Regime. Mounier in his *Nouvelles Observations Sur les Etats Generaux* condemned that system and maintained that a constituent assembly must be one and indivisible. And Abbe Sieyès in *Qu'est-ce qu'un Tiers Etat?* made out a case for uni-cameral legislature. He was of opinion that if a Second Chamber dissents from the first it is mischievous if it agrees with it it is superfluous.

After the overthrow of the Monarchy the Convention having proclaimed France a Republic adopted the single chamber system by an overwhelming majority of 849 to 89 votes.

The Directory whose worst feature was its corruption on replacing the Convention re-instituted the Second Chamber in 1795 under the name of *Conseil de Anciens* council of elders.

During the Consulate the legislature reverted to three estates. And when Napoleon became Emperor he practically converted the Senate into a House of Lords filling it with the dignitaries and nobles whom he created to form a Court the paraphernalia of royalty.

The Second Chamber in one form or other continued to exist in France until it was again abolished during the Second Republic in 1848. This Republic proclaimed that all public powers emanate from the people. And having written on their banner Liberty Fraternity Equality they delegated all the legislative power to a single assembly of 700 members elected by universal suffrage and 4 guobos adds. They did not want two Chambers because a second house seemed an aristocratic institution. [Seignobos *Political History of Contemporary Europe* p. 163.]

Unfortunately the democratic republicans of 1848 in their enthusiasm committed political suicide by vesting all the political power in the president. The peasants had no political education they knew but one name that of the Emperor Napoleon they voted for that name. Louis Napoleon promised to remain faithful to the democratic Republic and to defend the constitution. Therefore France divided by 7300000 votes against 640000 to delegate to the President the right of drawing up the Constitution. The nation [thus] abdicated its sovereignty. [Cambridge Modern History Vol. VI p. 138.]

The conservative or monarchical element was strong in the assembly. There were 500 monarchists elected through the influence of the clergy and the royalist middle class who played into the hands of Louis Napoleon. By coup d'état he got himself re-elected for ten years. Finding his position pretty secure he established a second assembly which not long after was

called the Senate. And The Senate chosen by him passed a senatorial decree proclaiming Napoleon III Emperor of the French [*Pol. Hist. of Cont. Europ.* p 173]

The Senate has survived up to the present time though he who revived it, fell at Sedan on 3rd September 1870

Now the question is why did the French people after the fall of the Empire, tolerate the Second Chamber? Here is an explanation for this apparently suicidal policy

When the news of the capitulation of Sedan reached Paris 'the mob broke in crying, "Down with the Empire! Long live the Republic!" and the republic was proclaimed in the midst of tumult. The French nation was still at war with Prussia although the Empire had fallen. The French patriots had no time to think of the first or the second chamber. It was enough for them to have regained their freedom! The republican patriots having set up their Provisional Government devoted themselves to the defence of their fatherland. But the masses were against the continuing of the war. Therefore when the elections took place in February 1871 'the peasants avoided the republican ticket as the war ticket' and voted for the 'peace ticket'. As in 1849, the majority in the Assembly was made up of men of the old monarchist parties (Orleanists and Legitimists) elected by the peasants' [*Pol. Hist. of Cont. Europe* p 190]. This monarchist Assembly deferred the proclamation of the Republic until 1875

In the meantime the differences on constitutional matters between the various Monarchical, Republican and Revolutionary parties continued. However when the Monarchist coalition broke up it lost the power of determining at will the form of government for France. And a group of men deserting the Right Centre joined the Left and carried by a majority of one the amendment offered by Wallon which by giving to the Executive the title of the President of the Republic recognised by implication, the Republic as the definite government of France [*Jan 30 1875*] [*Ibid* p 201]

One difficulty having been surmounted the other presented itself. Opinion was divided regarding the bi-cameral or uni-cameral system of legislature. The need of co-operation between various political parties was also keenly felt. Therefore the Senate was recognised as the Second Chamber of the French Legislature

This compromise was arrived at in the following manner. The Orleanists desired the President should appoint the Senators, the Left proposed that they should be elected by universal suffrage. The Orleanists managed to defeat this democratic motion. Eventually it was decided that 75 Senators should be elected by the Assembly so that each party may have its own nominees. The Left Centre claimed 30 seats. The Right Centre would not let them have more than 15. But the Imperialist party,

fearing the preponderance of the Orleanists refused to vote for their candidates. On the second day of voting they came to an understanding with the Left they detached 15 Chevaliers (Legitimists) from the majority by offering them seats in the Senate. This coalition succeeded in electing 58 of the 75 Senators from the Left with 9 Legitimists against eight candidates of the Right [*Ibid* p 201]

The French Historian M C Seignobos confirms the conclusion I have come to regarding the causes of the establishment of the Second Chamber in 1872, when it was possible for France to have rejected it finally and for good. He says, "the system established by the Assembly was the result of compromise, as no majority could be found to support any complete constitution" [*Ibid* 202]

The brief sketch that I have given above makes it quite clear that Republican France adopted the bi-cameral system with a view to balance and reconcile various parties just as Switzerland and the United States adopted it with a view to balance and reconcile the Cantons or the States. In each of these three cases it is evidently (admitted as a necessary evil) a key stone of their national edifice, a means to the great national unity and the foundation of great Republics.

However the defects of the Second Chambers in the three republican countries are apparent both to the natives of these countries and to the foreign students of their Constitution. That acute and profound student of Continental Constitutions Mr Lowell President of Harvard University referring to the French Senate says,

At one time it stood very low in public esteem on account of its origin for it was created by Reactionaries in the National Assembly and was regarded as a monarchical institution and that the extreme [French] Radicals have never ceased to demand its abolition [*Lowell Governments and Parties in Continental Europe* Vol I pp 21 & 25]

The mere fact that the Senate in France, is an elective body does not make it immune from the natural incidence of the Second Chamber which is invariably bound to be conservative and adverse to all progressive changes. Because an indirectly elected Senate is not really much more representative than the House of Lords and is no more in touch with public opinion. [Robert Dell

The Second Chamber Problem p 31] The Senate is very far removed from the effective control of the electors. There is not a single socialist Senator although there are 70 socialist Deputies. Mr Robert Dell who has seen the working of the French Constitution during his 20 years residence in Paris and is a most profound and keen student of French politics writes in his own opinion whatever it may be worth is against a Second Chamber altogether.

The backwardness of social legislation

in France the grossly unjust incidence of taxation these are due to the Senate which has consistently obstructed every effort to improve social conditions [*Ibid* p. 30.]

The evil and retrogressive effect of the Second Chamber in France is quite apparent. The French people adopted the two-chamber system for the peculiar reasons that I have already given. They are not alone in this respect. Even the two most remarkable constitutions, those of Switzerland and America, have committed this blunder. And Bagehot adds also, 'The evil of two co-equal Houses of distinct natures is obvious: it produces the maximum impediment—the dead lock. Then he also reminds us that they committed this blunder because naturally a little state will like and must like to see some token some memorial mark of its old independence preserved in the Constitution by which that independence was extinguished' [Walter Bagehot *English Constitution* pp. 97-98] and that memorial mark in the case of Switzerland and America are their Second Chambers.

THE SECOND CHAMBER IN ENGLAND THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The British House of Lords is one of the two most ancient Second Chambers in the World—the other being that of Hungary which resembled the former both in its origin and composition. The House of Lords evolved out of the Great Council the Witenagemot the king's advisory committee which consisted of his principal vassals. It gradually transformed itself into a 'chamber of hereditary peers enjoying their honours by virtue of a grant from the crown.

Some people are inclined to believe that the power of the Lords is very limited. But as a matter of fact they still possess and do exercise tremendous power. They are a great hindrance and an obstruction to all progressive and popular legislation. They can defeat or mutilate any legislation except a finance Bill, and that they do not like. The present House of Lords represents the tilted jockey. Its functions can be summarised thus: 'It discusses, alters and rejects bills.' It is a standing committee of the Conservative Party [as it were] and keeps watch over the political arrangements under which its class subsists. [*Socialism and Government* Vol. II pp. 46.]

It is suicidal to minimise the powers of a conservative and reactionary assembly of vested interests. The record of the doings of the House of Lords is alarming. To name only a few measures that the House of Lords has turned down or mutilated. The Lords resisted a Bill for the protection of the lives of English women and children for thirty years, from 1442 to 1872. They opposed the Workmen's Compensation Act and mutilated the Employers' Liability Bill in 1893. The same year they rejected Railway Servants Bill, and opposed the Lord Lure and Merchant Shipping Act. 'During the past 100 years, one member in the Commons and the

House of Lords has never contributed one iota to popular liberty or popular freedom or done anything to advance the commonweal. During that time it has protected every abuse and sheltered every privilege, it has denied justice and delayed reform. In the same debate an Irish M. P. Mr. McNeill said that the Lords were the implacable enemies of Irish rights and liberties. The Lords have always treated every measure of conciliation and justice towards the Irish people with contempt and contempt' [*Parliamentary Debates* 25 June 1907.] And if we substitute India for Ireland the indictment will hold good in case of India too. Their attitude towards Indian aspirations and reforms of Indian Government has been no less reactionary and contemptuous.

Leaving aside the question of India and Ireland even in the domestic affairs of England they have done enough mischief. Mr. Lloyd George the present Premier remarked in the Commons ten years ago that the Lords have rejected or mutilated a good many Bills. They have so mutilated Bills as to take life out of them. And referring to the Education Bill he added: 'It is not always necessary to kill a man; you may simply deprive him of his limbs. And that is what was done with the Education Bill. The process has been going on for three quarters of a century. He also quoted a passage from the speech of Joseph Chamberlain, Member for West Birmingham. They have more than once brought the country to the verge of revolution, and they have again and again mutilated, delayed or rejected Bills of the first importance which are now universally accepted to be salutary and expedient' [*Hansard* 26 June 1907.]

Any hereditary and irresponsible assembly could do the same wherever it thrives or is instituted whether on European or Asiatic soil.

It is purely a matter of historical accident, that the British Second Chamber happens to be one of the two most ancient Second Chambers. The Hungarian Second Chamber has been swept away with the House of Hapsburg by the November Revolution. The time will I hope soon come when another ancient Chamber meets the same fate. At present those who are for its abolition are in the minority in Parliament though their number in the country is very large. It is an open secret that when the Labour Party comes into power one of its principal acts will be the abolition of the House of Lords. Mr. Philip Snowden has openly said: 'The Labour party is opposed to a second chamber, no matter how such a chamber is constituted.'

THE PROPOSALS FOR ITS REFORM AND ABOLITION

The House of Lords was abolished by the Long Parliament during the Commonwealth when on March 19 1649 the Commons of England assembled in Parliament finding by too long experience that the House of Lords was

Parliament discussed the question of reforming the Lords, under the Chairmanship of Lord Bryce. The results of the deliberations of the Conference were submitted in his report, by the Chairman to Parliament [Cd 9038]. The Conference informed Parliament that the Conference was of opinion that the Second Chamber should be different in type and composition from the popular assembly and that it should 'act as a moderating influence in the conduct of national affairs and yet not have so much power of delay as to clog the machinery of Government. The Conference agreed that the Second Chamber should not have equal power so as to be a rival to the Lower House and to oppose people's will which is expressed through it.

The two fundamental principles which they considered as the basis of reforming or constructing a Second Chamber are —

(1) that it should be most quickly responsive and fully responsible to public opinion.

(2) that it should contain the largest available number of capable and experienced men of personal eminence. Therefore they recommend that the House of Lords should have two sets of members (a) 246 members to be elected by the panels of members of House of Commons distributed into geographical groups as an electorate (b) one fourth of the total number of the Second Chamber to be elected by the joint committee of the two Houses.

Some prominent Liberals suggest a purely elected Second Chamber instead of the hereditary Upper House. On the other hand Mr Sidney Webb suggests that after the Norwegian fashion the Commons might elect by proportional representation say a hundred members after each election for the life of that Parliament. There are others who suggest that experienced retired officers, governors and ministers might be appointed as members of the Second Chamber.

English radicals are more afraid of an elected Second Chamber than the hereditary House. As regards appointments by the king or his representative they point to the failure of the system in Canada and New Zealand.

The 'experienced retired civil servants or administrators are bound to be petty bureaucrats. And those Governors who go to rule in dependencies like India or Egypt return in the spirit of the tyrant whose will has been law and whose contempt for the mass of the people is profound. The man who has been accustomed to rule subject peoples has had training for taking part in representative government. There would indeed be some justification for making all such Imperial servants ineligible to sit in the House of Lords when they return from their proconsulates their satrapies. [Socialism and Government Vol II p 50]

So much for the problem of the reform of the House of Lords.

Now I undertake to consider and criticise arguments for and against the Second Chamber in general and bring under notice various new

suggestions made regarding the use and functions of a Second Chamber under reformed or new conditions.

THE CONCLUSION

AS A COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS AND MACHINERY OF CHECKS

Some political thinkers desire to convert the Second Chamber into a sort of Committee of Experts to revise the Bills passed by the popular Assembly. Others wish to make it representative of professional or proprietary interests. There are some who look upon it as a Committee of draftsmen or lawyers to give a legal shape to the acts passed or to put them in proper form before the Bill is introduced. There are many people who regard the Second Chamber as the representative of the exclusive nobility or aristocracy just as in India any one might suggest that let it represent sectarian or religious interests.

Call it what you may, its experience of all bi-cameral legislatures has shown us the Second Chamber in all conditions is bound to prove a hindrance to all progressive legislation. It ultimately acts as a drag and as a fatal check on the Legislative Assembly. The conservative section of society and the Governments of the time are invariably for a Second Chamber because they are always interested in keeping under control the progressive elements of Society and radical tendencies of a popular chamber. This point has been very admirably illustrated by the latest constitutional document the Montagu Chelmsford Reform Proposals. They propose a Second Chamber the Council of State for India so that the Second Chamber might develop a conservative character which would be a valuable check on the possibly too radical proclivities of a lower house [p 259]. For this new Second Chamber they wish to secure men who would not seek election or even accept nomination to a composite assembly where the majority of members were of a different status from themselves. We admire this can did confession of motives. They regard it as a valuable check.

Let us examine this machinery of checks in general how it works and what its effect is.

Fifty years ago President Lowell reminds us Second Chambers were defended on the ground that they acted as a drag on radical legislation. That a Second Chamber would exercise a check on democratic haste and instability was the belief of those American constitution mongers who met at the Philadelphia Convention, in 1787. And Lord Bryce summarises their attitude in the following words.

Those who invented this machinery of checks and balances were anxious not so much to develop public opinion as to resist and build up breakwaters against it. [American Commonwealth Vol II pp 28 29.] Precisely similar seems to be the motive of the authors of the Montagu Chelmsford Reform Proposals.

A Second Chamber acting as a check strangles public opinion. All constitutional checks can work effectively only in normal times when they serve no purpose but collapse, or are usually disregarded in times of distress when they might have proved useful. Where there is a Second Chamber to check the first the latter does not realise the full responsibility and is inclined to blame the Upper House for its own faults. The distribution of legislative responsibility also encourages dishonesty and wilful obstruction.

In spite of the inherent and inevitable defects of a Second Chamber the machinery of checks (which is candidly admitted as a device to act as a valuable check on the possibly too radical proclivities of a lower house) is established in India it cannot but disregard and overrule the wishes and opinion of the popular assembly. That is not all. In the case of India the Second Chamber, the Council of State is to be not merely an ordinary revising and supplementary second chamber. Besides taking part in ordinary legislative business it is proposed to be the final legislative authority in matters which the Government regards as essential. Such extraordinary powers are to be given to fifty 'elder statesmen' to legislate for a population of 315 millions people. In this Council of State of 50 exclusive members the Government is to have a majority of 37 on its side. And even for the 15 elected members the Governor General in Council will make regulations as to the qualifications of candidates for election to that body. Therefore it is evident that if the Council of State is really established it will be the most powerfully reactionary and at the same time most subservient Second Chamber in the world.

In India there is neither a historical nor traditional basis nor any constitutional or political necessity for establishing a Second Chamber. So long as there is the Governor General or a Governor at the head of the Indian Government or an Indian Province with a veto to turn down any Bill that appears to him detrimental to the 'British' interest or is far too radical a measure he will be discharging the function of a second chamber very effectively so far as second thought or a check may be deemed absolutely necessary. Besides in the case of India there are two more vetoes that of the

Secretary of State and finally that of the Crown. And if the triple veto cannot turn down a Bill surely the Second Chamber is not only superfluous but is positively harmful.

To establish a Second Chamber in India where there is none at present would be adopting a reactionary step in constitutional progress. If it is meant to be a sort of constitutional experiment we have no desire to be a perpetual laboratory for constitutional experiments. Once having created a reactionary body, it will be very difficult to get rid of it afterwards.

And if in spite of our protest the authorities chose to establish a Second Chamber in India we would have to abolish it when we have our own national government, because the experiences of other countries have shown us the copious disadvantages of the bi-cameral system. Even under the independent national governments of Western countries it has been found that the Second Chamber provides none of the apparent advantages. It cannot guarantee that right and just legislation will always be passed or the will of the people will be carried out, nor will it mitigate the evils of the rule of the majority or prevent the Government from being unjust if it wants to. On the other hand the drawbacks of the Second Chamber are very numerous. However it might be composed it is decidedly a hindrance to all progressive legislation and acts as a drag on the Lower House. If both chambers are equally powerful it leads to constant friction and deadlocks. If the Second Chamber is made more important or more dignified the lower house dwindles into insignificance and does not attract competent and able men. If the Second Chamber is less attractive and less important the same result will follow. That is to say it is really one Chamber that, in either case, counts. This point is remarkably illustrated in the legislature of the United States and France where in the case of the former the Second Chamber is more important and in the case of the latter the Chamber of Deputies is more important. Therefore I submit that there should be no Second Chamber in India. We should rather enlarge and improve the Legislative Assemblies as regards their personnel and stick to the Uni-cameral System.

MUKANDI LAL

TO A CLOUD

O thou transplendent plume of angel pinion
Nestling in a deep haven of mountain trees,
Seeing thy beauty I think of them that conquered
Sorrow and fear and set the human soul,
Unto the suffering world's tranquillity
Nearer the quiet stars

E E SPFIGHT

NOTES

Independence for the Philippines

A most noteworthy characteristic of the Philippine independence movement is that there is not a trace of bitterness against America in it. There are some striking passages in the memorial presented by the Philippine Mission in the United States to a joint committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives asking for immediate independence for their country.

The claim is not made on the ground of misadministration but simply as a fulfilment of American Policy and out of just regard for the national aspirations of the Filipinos. The granting of complete freedom says the petition will insure the maintenance of a full and lasting friendship between the two peoples and will foster the free development of their commercial relations in the future. It will place on a higher level the honour of America by the fulfilment of her repeated promises to grant freedom to the Filipino people.

This is the first time in the history of colonial relations that a subject and alien race has asked for the severance of their political connection with a Sovereign Power without recounting any act of injustice done to them and demanding reparation for such acts but rather with a feeling of gratitude and affection. That in itself is a splendid tribute to the liberal statesmanship of America.

Embodied in the memorial is a resolution of the Philippine Legislature claiming that there exists at present in the Philippine Islands the conditions of order and government which the United States has always required in countries whose independence was to be recognised.

An undertaking is also given that if independence is granted it will be the policy of the Philippine Government to preserve complete autonomy so that neither Japan nor any other country would be permitted to gain control of the Archipelago in any respect. Such a policy would of course receive the hearty sanction both of the American Republic and the League of Nations to which the Philippines would seek admission.

Lala Lajpat Rai on the Need of Publicity in Indian Matters

Lala Lajpat Rai's letter to the Indian delegates now in London of which he sent

copies to our contemporaries and ourselves, and which has been published in the Indian papers will give a rude shock to many Indians who on the strength of a word here and a word there uttered by some Americans generally not in the front rank, in praise of Indian philosophy and culture are disposed to regard themselves as the salt of the earth. Time was when men like the poet Hem Chandra Binerjee could sing of the Bengalis as the lowest among the nations of the earth ranking lower even than China and Japan among the civilised countries of the globe without thereby incurring the angry protest of his countrymen. That was the period of undue self depreciation. But the present reaction in the direction of excessive self appreciation seems to be less justified by the world's opinion of ourselves than the sentiment voiced by the Bengali poet alluded to above. Even Japan who at one time used to have some regard for us as the land that gave her religion has, since her success against Russia begun to think and speak of us in terms which the proud and dominant West has always considered appropriate to subject nations of the Orient. Merely to call ourselves great at the top of our voice and sound the patriotic note in all our books and magazines will, it need hardly be said not make ourselves really great. Nor will it do to ignore Western opinion as prejudiced by racial bias and political expediency which it undoubtedly often is. The world' says Lala Lajpat Rai 'today has been so closely knit together by means of easy transportation and communication that no nation however isolated she might have been in the past can afford to ignore the force of public opinion in the various civilised countries of the world'. 'We cannot afford to neglect world opinion except at our peril. Nor are we really indifferent to the opinion of the western world however strong may be our convic-

tion of the superiority of our own civilisation. We have often noticed, for instance, that authors of books with some pretence to original research intended to demonstrate the superiority of Indian culture, generally betray an uncritical subservience to European opinion and give it greater prominence than it deserves whenever it harmonises with their own theory. The very few references to the Hindus in Lord Bryce's *American Commonwealth* painfully reminds an Indian reader that in spite of Vivekananda and Rabindranath, the notion that the average American has of our people, is far from flattering to our self-respect. This notion is reflected in the anti-Hindu legislation of California and Canada. Lala Lajpat Rai quotes from the speech of Senator Reed, and says "The opinions of Senator Reed and the misconceptions underlying them are typical of a large number of the United States publicists." Senator Reed, referring to the position accorded to India as an original member of the Labour Section of the League of Nations, says

This little chattel of Great Britain this pawn of the British Empire is brought in here and given a vote equal to the vote of the United States. It is proposed that this nation that Great Britain says cannot rule herself shall sit in the council with her chains upon her wrists a slave to Great Britain's power and cast her vote equal to the vote of the United States!

It will be seen that what Senator Reed has most in mind is the political status of India in the comity of nations, and none can say that his graphic picture of the Indian representative, sitting in the council with his chains upon his wrists is exaggerated or wrong. We do not enjoy self government, for England, in her own interest, holds that we are incapable of doing so, and so long as we are a subject nation our position on the League of Nations will not unreasonably call forth such comments as those of Senator Reed. Let us hope that the anomaly of that position will dawn more and more on the Indian people and the bureaucracy which rules its destinies, and for very shame both will try to remove it, for nothing is more evident than the fact that a nation which

does not enjoy the elementary birth right of self-determination at home cannot be expected to be treated with respect abroad, even in the self governing colonies within the Empire, as the recent anti-Indian campaign in South Africa most glaringly shows. As for the anti-Hindu prejudice in the United States, it will task the utmost skill of the Bengali civilian, Mr A C Chatterjee, the representative of the Government of India in the Washington International Labour Conference, to live it down. Mr Chatterjee stood first in his year at the Indian Civil Service examination, and was the first Indian to occupy the responsible office of Chief Secretary of an Indian provincial Government. He has experience of Indian industrial conditions. Let us hope he will be able to impress his personality on the League. But the best and surest way to kill the prejudice is to prove our worth as a nation in all the walks of life. Our political subjection no doubt prevents us from rising to the height of our stature in many, if not most, spheres of national activity, but to be supine and lay the entire blame on it would be to prove our worthlessness. We must try to make our mark in all the paths of human endeavour, so far as lies in our power, and against all odds. Not in politics alone but in sanitary, educational, and industrial reconstruction as well, we must demonstrate our capacity and fitness to be treated among the self governing nations of the world. We must not, in the field of social reformation, repudiate the principles which we advocate so loudly in the political sphere. At the same time, we must cultivate sobriety and a sense of proportion in judging of things Indian, and learn more about the world around us and our position therein, for such a comparative study, while giving a sounder basis for our patriotic admiration of our ancient civilisation will knock off that vain conceit which is at the root of our blind adherence to many obnoxious customs, prejudices and theories, and will infuse into our minds that true sense of self-respect without which we cannot hope to gain the respect of other nations. The following extract from Lord Bryce's

American Commonwealth (vol II, p 911) will make our meaning clearer

'In the middle of the last century the Americans walked in a vain conceit of their own greatness and freedom and scorned instruction from the effete monarchies of the old World which repaid them with contemptuous indifference. No despot ever exacted more flattery from his courtiers than they from their statesmen. Now when Europe admires their power envies their wealth looks to them for instruction in not a few subjects they have become more modest and listen willingly to speakers and writers who desert upon their tailings. They feel themselves strong enough to acknowledge their weaknesses and are anxious that the moral life of the nation should be worthy of its expanding fortunes. As these happy omens have become more visible from year to year there is a reasonable presumption that they represent a steady current which will continue to work for good

The Bureaucrat's Love of Religious Education

The following extract from a book written by an ex-bureaucrat gives an explanation of why bureaucrats are so fond of prescribing religious education for a subject people

Owing to their impatience of criticism and passion for docile obedience a bureaucracy, equally with an autocracy comes to regard with friendly eyes any institution which inclines subservience to authority. Habits of obedience fostered in any one department of thought tend to influence by process of analogy the mental outlook on many others. Now there is one institution that specially preaches reverence for an obedience to authority, and the subservience that suffers without complaint. And that institution is religion. Those who are trained to bow down in submission to a heavenly lord or lords—for Hinduism is pantheistic—and to accept with all humility their decrees are apt to adopt a similar attitude towards the commands of their earthly rulers.

And the English rulers of India have not been slow to recognise the fact.—Chapter II (Speaking of the inefficient monastic schools of Burma), Because the monastic schools inculcate docility—like monastic schools in all countries—because they are cheap they will ever be beloved by a bureaucratic government. It is not question so much as docility that officials desire.—Chapter V—Bureaucratic Government by Bernard Houghton I C S. London, King and Son 1913

Sidelights on Religious Education

There is some truth in the observations printed below

'I suppose that the demand for religious observances and religious orthodoxy as a first condition in schools is more productive of hypocrisy and rottenness in education than any other single cause. It is a matter of common observation. A school is generally about as inefficient as its religious stripe is marked. I suppose it is because if you put the weight on one thing you cannot put it on another. Or perhaps it is because no test is so easy for a thoroughly mean and dishonest person to satisfy as a religious test. Schools which have no claim to any other merit can always pass themselves off as severely religious. Perhaps the truth is that all bad schools profess orthodoxy rather than that orthodoxy makes bad schools. Now-a-days it is religion that is the last refuge of a scoundrel.—*John and Peter the Story of an Education* by H C Wells London Cassel and Co 1918 pp 19-50

The Advisory Council of Jamnagar

The flirtations exchanged between the rulers of Jamnagar and Alwar on the occasion of the institution of a *mantramandal* or advisory council at Jamnagar have led the Servant of India to make some remarks which are not at all unwarranted.

The Advisory Council of Jamnagar is to consist of wholly nominated members one-third of whom will be officials and is to advise His Highness on such matters as he may be pleased to refer to them. It is to meet twice a year with the Minister for president and the non-officials are to be accorded the privilege of bringing up petitions for redress. And what landations were heaped upon the Jam Sahib for introducing this modicum of reform? The Jam Sahib is honorary secretary to the Chiefs Conference, and has herein given a fair specimen of the reform that may be expected of the Chiefs in general. The only councils they can be persuaded to constitute are to use the language of Sir William Lee Warner "shrin representative councils intended to quiet the British conscience and to mislead the press. They may avert the evil eye of foreign opinion while they retard real reform. Let the ruling princes understand that if they are not prepared to temper their personal rule by the advice of popular representatives and gradually part with real power to them these mock councils will deceive no one in these days.

The Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights

The following published in 1914, will sound strange to Indian ears in 1919—

.. the English more liberal than the Romans began by extending to all natives of India as and when they became subjects of the British crown the ordinary rights of British subjects enjoyed under such statutes as Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights. The natives of

India have entered into the labours of the barons at Runnymede and of the Whigs of 1688 — *Two Historical Studies* by James Bryce Oxford University Press p 125

India—A Military Society

The following from the same book, is rather a truer picture of India of today, especially of certain portions of it which have lately been much to the fore, owing to the promulgation of martial law —

Society is not in India as it is in England an ordinary civil society occupied with the works and arts of peace with an extremely small military element. It is military society, military first and foremost though with an infusion of civil in officials and in some towns with a small infusion of lawyers and merchants as well as a still smaller infusion of missionaries. The traveller from peaceful England feels himself except perhaps in Bombay surrounded by an atmosphere of gunpowder all the time he stays in India. Pp 13 14

The Advantages of Caste

Lord Bryce says in the same book (p 67) that 'it was an advantage for England in conquering India and is an advantage for her in ruling it, that the inhabitants are so divided by language as well as by religion and (among the Hindus) by caste that they could not combine to resist her'. Had the famous English statesman and political philosopher written his book to-day, he could have mentioned other advantages of no mean order. But for caste it would be difficult to conceive of the plight of the opposition to Indian constitutional reforms led by the Indo-British Association and its irrepressible in India for it is the principal plank in their platform. Caste prevents Indian Unity and makes despotic Government easy, and can be used as a most potent argument to prevent the grant of self-government to Indians. Many and various are the uses of Caste and will may the bureaucrats thank thee for the excellent services thou hast rendered, and continue to render, to perpetuate his dominion!

The Taxation of India

In the same book Lord Bryce says

India has for many years past been if not in financial straits yet painfully near the limit of her taxable resources. And as a poor country probably poorer than was the Roman empire in

the time of Constantine. A heavy burden lies upon her in respect of the salaries of the upper branches of the Civil Service. Still heavier is the burden in respect of military charges. It is all she can do to pay her own way, and if the revenue could be increased by raising taxation further there are many Indian objects such as education and sanitation on which the Government would gladly spend more money. (Pp 37 38)

Agrum

the warning Rome has bequeathed is a warning not to be neglected. Her great difficulty was finance and the impoverishment of the cultivator. Finance and the poverty of the cultivator who is still though much less than formerly, in danger of famine and is taxed to the full measure of his capacity—these are the standing difficulties of Indian administration. There is really so far as can be seen at present only one danger against which the English have to guard that of provoking discontent among their subjects by laying on them too heavy a burden of taxation. (Pp 76-77)

Stated shortly, Lord Bryce's argument is therefore this. India is taxed to the full limit of her capacity. The salaries of the higher ranks of the Civil Service and the heavy military charges leave little for education and sanitation. The civil expenditure might be reduced, the condition of the middle-class Indians bettered and money set free for sanitary and educational improvements by employing educated Indians to higher posts. But there is one fatal objection to the adoption of this policy—an objection which has always outweighed all the advantages to be derived from such economy, and it is this—

Some opposition to such a method might be expected from members of the regular civil service who would consider their prospects of promotion to be thereby prejudiced. (p 43)

'Responsible' Government

Under this head we propose to examine, in the light of the Government of India's First Despatch of March 5th last on Indian Constitutional Reforms, what is the exact nature of the so-called 'responsible' government which we are going to have.

We shall begin with the Viceroy who says in his Minute,

What are we aiming at in our policy? Surely this that the decision of certain matters—I will not discuss what matters—shall rest with Indians that in these matters it will be for the

to say 'yes' or 'No' and that our scheme shall provide as far as possible for everybody knowing that the decision in any particular matter is their decision that the yes or no is their yes or 'no

But as his excellency himself puts it it is one thing to enunciate a principle it is another thing to translate the principle into practice "The sequel will we trust make it absolutely clear that all that the Government of India scheme provides is that the decision in some matters should be known as the decision of the Governor acting "after consultation" with and not even "on the advice of" (p 60) the Indian ministers, and that such action may have been taken by the Governor entirely in opposition to the advice of the minister so long as the latter does not object to being overruled rather than resign his office

That the responsibility of the ministers in the provincial Governments is far from complete, is admitted in the Government of India despatch

While dualism lasts the part of the Government which is responsible to the electorate cannot attain complete responsibility (§11-)

The unique circumstances of our scheme render it impossible that ministers should during the period of transition enjoy the same measure or character of responsibility as would be theirs under a genuine parliamentary system (§20)

in so far as the responsibility of the ministers is to be tempered by the Governor's authority it is apparent that their relations with him must be regulated by rule to an extent which would be intolerable in a completely developed responsible system (§108)

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, in his anxiety to discredit the reforms blurts out the truth when he says

"The control given to ministers in the transferred subjects will under the scheme be to some extent illusory and to that extent will disappoint political expectations if the division of subjects is carried into effect the scheme will run the risk of being denounced as a sham when people awaken to the real position" (p 211)

The Madras Government, whose attitude is one of out and out opposition to the reforms scheme, points out another objection to the theory of responsibility as propounded in the Montagu Chelmsford Report,

"The Ministers are to be chosen from among the elected members of the Legislative Council but are not themselves to be elected by the Council or responsible to it It will therefore be possible for the Minister to be in direct opposition to the opinions of the majority of the Council (p 137)

As to the fixation of responsibility with regard to any particular question on the minister and through him, the Legislative Council which the Viceroy (p 118) considers as the test by which the success of any scheme must be judged, the Madras Government says

Looked on merely as a political experiment the limitations and safeguards will prevent its being possible to draw any decided conclusions from the result and will be liable to throw the discredit for failure on the wrong authorities (p 173)

After the Montagu Chelmsford scheme was modified by the Government of India in their despatch Sir Sankaran Nair wrote

According to the scheme as modified by them there is really no responsibility left so far as the transferred departments are concerned and so far as reserved departments are concerned the influence of the Minister in the Legislative Councils has been eliminated

The following extracts from paras 101 and 102 of the despatch contain the pith and marrow of the new brand of responsibility manufactured in the bureaucratic furnace of the Government of India Our readers will see at once that after this, the hitherto accepted meaning of the expression "responsible government" which Mr Lionel Curtis has been at such pains to elucidate in his books and pamphlets written for our special behoof must suffer a severe lunge in text books on political philosophy

If the Governor thinks that the minister is doing seriously wrong he may refuse to issue orders in proper order or he may require an order to be issued which differs from it or he may direct action to be taken where the minister has proposed no action (§101)

the Governor must have the ordinary constitutional right to dismiss a minister who refuses either to work in harmony with him or to resign It is necessary however to take the case one stage further We feel it important to decide definitely how insoluble disagreements between a Governor and ministers are to be concluded—for it is only when this point is

reached that our proposed system of dualism is put to the supreme test. A minister who resigns or is dismissed by the Governor may have behind him the opinion of the Legislature and accordingly the Governor being restricted in his choice to the elected members may find it impossible to appoint successors who will work with him. In that event he would dissolve the Legislature but if the new Legislature proved equally obdurate there would be only one course open to the Governor assuming (as will occur we hope but rarely) that he felt it impossible either to give way upon the point at issue or to effect a compromise. We think that against this ultimate emergency provision must be made in the scheme and that the only remedy is for the Governor himself to resume the control of the administration of the departments concerned until the causes of the difference disappear reporting this action and the reasons for it through the Government of India to the Secretary of State. The King's Government must be carried on and there must be some effective safeguard against the main danger that threatens the working of the scheme namely that differences of opinion between the two elements in the government may lead to a deadlock fatal to the administration. We feel moreover that such a power would also be a valuable deterrent to factions and irresponsible action. We doubt whether such administration by the Governor should be more than temporary and therefore we would provide that if the Governor is unable within a period of six months to find ministers who will accept office he should move the Secretary of State through the Government of India to retransfer the portfolio in question formally to the charge of the Governor in Council (§10.)

The semblance or simulacrum of all 'responsible government' partial or complete having thus attained *Ariana* by a process of elimination beautiful to behold, the bureaucracy will once more come by its own and there will thus be a permanent and not merely a sufficiently long truce in the struggle for power (§11) and Mr. Montagu's sad will go the way of all its predecessors.

We shall conclude with quoting the observations of Sir Sankaran Nair on this part of the Government of India despatch.

Further my colleagues would give power to the Governor and the Secretary of State in certain events to transfer all departments from the minister to the Executive Council. This view is based upon a gratuitous assumption that actions of the Legislative Council and the minister will always be factious and irresponsible

when such actions are opposed to the opinion of the Governor. I do not think it should be in the power of a Governor or the Secretary of State who will be only his monthpiece—to strike thus at the root of the reform scheme. If two consecutive legislative Councils composed as they would be under the scheme came to conclusions directly opposed to that of the Governor, the presumption in my opinion would be exceedingly strong that the Governor was wrong and that their views should be given effect to.

The cumulative effect of all these provisions is to place the minister and the legislative council in relation to the transferred departments not only in a position of no real responsibility but virtually in subordination to the executive council. The scheme therefore of my colleagues is directly against the announcement of the 20th August as it means altogether a negation of responsibility, and should not therefore be accepted.

In so far as this part of the scheme is concerned my criticism therefore is that while the policy decided upon by His Majesty's Government requires definite responsibility to be laid upon the ministers for certain acts of the government the Secretary of State and the Viceroy would allow such responsibility [in their joint report] only under the general supervision of the Governor. My colleagues would practically get rid of all such responsibility by converting the minister into a subordinate Executive officer and the real legislative council into a subordinate body—subordinate to the Governor and the Executive Council the latter being without any responsibility for the consequences—though my colleagues in terms disclaim any intention to create an inferior government under the superior provincial Government (pp 98-100).

Sir Sanjivan Nair returns to the charge in his Minute of Dissent appended to the Fourth Despatch of the Government of India paragraph 87 of which says 'The cardinal assumption, made in para 12 of our first despatch, that the authority of Parliament must remain paramount over both halves of Government forbids us to answer it [the problem arising out of an insoluble disagreement between a Governor and his ministers] except by providing for a possible retransfer.' Sir Sanjivan Nair observes on this.

I cannot too strongly protest against the proposal to allow the Governor to resume the portfolio of any transferred subject and to empower the Secretary of State on the motion of the local Government or the Government of India to retransfer any subject from the transferred to the reserved list. As I have said before it cuts at the root of the whole scheme. Let us

see what this implies. The Reforms Scheme is intended to release the duly elected representatives of the people in part at any rate from the control of the Civil Service. The Indian opinion is unanimous that this step is necessary in the interests of good administration and is due to the failure of the Civil Service to carry out the intentions of the Parliament and of the people of England. The Governor in some provinces is likely to be a Civilian for some time to come. In others he will be greatly under civilian influence. In these circumstances the provision of retransfers and will be received as a warning to the Legislative Council not to indulge in a course of action which will lead the Civil Service to take that step. In fact my colleagues practically say so in clear terms. The Civil Service has also openly declared their hostility to any real reform. It is absurd in these circumstances to place the future of Indian constitutional reform in their hands. The reforms are a gift of Parliament not of the Civil Service. The Parliament may take it away at any future time if they choose. The future Legislative Councils have to perform their duty to the people of India and to Parliament. But to place this weapon in the hands of the Civil Service is in all probability to ensure the failure of reform. The interposition of the Secretary of State is no safeguard in all that I have said above the Secretary of State has allowed himself to be merely a passive instrument in the hands of the Civil Service.

This most emphatic and solemn utterance of the only representative Indian who had access to the inner counsels of the Government of India on the most fundamental and vital question affecting the constitutional position of the Minister has been entirely ignored by Mr. Montagu who in the Government of India Bill laid before Parliament authorises the Government of India to frame rules for carrying on the administration in cases of emergency when owing to a vacancy there is no Minister in charge and also provides for the revocation of the Secretary of State in Council. Statutory provision has also been made in the Bill for the superintendence, direction and control over transferred subjects by the Government of India for certain specified purposes (safeguarding the administration of all India subjects and deciding questions arising between two or more provinces (§ 17 of the fourth despatch)).

The Minister will therefore be subject to Parliament the Government of India and the Governor on the one hand and the

legislative council on the other. But as in case of an adverse vote in the council he need not resign unless compelled by the Governor, it is the latter who will be his real master. The Minister's permanent secretary, who will have direct access to the Governor, will be another master. But these are not all. A third set of masters are provided in the fourth despatch. There are certain lucrative appointments in the gift of the Government of India. The holders of these offices will have nothing particular to do in the event of the departments to which they are attached being transferred in the provinces to the Ministers. Work had therefore to be found for them as the only alternative was the abolition of the offices. Para 23 of the fourth despatch accordingly says: 'We feel no doubt that the services of the Educational Commissioner, the Sanitary Commissioner, the Agricultural Adviser, and others will be no less necessary, even if the corresponding departments in the provinces are in whole or part transferred to ministers. The functions of these officers would be to inspect the operations of the transferred departments in the provinces and to report their conclusions to the Governor and Ministers as well as to the Government of India and in extreme cases where remedial action was called for the Governor is to use his influence and authority with ministers to secure their removal.' Sir Sankaran Nair rightly deprecates this tendency towards interference with the transferred departments and it is easy to see that these Government of India officers will be a fresh set of masters whom the Minister has to obey. His position will therefore be between the devil and the deep sea to quote a familiar saying which rightly describes the situation. And as it has been provided in the Bill that his salary will be fixed by the Governor, his subjection to bureaucratic control seems to us to be complete.

India is quite right in saying

As used in connection with India it [responsibility] is an impudent synonym for power. The power to keep the central Government from popularisation is simply the

responsibility of the Parliament for the good Government of India. It is however the Indian Civil Service that wants to take cover under the name of Parliament and rule India without being responsible in reality either to the Parliament or the Indian people.

It is deeply humiliating to the people of India and an insult to their intelligence to call the diarchical form of Government outlined by the Government of India Bill responsible Government.

Good Intentions

We will the following passages from the First Despatch of the Government of India on constitutional Reforms to show how good are the intentions which actuate our rulers. It is a thousand pities that when it comes to giving them practical effect all their best laid plans so often go astray.

We can conceive no other goal consistent with the ideals of British history except that the people of India helped and guided by us should learn to govern themselves. We regard it as beyond question that the first stage of advance must be a generous one undertaken at the earliest possible moment. We should particularly deplore any argument for delay based on disclosures of revolutionary conspiracies which are utterly foreign to the real life of the people and confined to an inconsiderable section. We believe indeed that while it is necessary to deal firmly with crime arising out of these conspiracies repressive measures unless coupled with definite steps in the direction of political advance can provide only a temporary remedy. In all this we feel that we are moving with a spirit which is stronger than our calculations and we accept whatever lies ahead. (§ 7)

If we were to halt now until we find the perfect way—if indeed there is any perfect way—we should lose the whole impetus of advance and embitter those whose hearts are set upon it. (§ 25)

[Provincial Services]. The aim should be steadily to eliminate the element of patronage and to establish a system of appointments by examination before or after selection or where appointments are made direct to set up some exterior authority for the purpose of advising. (§ 12)

We realise that the transferred services are generally those which stand in greater need of development (para 25 of the Joint Report) and we should desire the lion's share of the surplus to be placed at the disposal of ministers. (§ 6)

The influence of those who represent the electorate is growing now and will grow. We fully recognise as an assured consequence of the

political developments which we are discussing in this despatch that even in reserved subjects our administration will have to be conducted with a closer regard to popular sentiment and with less thought for theoretical efficiency.

[This is followed immediately by the proposition that "over all essentials of good Government" "we must retain unquestioned control"] (§ 110). The Governor of Bengal and the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa state in their joint minute that the Montagu Chelmsford Report "reserves for the Executive Government full control over the really essential subjects (p 126)'

Certification is a procedure to which no Governor would resort except on rare occasions. Certification is in fact akin to the veto which is observed in paragraph 171 of the Report is not an instrument of Government and is tolerable only when it is rarely used, and does not become obtrusive (p 206 Bengal Government).

The Governor in Council does not regard this [the disappearance of European agency] as an insuperable objection according as it is effected gradually in proportion to the ability of the country adequately to conduct its own affairs. On the contrary he considers it essential that if India is ever to be self governing it must employ in the main an Indian official agency. (p 212 Bengal Government)

If any material abatement were now made it would be believed by almost all educated Indians that the Government had been guilty of a breach of faith and that the scheme had been put forward merely with the object of keeping India quiet during the war. (Joint minute of the Governor of Bengal and the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa p 126)

National sentiment moreover amongst the educated classes of India had been steadily rising and will not be satisfied with concessions that might have been regarded as adequate a year ago. This sentiment has received a great impulse from the course of the war in which India has continued to play an ever increasing part. As the war progresses the principle of the self-determination of nations continues to receive ever greater emphasis and when the only vocal classes in India demand that this principle shall be recognised in the administration of India it is impossible for the British people who are the foremost exponents of the principle to meet the demand with a cold negative (p 237 Bihar Government)

However much the rival voters of the future may at the outset be devoid of political instinct and incapable of appreciating their strength or exercising their power wisely, however much they may be subject to the beginning to undue influence and intrigue it is ab-

solutely essential that their training in the duties of citizenship should begin at once if they are to attain to the place in the body politic to which their numbers and economic importance entitle them. There are already signs of an awakening (P 292 Bihar Government). A long experience of villagers in their own homes has convinced me that their political instinct is quite as sound as that of the richer and more literate classes (P 334 Assam Administration).

It is only human nature that the educated classes should not be content to remain subject to the domination of foreigners from a distant country who however sympathetic they may be in their treatment of the Indian populations remain completely detached from them in the social and domestic spheres and at the close of their service return to the home country (P 305 Bihar Government).

It would be only fair in conclusion, to quote from Sir Sankaran Nair's Minute of Dissent the following passage about 'fair promises and smooth excuses which in the days of Macaulay were considered to be the sole prerogative of the Bengali —

Promises made as regards the admission of Indians into the public services without racial distinction have not been kept. Reforms in the land revenue administration which are indispensable were promised by the Government and the promise has been withdrawn. The separation of judicial and executive functions was promised by the Government of India. It has not yet been effected. The orders of Lord Ripon and Lord Morley about local self-government have been practically disregarded. The wishes of the King Emperor as regards education have not been carried out. Steps necessary for the revival of industries have not been taken. In all these we have now passed beyond the stage of promise and without actual performance no weight would be given to our declarations. (p 36)

Grand Committees

Grand Committees are the device by which the Governor is to carry on affirmative legislation to which the legislative council may be opposed. Some of the Provincial Governments quite frankly express themselves about this procedure. The Bombay Government rightly says that

This will undoubtedly be resented by the non-official element in the legislative council. A large number of elected members must be excluded and will have no vote. These members will be reduced to the position of mere spectators and that position will be keenly resented (p 188 First Despatch).

On the other hand, Sir Michael O'Dwyer accepts the large elected majority in the provincial council only because of the provision of 'these very necessary safe guards viz the expedients of the Grand Committee and the certificate procedure (p 229). Sir Michael clearly saw that they made the majority in the council absolutely innocuous and 'responsible' government a shadow of its real self. The Chief Commissioner of the little Delhi province is refreshingly outspoken. "The idea seems to be," he writes, "that when any really important Bill is contemplated the Governor is invited to assume that his Legislative Council will fail him and will issue a certificate which will cause the Bill to be dealt with by a Grand Committee, or in plain language by a packed jury. Such a suggestion strikes at the very root of the principle of a responsible legislative council (p 356). His Excellency the Viceroy himself has no doubt as to the effect of this procedure when he deals with the proposals put forward by the Heads of some local Governments in opposition to his own scheme of diarchy. The Viceroy says —

The Heads of Local Governments rely on the machinery of the Grand Committee and the use of the certificate to carry their affirmative legislation. In so far as they find themselves able to use this machinery in the whole domain of government they will reduce the councils merely to bodies of irresponsible critics to whom no power is given in whom no responsibility is fixed but whose numbers are materially increased (p 81).

Nothing could describe the position more justly and accurately than the language here employed by the Viceroy, and yet he does not feel any hesitation to subscribe to paragraph 79 of the despatch, where we find the Grand Committee plan adopted on the following extremely lame and halting grounds

We recognise that this plan for passing what may be described as permanent ordinances presents the advantages of simplicity and candour. It avoids any pretence of recourse to majority support. But it does not seem to us a practical proposal. [In other words it would let them see at a glance that the government is as absolutist as ever and since the outward semblance of responsible government

must be maintained such candour is inexpedient.] Any attempt to legislate in opposition to the wishes of the legislative council must necessarily involve difficulty [the difficulty of reconciling the reality of despotism with the show of responsibility] but the best hope of minimising the difficulty is in employing the means which are as nearly as possible those to which the people are already used (p 49 50)

This last sentence evidently means that as the people have hitherto been used to the fact that inspite of majorities in the Council the 'Government, despite occasional difficulties, has, in practice, been able to obtain its way in most matters of vital importance (p 206 Bengal Government), the happy arrangement under which the elected members of the Council have done the talking while Government has carried on the administration in its own way should not be disturbed. In para 89 of the despatch the Government of India speaks of the sense of unreality which has attended the business of the legislative councils in the past. It is not difficult to foresee that the Grand Committee device will perpetuate the same sense of unreality in the business of the legislative councils of the future.

Sir Sankaran Nair's views on the Grand Committee procedure will appear from the following (p 107)

Our electorates are becoming wider 'all kinds of interests and views divergent among themselves are going to be represented and if in these circumstances the government cannot secure any majority the probabilities of their being in error are great. The grand committee as constituted is obviously intended as a check on a popular assembly and is in itself therefore an undesirable institution. It creates an undesirable antagonism between a local executive and a local legislative council and if there are other means of attaining the same object in view it is undesirable to retain it. I think the safeguard of the Imperial Legislative Council for all affirmative legislation and the powers of veto possessed by the Governor and the Viceroy to negative any Act which is passed by the local legislative council and the power of ordinance for urgent occasions would be amply sufficient.

And in reply to this the Government of India in a subsequent despatch not satisfied with the bare Government majority on the Grand Committee proposed by the Montagu Chelmsford Report which was intentionally 'designed to operate as a

check upon the Governor exercising hastily or indiscriminately his power of certification" as "the scheme of the Report aims at his carrying his Legislative Council with him and only in cases of sheer perversity resorting to the Grand Committee" (p 301, Bihar Government), has recommended a substantial official majority on the Grand Committee and thus frustrated the object aimed at in the Joint Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. That Lord Chelmsford should, in these and other matters, have given way to his Executive Council shows how true is the description of the Viceroy's position given at page 39 of Wilfrid Seaven Blunt's *India Under Ripon*. The first two years are occupied in getting used to the climate and way of life, and learning the official view of the larger questions he has to deal with.

The next two years if he is an honest man and man of energy he begins to propound his policy only to find that he is everywhere defeated in detail by officials who bow to him and pretend to agree with him but who go away and raise obstacles which defeat his ends or at any rate delay them till his power to enforce them is nearly over. Usually he swims with the official stream.

Salary and Status of Ministers

In the scheme propounded by the Heads of 'some local Governments they say

We attach the greatest importance to the non official members being in the same position and drawing the same salaries as the official members (p 122)

This however, does not refer directly to ministers under the joint Report. As to ministers the government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer expresses itself in characteristic fashion

It seems an unwarrantable extravagance to pay inexperienced learners the same salaries as the experienced administrators who will have proved their fitness to be appointed to the Executive Council (p 231)

The Bihar Government however says

The pay and status of the minister should be the same as those of an Executive Councillor. Although the selection of the minister must rest with the Governor his appointment should be by Royal Warrant (pp 289 90)

In the opinion of the Assam Adminis-

tration members of the council and ministers 'would be in a complete equality in the matter of pay, status and designation' (p 330) The Chief Commissioner of Delhi rightly says

'I do not realise why there should be any differentiation between members and ministers I consider that the Governor's executive colleagues should all be on one footing as regards powers and position although the system of recruitment may be different (p 334)

But the Government of India decides

There is no real reason to prescribe for ministers the scale of salaries fixed for members of council. We feel however that if we were to ask you to fix beforehand for ministers a lower rate of pay than that sanctioned for councillorships such a treatment of the situation however well justified by practical considerations would be misconstrued in India. We see therefore no alternative but to suggest that the number of ministers and their pay should be fixed by the Governor after consultation with the prospective minister or ministers when they first take office and (are ?) placed upon the transferred estimates (§ 41)

Had responsible government been really intended in the transferred departments the position of the ministers would have been higher than that of executive councillors who are not in independent charge of any department. But as it has been laid down in spite of what the Viceroy may say (p 118) that no decision should go forth as the Minister's decision and that every decision of his should be liable to be overruled by the Governor, that the services will have a generous right of appeal (§ 49) against the decisions of the minister who may be disposed to treat lightly vested claims to important or desirable appointments' (§ 47) [though the Government of India says in para 43 that 'there is here no question of opposing vested interests to the cause of constitutional change'] that 'the Governor must be instructed to control him [the Minister] with a watchful eye to the well being and content of the services (p 209 Fourth and Fifth Despatches) that the Secretary or permanent head of the Minister's department will have the power to bring to the Governor's notice all cases which he considers that the Governor should see and every case of major importance is to

be laid before the Governor (§ 97), "the result," as Sir Sankaran Nair puts it, "would naturally be to weaken considerably the position of the minister in relation to his subordinates. In fact, he might be reduced to a figure head by the Governor and the Secretary" (p 97) And that being the position assigned to him it is logical to hold that he should have only such salary as the Governor chooses to pay him

The Government of India Bill incorporates the views propounded by the India Government in their first despatch on the salaries to be paid to ministers in consultation with the Governor, though the taxpayers who would foot the bill are willing not to place the ministers exactly on the same footing with the Executive Councillors in the matter of status and pay

Classes and Masses

The Bihar Government says (p 306) -

The nineteen say that these men are better able to ascertain the feelings of the masses than European officials and it is no doubt true that in some respects they are often better acquainted with them though this is by no means always the case. But even if their knowledge of the masses be greater than that of the European officials it is to be remembered that their interests are frequently diametrically opposed and where this is the case the masses will go to the wall

Admitting that there are some matters with regard to which the interests of the classes clash with those of the masses, are there not many more matters in regard to which the interests of both the classes and the masses are identical and opposed to the interests of the foreign bureaucrats and merchants—the administrators and exploiters—and that being so, do not the masses stand to gain on the whole by being represented by the classes of their own countrymen instead of by their foreign masters? We have shown in our last issue that even in the civilised countries of Western Europe it is the classes who represent the masses (vide the extract from Lord Bryce at page 323) Here is another extract from Bernard Shaw (Introduction to *Man and Superman*)

When we were born this country was still

dominated by a selected class bred by political marriages. Aristocracy and plutocracy still furnish the safeguards of politics. But they are now dependent on the votes of the promiscuously bred masses. But observe this aristocracy which was overpowered from 1832 to 1885 by the middle classes has come back to power by the votes of the swarming multitude. How many of their own class have these electors sent to Parliament? Hardly a dozen out of 670 and these only under the persuasion of conspicuous personal qualifications and popular eloquence. The multitude thus pronounces judgment on its own units, it admits itself unfit to govern and will vote only for a man morphologically and generically transfigured by racial residence and equipage by transcendent tailoring by the glamour of aristocratic kinship.

Sir Sankaran Nair puts the whole truth about the so-called sympathy of our rulers for the masses in a nutshell when he says in his minute of dissent (pp 95-96)

Great constitutional reforms are also essential in the interests of the masses of this country. The educated classes have failed in the endeavours to bring about any substantial amelioration in their condition. Not only have the Government not taken the necessary steps but they have not supported the efforts of the educated classes. Thus it is not true that the reforms will result in the transference of powers to persons who are not interested in the welfare of the masses and it is also quite feasible to transfer power to the masses themselves.

The Poverty of India

An instructive sidelight on Indian poverty is thrown by Sir N D Beaton Bell who (p 333) says that to prepare an electoral roll in the Burma and Assam valleys an annual family income of Rs 250 is likely to confine the franchise to approximately one fourth of the heads of the 600 000 households in each of the two valleys. But at p 350 he adds that some of my officers have represented that in certain parts of the province the general criterion of Rs 250 per annum is too high and will not produce the necessary quarter. It therefore comes to this that out of 1 200 000 households in the two valleys of Assam not even a quarter can boast of a family income of Rs 250. If an average Indian family be taken to consist of five persons this figure would yield an average of Rs 50 per head. So not even among the most prosperous people of Assam can thus *per capita* aver

age be counted upon, and yet we talk of the prosperity of India! Sir Sankaran Nair spoke nothing but the bare truth when he referred (p 92) to the 'increasing poverty of India'.

Is Self Government an Exotic in India?

Sir Michael O'Dwyer speaks of "India where the idea of self government as understood in the West is not an indigenous growth but an exotic" (p 236). Sir Reginald Craddock, who belongs to the blood and iron school of Sir Michael, speaks of systems and institutions "which are exotic on oriental soil and out of harmony with the history, traditions and sentiments of the land" (p 270). In the penultimate paragraph of his *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, Mr Vincent A Smith discharged this partizan shot. The ancient Indian constitution now in course of construction is a foreign importation imperfectly intelligible to the people for whose benefit it is intended and never likely to be thoroughly acclimatised. And yet in the same book we find that Gopala the founder of the Pala dynasty of Bengal in the 8th century of the Christian era, was elected king by the people in order to prevent anarchy, a fact which is recorded in the imperishable tablet of the Khalimpur copperplate grant—

‘पातञ्जल्ययमोदितुं प्रकृतिमिच्छन्ना करं प्रादित’

Dr Rames Chandra Majumdar in his *Corporate Life in Ancient India* has repeatedly demonstrated the fallacy which is so much favoured for political reasons by the Anglo Indian bureaucracy and Mr Havell and others have also done the same. Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent opens with a review of this fallacious theory and he has no hesitation in saying

As a matter of fact non-monarchical forms of government are not foreign to the genius of the people. It can scarcely be denied that in the ordinary villages a democratic form of government prevailed when the British took possession of the country. It is impossible for anyone who has even cursorily studied the history of village assemblies to maintain that the spirit of popular government has died out among the people. It is not right to say that any system other than that of absolute monarchy is repugnant to Hindu genius. (pp 88-9)

prate of a loyalty will do well to consider very seriously. The great popular movement springing from the impact of Western knowledge and modern ideas quickened into life by the war in the Far East will neither elb nor remain quiescent. On the contrary it must wax from day to day in spite of rebuffs and humiliations [and let us add martial law sentences] may rather drawing fresh strength by each instance of official opposition (p. 197). Bureaucracy has served its purpose. Though the Indian Civil service were manned by angels from heaven the incurable defects of a bureaucratic government must pervert their best intentions and make them foes to political progress (pp. 193-200).

That under the circumstances official opinion should be hostile to the proposed reforms was only to be expected and such hostility is no argument against their justice or expediency—rather the contrary.

The Opinion of the Bengal Government

It is of interest to us to look a little closely into the opinion of the Bengal Government on the proposed constitutional reforms and we regret to have to say that it is the reverse of liberal. Though it is not out and out reactionary like the views of the Madras and Punjab Governments still in many respects the Government of Bengal is more conservative than Bombay, the United Provinces and even Bihar. Of all the provincial Governments Bengal and Bihar alone support directly, but on the ground that the Heads of some of the other provinces in their joint scheme by conferring on the legislature the power of refusing supply would have succeeded in making the whole of the executive amenable to the legislature (p. 127 First Despatch) and also because they are satisfied that the Montagu Chelmsford scheme reserves for the Executive Government full control over the really essential subjects (p. 126). The Government of Lord Ronaldshay advocates the appointment of two official members to the Executive Council instead of one is proposed in the joint report though admitting that it will render too heavy the administration at headquarters on the ground that in practice there would be every likelihood of the views of Indian Ministers prevailing against the advice of the single official who would be represented as an obstructive and reac-

tionary bureaucrat (p. 199). The Bihar and Orissa Government is however of opinion that 'as a necessary corollary' to the division of subjects among Executive Councillors and Ministers, the number of the former should be reduced from three to two—one an Indian and the other a European member of the Indian Civil Service (p. 289). While to the Bengal Government "the proposal for the appointment of members of the Legislative Council to positions analogous to that of Parliamentary Under Secretaries in Great Britain does not appear to be practicable at the present stage the Bihar the United Provinces and even the Punjab Governments consider it a quite feasible suggestion and have no hesitation in accepting it. Above all the Governor of Bengal in Council cannot but regard with the greatest misgivings the large powers with which it is proposed to invest the Legislative Council in the matter of Finance it is fundamentally unsound to give the legislature these wide powers over Finance (pp. 207-8). But the Bombay Government says: The budget will be discussed and passed by the legislative council, and their resolutions will be binding in all cases except where the Governor considers that peace order and the safety of the state require the exercise of his veto (p. 186). Annexure I, pp. 183-95 of the Report of the Committee on the Division of Functions also shows that many subjects which some of the other provincial Governments considered fit to be transferred to the ministers were placed on the reserved list by the Government of Bengal.

A Woman of India

The London correspondent of the Tribune sends the following account of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's debut before the joint Parliamentary Committee—

Lord Salborne welcomed her with the remark that the memorandum she had sent illuminated their prosaic literature with a poetic touch. Mrs. Naidu made a striking picture as she eloquently pleaded the cause of Indian women. She did it without the aid of a note and in language as choice and moving as the greatest jurist could desire. She was perfectly at her ease and no point was either overdone or omitted.

divorced. They notice the argument that "inasmuch as it will be from the vernacular schools that we shall draw the mass of the intelligent voters of the future it is our duty to concentrate upon vernacular education and to leave English education as a subject in which they will be more interested to ministers," also that "if political progress is to depend on education it is only fair that the whole subject should be transferred and the power of developing it placed in the hands of those who are most interested in the consequences. The argument indeed is even pushed further we are told that Indian opinion is so strongly set upon the entire control of education that to withhold any part of it will imperil the harmony and good will with which we hope the new regime will start. We cannot accept this extreme presentation of the case. We do not deny the general desire of progressive Indians to assume complete responsibility for education or the disappointment that many will feel if this is not conceded. But the Government of India hold that there is 'a compelling case for the transfer of primary education only. Here however, they grow quite eloquent

It is that part of the field which will give the fullest and freest play to responsibility at once it will be most responsive to patriotic effort and it will be the nursery for the broad and enlightened electorate on which the future depends. The labour of bringing primary education up to a reasonable standard, the need for almost unlimited development, the difficulties of gradually making it free than compulsory—these and its many other problems constitute a task which will be enough to occupy all the energy and ingenuity of ministers for years to come.

They then quote from the report of a Committee appointed in 1917 which says that the elected councils will be able to raise money for education from sources that never could be tapped by a Government of the existing official type. Next they proceed to consider secondary and university education and hold that there is an equally compelling case for its retention in official hands.

India stands today in a critical position and her immediate future apart from her slower political growth depends upon the solution of

social economic and industrial problems to which a good system of secondary education is the chief key. If we handed it over at this juncture to untried hands we should be guilty of grave dereliction of duty.

The real motive of the Government however much sought to be disguised in a mass of humanitarian verbiage leaks out shortly afterwards in the following sentence:

We have seen what has happened already in provinces where high school and collegiate education has been allowed to pass largely into non official control. The worst developments of such a system are described in the Bengal administration and the Dowlati reports.

To what in extent the activities of Bengali boys have turned the head of the Simla authorities will appear from the fact that even 'organisations which are primarily non political such as boy scouts, civic guards, volunteer *samities* and proceedings like strike and picketing in the industrial field have been classed together and included among the subjects which the Government of India retain in their own hands (see para 53 of the Fourth Despatch). Regarding technical and industrial education, also, the Government of India desiring to retain complete control in their own hands express themselves in language full of a gushing sentimentality to which our boys are so unaccustomed that they cannot but view it with suspicion. It is admitted runs the despatch

that one of the greatest needs of the country is industrial development and under openings for her young men in scientific and technical professions. It is accepted that the public services must be recruited in future to a greater extent in this country. Then the despatch refers to the necessity of improving and extending the facilities in India for higher learning particularly on the technical side and triumphantly concludes:

We cannot in the face of these plain requirements assent to a proposal to place the control of the legal, medical, engineering, technical and industrial colleges or schools of India in inexperienced hands. After the maintenance of law and order there is no matter for which the responsibility of the British government is heavier.

The Government of India then advance

a final plea for the retention of control over higher education. To many people it will sound a curious plea. Having made mistakes in the past, they ask for further control in order to repair those mistakes.

Before leaving the subject we may revert to the argument that our educational policy has not been a success in the past. That it has at times been lacking in foresight and perspective we do not deny. During the lean years education received only such funds as were available after more imperative needs had been satisfied. Too large a proportion of the money that was forthcoming was devoted to higher education. In particular they were content to let higher education pass more and more under non-official control. We admit the errors of the past and we ask for time to repair them. Their reparation is perhaps the most urgent task before us if constitutional changes are to bring India the happiness which we hope. For these reasons we accept the Committee's proposal to transfer primary education and we strongly dissent from their proposal to transfer secondary collegiate and technical (including medical and engineering) education.

As a last resource, the Government of India propose to retain control of the Calcutta University 'in the event of the transfer of higher education to ministers 'up till the time when the recommendations of the first statutory commission [i.e. another twelve years or more] are carried into effect' on the ground that "the changes proposed by the Calcutta University Commission are so far reaching that a considerable period must necessarily elapse before they can be brought into effect."

Let us now turn to Sir Sankaran Nair, whose minute of dissent, appended to the fourth despatch is perhaps the most masterly of the various documents of that kind penned by him. Referring to the India Government's proposal to transfer primary but not higher education he says

It appears to me to be impracticable to divide the subject of Education like this. Hitherto no such division has been made anywhere in India.

Discussing the high sounding principles laid down in the despatch, he disposes of them in one short sentence

'Political progress is said to be dependent upon the expansion of sound education and such expansion should not be left in the hands of classes which have hitherto opposed political and

sound educational progress. Indians are deeply interested in it.

He proceeds to strengthen the case for transfer by analysing the opinions of the various official authorities.

'I have been the head of the Department of Education now for more than three years and I am satisfied that future educational progress depends upon Indian direction. My predecessor in this office Sir Harcourt Butler also would make it a transferred subject. The only other member of Indian Government who has been an education member since the creation of the Department Sir Claude Hill has recorded his opinion in favour of transfer. The Governments of Bombay the Punjab and the United Provinces would transfer education as a whole. The Madras Government would not transfer any branch of education. Bengal and Assam would not transfer collegiate education but my colleagues like myself are of opinion that this cannot be done if secondary education is transferred. Bihar and Orissa alone is opposed to the transfer of secondary technical and collegiate education. My colleagues would transfer primary education while the reasons given in their report if they are correct tend inevitably to the conclusion that it is primary education that should be kept in the hands of the Government and that higher education may safely be transferred.

Sir Sankaran Nair then goes straight to the root of the matter and without mincing his words and trying to conceal his meaning as the despatch does, by eloquent phraseology he says

Those who would keep education a reserved subject do so I fear not in the interests of educational progress but for political reasons. A retrogressive policy has been followed since Lord Dufferin's time. Efforts were then made by the Government to confine higher education and secondary education leading to higher education to boys in affluent circumstances. This again was done not in the interests of sound education but for political reasons. Rules were made calculated to restrict the diffusion of education generally and among the poorer boys in particular. Conditions for recognition for grants—stiff and various—were laid down and enforced. Fees were raised to a degree which considering the circumstances of the classes that resort to schools were abnormal. English education according to this policy is to be confined to the well-to-do classes. They it is believed will give no trouble to Government. For this purpose the old system of education under which a pupil could pursue his studies from the lowest to the highest was altered. For the masses a new elementary or primary education was introduced. The masses are now alarmed extending to about 80 per cent.

legislature. Even under normal conditions they will have, compared to the Minister ample revenue for their needs but there is little doubt that pressure will be put upon them by the English services for increase in their establishments pay and services—a pressure to which they would not be unwilling to yield. It is very probable therefore that the rajat always impoverished, will be further harassed. The development of the transferred departments essential to Indian progress will be retarded. The result will be the same with reference to all sources of revenues. The Minister and the Executive Council are invited by this proposal to raise as much revenue as they could nothing can be more prejudicial to the interests of the country. It appears to me therefore that the scheme of my colleagues under these conditions will be fatal to the prosperity of the country.

Indian Poverty and Land Revenue Assessment

'Indian poverty [continues Sir Sankaran Nair in his minute of dissent appended to the Fourth Despatch] is attributable to the land revenue policy and the industrial policy hitherto followed

The Committee [on the Division of Functions] state that as the assessment of land revenue is left to executive action the periodical settlement of land revenue must be treated as a reserved subject within the jurisdiction of the Executive Council only. In my opinion however there should be no increase of revenue merely by executive action. At present outside the permanently settled zemindaries the theory maintained by the executive government is that land is the private property of the crown the landholder being bound to pay any assessment that may be fixed by the executive government at their discretion. India is the only country in the world where neither law nor custom nor competition determines the revenue or rent. This has been responsible to a great extent for the increasing poverty of the country. It has certainly tended to keep away labour and capital from land.

Sir Sankaran Nair accordingly proposes that the imposition of land revenue should be made a transferred subject.

In the alternative I would urge that it should at least be laid down that (1) the general principles of land revenue assessment be embodied in provincial legislation as recommended ten years ago by the Royal Commission on Decentralisation and (2) every proposal of resettlement of a district be embodied in a bill that should be passed by the legislative council before any other taxation bill.

Industries

The Functions Committee propose to transfer the development of industries to the control of ministers. From this proposition at the present stage we entirely dissent and for most cogent reasons say the Government of India in their despatch. What are these reasons? In the first place in some provinces there are no departments of industries at all, and in others they have only a nominal existence. In the second place Indian ministers will be devoid of business experience [as if the Civilian member has great experience says Sir Sankaran Nair]. Thirdly it is our earnest desire that the industrial policy of the country should be directed to securing for Indians the fullest possible participation in future industrial development though the Indian Press on the other hand sees in the [Industrial] Commission's Report an attempt to rivet the chains of British economic domination still more firmly on the country. But there remains however a still more serious objection. European non-official opinion expressed very definite apprehensions lest an increasing degree of self government should bring with it an increasing degree of racial discrimination and 'we apprehend that until a far greater sense of responsibility is established among the electorate and the representative assemblies, considerable pressure may be exercised on ministers to refuse any form of aid or countenance to British enterprise and to favour Indian undertakings especially those backed by political influence.

Let us now revert to Sir Sankaran Nair who presents the Indian point of view with refreshing candour.

The proposal of the Committee to transfer all questions of industrial development in my opinion should be accepted. As my colleagues are unwilling to accept this proposal it is desirable to state the present situation. India we know was a great manufacturing country whose wealth attracted the East India Company. Before the Mutiny, her industries were by deliberate policy of active discouragement in India and by prohibitive duties in England destroyed. She was thus reduced from an agricultural and manufacturing to an agricultural country. The general policy of the subordination of Indians to English commercial interests

has since continued to the present day India has been utilized for the exploitation of her natural resources for the investment of English capital and for the dumping of English goods. Instead therefore of the Indian industries relieving the pressure on land, their ruin has thrown millions of workmen out of employ to compete with the agriculturists. This attitude of the Government has materially contributed to the unrest and disaffection in the land. It is therefore essential that we should adopt a course which would place us beyond suspicion.

We know now that there are Trade Commissioners whose business it is to find out the natural resources and facilities for trade—English trade in particular—that exists in the country. The results of their observations are to be made the basis of expert advice as to the best mode of utilising those natural resources in the interests of English trade. It is true that the information would be equally available to the Indian public but we know that it is the commercial organizations in England that would be able to utilize them. There is no objection of course to the export of our raw products without detriment to the interests of the country itself but she should not be deprived of the means of creating her own manufacturing industries and employing her own labouring population. This can only be done if the development of Indian industries is a transferred subject otherwise a great export of foodstuffs tending to the starvation of millions not only by depriving India of her foodstuffs which she badly wants but also by depriving her of great opportunities which the manufacturing industries will afford her will be the result.

Similarly as to the investment of English capital. We know that we cannot do without English capital but we must obtain it on the same terms generally on which it would be lent to the colonies and other countries. The terms must be those agreed upon between the English capitalists and competent Indians who will protect Indian interests. The English officials in India and the India Office have not in the past protected India. They have submitted to English capitalists and I have no doubt will do so in future. We want also Englishmen to start in industries in India but not to the detriment of indigenous industries. It is quite clear to me that unless there is an Indian to protect Indian industries we will have English firms starting industries on a large scale in India in which the Indians will have very little share to the detriment of Indian industries. That unfair means have been adopted to hamper Indian industries for the benefit of Lancashire and other capitalists is well known. Unfair competition should not be allowed. For these reasons if we do not leave the development of Indian industries in Indian hands I feel satisfied that the same course will be followed in the future as in the

past and will lead to increased irritation between Indians and Englishmen.

Alluding to the arguments advanced in the despatch Sir Sankaran Nair says

Lastly, it is said that there is a racial question involved, that considerable influence would be exercised on Ministers to refuse any form of aid or countenance to British enterprise and to favour Indian undertakings. So far as Indians are concerned this charge is absolutely unfounded. Objection to English capital and enterprise is raised only when that stands in the way of Indian enterprise and Indian prosperity. And to remove any such misapprehension is it difficult to provide safeguards similar to those proposed by my colleagues in other cases? But I assert without hesitation from experience that so far as the Government are concerned the fear that they will unduly favour foreign enterprises to the prejudice of Indian enterprises is well founded. It is true enough that the Industrial Commission makes recommendations themselves unsatisfactory which in some respects may assist the Indians but here again we know from experience how little we can rely on such recommendations when they have to be carried out in practice.

Non Brahmin Movement.

Sir Sankaran Nair has as good a right to stand forward as the representative of the non Brahmin classes as the late Dr Nair. Let us see what he has to say on the movement of which Dr Nair, backed by the Indo British Association, was the protagonist.

The representative of the Madras Government (and it is said the Madras Government accept his view) has taken objection to the division of subjects on the ground that without adequate protection being provided for by communal representation the non Brahmins will be oppressed by the Brahmins. I support non Brahmin communal representation but I demur entirely to the proposition that it should be regarded as an essential preliminary to any responsible government for the reason given.

In the earlier years of the Congress the non Brahmin leaders were invited by the officials to stand aloof from it and if possible to denounce it as inimical to their interests. They resolved to disregard the advice. The main reasons were these. They found that by the British conquest it was the Mohammedans and the non Brahmin higher castes who had suffered most. The Rajahs and the zemindars who were deprived of their properties by the British Government generally belonged to those classes. I have already pointed out that the *raison d'être* of the Congress was the intense poverty of the people and the measures which they put forward to relieve such

poverty concerned the non Brahmins more than Brahmins the non Brahmin higher castes therefore stood to gain from its success more than any others. They found also that though the old class of Brahmins had faults which are now imputed to them by the leaders of the non Brahmin movement a distinct improvement was visible in the younger generation that was growing up and they hoped that common efforts common aspirations and the common good of the country would introduce a change in the Brahmin class. These hopes have not been disappointed. Besides the reasons above referred to the non Brahmins were startled at the official attitude. Many of the officials while insisting upon the existence of this class division as a bar to political progress not only did not themselves take any active steps to remove them but by their passive resistance foiled every attempt of the reform party to remove such restrictions. The latter were sneered at as Anglified Indians who had lost touch with the ordinary people and therefore untrustworthy in these matters or denounced as impracticable visionaries. Several officials went even so far as to say not only privately but in public that this ancient caste system was necessary to the stability of the society as it accustoms the people to order and obedience to authority and it is therefore in the interest of the Government to support that system. The non Brahmin leaders felt therefore that very little could be hoped from officials to remove this caste restriction. These were the reasons so far as I remember that determined the attitude of the non Brahmin leaders then and I do not think those reasons have lost their force now.

The Franchise Committee point out that the non Brahmins will be in a majority of four to one in the electorates and they cannot but think that, if the capacity already devoted to politics among non Brahmins were utilised in organizing this great majority, the Non Brahmins would in no long space of time find that such a preponderance of votes would make itself effectually felt despite the power and influence of the Brahmins. The Government of India in their fifth despatch say

We are less optimistic. Numbers count for little in India at present against social, educational and especially religious superiority which has behind it the sanction of centuries. They therefore propose that the constituencies should be arranged in such a way that thirty out of the sixty non Muhammadan seats should be reserved for non Brahmins while both parties

might contest the remaining seats without restriction.

But the poison having been thus introduced in the body politic it was bound to spread and the despatch proceeds to say. At the same time if divisions in the Hindu community are once recognised in the electorate as in the case of the non Brahmins in Madras we admit that it becomes extremely difficult to resist the claims of the Marhattas in Bombay. Accordingly the Government reserve the Marhatta question for further consideration before making their final recommendations.

Depressed Classes

The depressed classes constitute nearly one fifth of the entire population of British India. Franchise Committee gave them seven seats in the various provincial Councils. The Government of India propose for them thirty seats. They say. We think there should be in each council enough representatives of the depressed classes to save them from being entirely submerged and at the same time to stimulate some capacity for collective action.

Sir Bankaran Nair speaking of the Depressed classes says in his minute

It is absurd to say that their position so far as their material prospects are concerned has improved under the British Government. It has steadily gone from bad to worse. To mention only a few instances under the old customs they were entitled to free houses, trees, materials free from the jungles for building their cottages, free pasturage and a hard share of the produce of the land which they cultivated for their wages which ensured a living wage. All these they have lost under the rayatwar system. With the ruin of the Indian industries also the non agricultural labourers lost their fixed wages and they were involved in the ruin of their masters. The agricultural labourers suffered equally from the Government and the Zemindars and the big rayats. The proposed reforms will not directly benefit them to the same extent as the superior non Brahmin castes but they are bound to share in the benefits which will accrue to the whole country if the reforms are carried out in the directions indicated and the poverty problem in particular is dealt with.

Town and Country

The Government of India make a tentative proposal to give all towns with a

population of 50,000 and above, twice as much representation as the rural population. They say

"After religion and race, the boundary between town and country is the greatest dividing line that runs through the Indian people. It corresponds closely with the division between progress and conservatism between English education and vernacular between experience of self government and lack of such experience, between the existence of newspapers, professions, bar libraries societies etc and their absence. It is roughly the difference between the old Indian and the new, the forces that are pressing us forward and those that are holding us back."

The Congress League Compact

The Government of India in their Fifth Despatch deal at length with the Congress League compact under which, in the view of the Government, Muhammadans in some of the provinces have got "extravagantly good terms." They are not much in favour of the compact, but feel bound to say

"The Congress League compact is an accomplished fact and a landmark in Indian politics which we cannot possibly ignore. The difficulty with which the agreement was reached is a measure of the earnest efforts made to attain it, and those efforts imply on behalf of the larger community at least a subordination of their immediate interests to the cause of unanimity and united political advance which we should be sorry to appear to undervalue."

They therefore confirm the compact with one important variation, which would compel the 'larger community' to make still further sacrifices to the cause of unity.

We accept therefore the conclusions of the committee except in one respect. The Muhammadan representation which they propose for Bengal is manifestly insufficient. It is questionable whether the claims of the Muhammadan population of Eastern Bengal were adequately pressed when the Congress League compact was in the making. They are conspicuously a backward and impoverished community.

The census and other reports make much of the prosperity of the peasantry of East Bengal, they are reported to be the most prosperous in all India, the Mussalmans of East Bengal mostly belong to the peasantry. A peasantry will always be backward in the literacy test. But how is it that they are now admitted to be impoverished, and if they are so, what

becomes of the peasantry of the rest of India.

The repartition of the presidency in 1913 came as a severe disappointment to them, and we should be very loath to fail in seeing that their interests are now generously secured. In order to give the Bengal Muslims a representation proportionate to their numbers, and no more, we should allot them 44 instead of 34 seats, and we accordingly propose to add ten seats to those which the Committee have advised on their behalf."

Without grudging our Moslem brethren the excessive generosity here shown at the cost of Hindus, we may point out that in other provinces this principle of proportionate representation has been violated in their favour on the ground of "past history, and the presence of Muhammadan centres." "Heads, you lose, tails, I win" may be a good policy to adopt against the Hindus, but they are determined to remain in fraternal amity with their brethren the Moslems 'for a' that' and thus frustrate all evil intentions.

The Council of State

The Government of India preface their proposals regarding the upper chamber of the Indian Legislature with an observation which they are never tired of repeating, and which is evidently the only one of the proposals of the Joint Report which is entirely after their own heart. "We all agree, however," they say, "that, be the form of the central legislature what it may, the power of the Government of India to secure the legislation which they desire in essential matters must, as stated by the authors of the Report, remain indisputable." After reminding themselves and the world of this fact, they proceed to quote suggestions to the effect that the Council of State should "ensure a certain sobriety in its membership," that "the progressive elements" should find their representation in the Assembly, "giving the Council of State the definite character of a revising chamber by making it the organ of conservative and stable opinion," in other words, that it should be a chamber of fossilised *upke wades*. But the Government of India is nervous lest it should be called by its real name, "a standing Grand

Committee of the Assembly, and they 'are anxious that the Council should partake of the character of a hall of elder statesmen' and with that end in view would provide for each province an electorate of 1,000 to 1,500 voters possessed of the same qualifications as those prescribed for membership of the Council of State, who should be required to elect that body from among their own number thereby rejecting the recommendation of the Franchise Committee which would give the members of the Council of State the same popular character as the members of the lower chamber, the Legislative Assembly by confining the franchise in both cases to members of the provincial legislative councils. The senatorial house will be a packed house in which the strength of the official element available must be the ultimate determining factor and an electorate of 1,500 voters probably based on property qualifications as in the case of the general electorate can never possess a representative character. The Government of India lay down this principle for the lower house of the bicameral legislature.

We look upon direct elections as the only system that is compatible with true responsibility to the voters. And we do not accept any arguments which would relegate the creation of a direct electorate for the Assembly to an indefinite future. We consider that it will be the clear duty of the Government of India to devise such an electorate before the enquiry of the first statutory commission.

European Seats

The proportion of seats set down for European interests is higher than can be justified on any numerical basis but strong representation of these interests is thought to be well justified on account of the stake of European commerce in the country and also to be politically expedient. (Appendix III Fifth Despatch of the Government of India.)

The Franchise Committee decreased the European seats from 9 to 7 and increased the seats given to Indian commerce [in the provincial councils] from 3 to 4. The fifth despatch says:

We also deprecate the reduction and restriction of the European representation and we should prefer not to endorse it until we know how it is received by those affected.

Communal Representation

The Fifth Despatch says

Communal electorates are now proposed [by the Franchise Committee] not only for Muslims everywhere and for Sikhs in the Punjab but also for Indian Christians in Madras and Bengal and Europeans in the three presidencies, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. We feel the objections of principle to the communal system as strongly as the authors of the Reforms Report but see no advantage at this stage in reiterating them. India is not prepared to take the first steps forward towards responsible Government upon any other road. The road does not lead directly to that goal and we can only echo the hope expressed by the committee that it will be possible at no very distant date to merge all communities in one general electorate.

We feel that the blame which is here laid at our door is fully deserved. The road on which we have been launched may lead to further bifurcations for the ramifications of caste are endless and once the principle of recognition of divergent communal interests gains the ascendancy, there is no knowing where it will stop. Unless we can sink our mutual distrusts and agree to forego our communal claims true self government will never be within our reach. The thin end of the wedge was introduced when a pledge was given to the Muhammadans by the Government, and the mischief has already penetrated too deep into the body politic to be capable of being easily eradicated without strong united efforts and tremendous patriotic self sacrifice.

Light and Feeder Railways

The Functions Committee have placed Light and Feeder Railways among transferred subjects and they say:

As regards railways we have been impressed with the evident strength of the desire in many provinces to develop light and feeder railways. There is a general feeling that such development is unduly hampered under existing conditions. This feeling is particularly strong in Madras where several local authorities have given proof of their keenness on the subject by levying for years a cess for railways the construction of which has not even been sanctioned. We have tried therefore while conserving the essential interests of the Railway Board as controller of the railway communications of India and guardian of the rights of existing railways and the ultimate veto of the Government of India to

give to the provincial legislative council a power of initiative in legislation which will give scope to local enterprise. We recommend that local authorities or private corporations should be allowed to introduce Bills for the construction of light and feeder railways in the provincial councils. But we suggest that provision should be made by standing orders of each provincial council requiring that before any Bill providing for construction and management of a light or feeder railway is introduced in the council sufficient notice of the provisions contained in such Bill should be given to the Railway Board and to such other parties as may be prescribed and that the Bill shall be referred after introduction to a Select Committee of the Council with powers to hear evidence and shall be dealt with by procedure similar to that applied to private Bills under British Parliamentary practice and we further propose that any such Bill shall after being passed by the provincial council be reserved for the consideration of the Governor General.

One would have thought that in the above enough and more than enough provision had been made for the protection of the vested interests of all the main lines of railways managed and owned by foreign companies. But the attitude of the Government of India is characteristic. It involves say they 'a marked departure from Indian [autocratic?] methods of business that a department of the Government of India acting under the orders of that Government should appear as a party to plead its case against the promoters of a private line before a select committee of the provincial legislature with a majority of non official members. And yet the practice is a common one in the United States and all the big railway companies in that land of big railways maintain paid lobbyists in the local and federal legislatures to look after their interests and placate members who may introduce Bills adverse to their interests. True the system lends itself to corruption in America for the voice of the legislature and of the members thereof is not there subject to dictation by a Railway Board set up with a view to guard the interests of the railway companies. But in India the legislative council cannot be permitted to deal with such matters even under all possible restrictions and the proposal to transfer light and feeder railways to the minister meets with the strongest oppo-

sition of the Government of India. Sir Sankar Narayan truly says "The decision of my colleagues [to treat light railways as a reserved subject] is calculated to subordinate national interests to the interests of capitalists, railway companies."

Independent Audit.

This question has been dealt with in the first and fourth despatches, and also in the note submitted to the Functions Committee and in the report of the Auditor General Mr Grantlett. Mr Grantlett says "Any scrutiny of, or enquiry as to the manner in which executive officers are exercising the financial responsibilities entrusted to them by Government is often resented by such officers."

Generally speaking "say the Government of India "the control of the provincial finance department is acknowledged in theory but in practice its strength varies greatly with the disposition of the executive government and depends largely upon personal influence and the amount of backing received from the head of the province."

In the quasi-commercial branches of the administration particularly irrigation it is believed that the financial control and the observance of strict economy are almost entirely at the discretion of the departmental officials. Other branches are more closely watched but the power of the Finance Secretary to a local Government is far from always being as definite as it ought to be. This is especially the case in connection with excesses over budget grants and the unduly wide liberty of reappropriating funds from one grant to another and entirely separate purpose. There is also a tendency for the spending departments to budget for expenditure of which the details have not been presented to the Finance Department for the necessary criticism. In all these respects the Government of India apprehend that the system will require to be tightened up before the introduction of the new regime. (Annexure V to the Report of the Subjects Committee)

In the same note we find that there is to be a Public Accounts Committee of the provincial legislative council which will keep an eye on the budget expenditure.

Before the Public Accounts Committee the Finance Department will be the champion of the audit. It will bring all irregularities into the light of day and will move the committee to accord them full consideration and to deal ade-

mind this is a grave departure from the scheme of the Reforms Report. My Hon ble colleagues have followed this up by further modifications which practically get rid of all popular and Indian influence. Instead of one joint budget and one joint purse for the whole Government they will create separate purses for ministers and Executive Council members respectively. The result of all this is that so far as the reserved subjects are concerned neither the minister nor the council is to have any real voice in the settlement of the budget. This is allowed to be the real purpose of the new proposals. Real popular influence in the settlement of the budget is therefore entirely gone.

In the minute of dissent attached to the Fourth Despatch Sir Sankaran Nair says

The further proposal that council resolutions will have only the status of recommendations to the Governor in Council as well as the Governor and Ministers reduces the council to as much impotence as the present [legislative] councils. The remaining proposal that the ministers may have to [and are not necessarily bound to] resign on account of budget resolutions carried against them is of the nature of a finishing stroke.

Fortunately it would appear from the Government of India Bill that the control of the legislative council over the budget in regard to transferred subjects has been maintained in accordance with the views of Sir Sankaran Nair who says

The control by the legislature must in any event be regarded as indispensable if the reforms are to be worth anything in the eye of even the supporters of the scheme. What is put forward [by the Government of India] is a combination of the drawbacks of autocratic and responsible government with none of the advantages of the latter.

The Instrument of Instructions

The Instrument of Instructions will according to the Fourth Despatch afford the Governor guidance in the comparatively delicate matter of his relations with ministers. They measure the extent to which the ministerial portion of the Government is to be regarded as still coming short of a purely constitutional position. They are the means by which the discretion of the ministers and legislatures is still to be regarded in some respects as tempered by the need of securing that the wishes of Parliament in vital matters are not disregarded. The Government of India Bill provides that in relation to a

transferred subject, the Governor shall be guided by the advice of the Minister in charge, unless having regard to His Majesty's instructions he sees sufficient cause to dissent from the opinion of the Minister, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice'. The draft Instrument of Instructions which has been published as Appendix II to the Fourth Despatch lays down that the Governor is to 'restrict the exercise of the power to act in opposition to his minister's advice to cases in which he considers that the consequences of acquiescence would be serious. The Instrument also provides for the exercise of control over ministers by the Government of India. The Governor is responsible for the due compliance with any orders affecting the administration of transferred subjects which may be issued by the Secretary of State and the Government of India'. The Governor is responsible for bringing to the notice of the minister concerned any observations on the administration of a transferred subject which may be communicated to him by the Government of India. Para 4 of the Fourth Despatch lays down that the central Government's powers to interfere in the administration of the transferred subjects should be specifically restricted to the following purposes—(1) to safeguard the administration of the Government of India subjects (2) to secure uniformity of legislation where such legislation is considered desirable in the interests of India or of more than one province (3) to safeguard the public services and (4) to decide questions which affect more than one province. In the very last paragraph of the despatch the Government of India in regard to transferred subjects says, 'We must rely for help in the solution of difficulties on the Governor's powers in relation to ministers and also on the fact that the Government of India being agents for Parliament which must remain the paramount authority can never sink to the level (italics ours) of a merely federal government. Compare the open contempt here shown towards federal government with para 300 of the Montagu Chelmsford Report (and also para 120)

where it is said Looking ahead to the future we can picture India to ourselves only as presenting the external semblance of some form of federation The Government of India in the name of its responsibility to Parliament will not permit any relaxation of its hold on the transferred subjects even if the Governor who is vested with full powers to act in opposition to his ministers feels disposed to do so The subjection of the Minister is thus absolutely complete

The All India Services

Every now and then in the despatches we come across something which shows the extreme nervousness of the Government of India about the position of what are known as the All India services under the reforms The Fourth Despatch says

The all India services should be regulated by legislation in Parliament We consider that these services are entitled to have their conditions settled beyond the possibility of alteration by any authority in India Accordingly we find that Part IV of the Government of India Bill is devoted to securing the position of these services Not content with this we have already seen that the Government of India reserve power to themselves to intervene in transferred subjects to safeguard the public services And we find a paragraph in the Governor's Instrument of Instructions to the following effect

The Governor is responsible for the protection of all members of the public services in the legitimate exercise of their functions and in the enjoyment of all recognised rights and privileges From the Parliament right down to the Governor therefore at every step statutory provision has been made for the protection of the services Their recognised rights and privileges in the words of the draft Instrument of Instructions and their vested claims to important and desirable appointments (para 47 of the first despatch) which ministers may be disposed to treat lightly have been adequately secured A visitor from Mars making a tour of our planet might be inclined to think that compared with every other

country in the world India requires protection from the bureaucracy and not the bureaucracy from the representatives of the people of India But it is the weak who in the present stage of our moral growth always go to the wall and so we need not be surprised to find it being solemnly laid down by the Government of India (Annexure IV p 209) that the Governor must be instructed to control him [the minister] with a watchful eye to the well being and content of the services and that his role as protector of the public services should be known and recognised both by Ministers and the services To what lengths this doctrine has been carried will appear from the following extract from the fourth despatch regarding the private practice of I M S officers

The enjoyment of private practice is admittedly one of the fundamental conditions of civil service in India and we agree that the privilege within its limits should be secured by regulations which it is beyond the competence of ministers to alter We agree also that inasmuch as the value of private practice depends directly upon an officer's station the posting of I M S officers should require the Governor's concurrence but in this respect we see no need to distinguish between one service and another The posting of all India officers is a matter in which we should expect the Governor in any case to interest himself personally (para 123)

Para 50 of the First Despatch says that they are to be protected against arbitrary or unjust treatment as if ministers are sure to be guilty of such treatment If there is so much suspicion against the exercise of the legitimate authority of the ministers it may be asked why does the Government (first despatch para 4b) decide that the all India services are to have no option as to service under Ministers? One cannot but think under the circumstances that the object of placing the members of the Civil Service under the ministers instead of allowing the latter to choose their own men who would loyally carry out their orders is to keep the ministers strictly under control by compelling them to look to the Civil Service for the execution of their policy As provincial services the first We recognise that a time

must come and may come soon, when ministers will wish to take the Provincial Service of their departments entirely into their own hands and to regulate their recruitment, pay, pension and the like." It is accordingly laid down that "the aim should be steadily to eliminate the element of patronage and to establish a system of appointments by examination before or after selection. So long as all the appointments were in the gift of Civilian patronage was preferred to open competition but now it is said "As regards nominations the need for regulation is obvious. The present distribution of patronage however conscientious, does not escape criticism, and is extremely laborious for which reason it is very desirable to set up without delay some more impersonal method of selection" (Annexure IV, Functions Committee Report)

Franchise in the Punjab

Sir Michael O'Dwyer was supposed to be the friend of the Punjab peasant who rendered such conspicuous services in the war, services which Sir Michael eulogised in enthusiastic terms on a memorable occasion in the Imperial Council. But it appears that he was not willing to enfranchise him. The Franchise Committee write in their Report

Another of our members (Sahibzada Aftab Khan) is anxious to see a substantial reduction both in the rural and urban qualifications proposed for the Punjab so as to secure a material increase in the number of electors more nearly approximating to that proposed for the United Provinces. He points out that the population of the Punjab consists mainly of small peasant proprietors who are likely to be better fitted both to use the vote and to appreciate the education derived from its exercise than the large number of tenants enfranchised in the other provinces that this class has rendered conspicuous services to the State during the War and that there is in his opinion a general feeling in the Punjab that the province should not be refused political privileges granted in other parts of India. The standard which we have adopted was, however, proposed by the local Government which was strongly adverse to a lowering of the standard until further experience of the working of the franchise had been gained.

Communal Election,

The Fifth Despatch, referring to the electoral college, composed of all the members of the provincial councils, which is to elect the members of the Legislative Assembly on the lower chamber of the Indian legislature, says

"The [Franchise] committee have not mentioned in their report whether they propose that the elections to the general and communal seats allotted to each province in the Assembly shall be made by the non official members of that province voting as a whole or only by those of the community concerned but their intentions are clear from their Appendix IX. We agree with them that the former alternative is not feasible—the Muhammadan members of the provincial councils would not wish their own representatives in the Assembly to be returned by an electorate in which the Hindus preponderate

It seems to us that here was an admirable occasion for the Muhammadans to forego their communal claims which have been proved in the Joint Report to be so harmful to the development of democratic institutions. In the first place, the Legislative Assembly will enjoy no real power, its functions being confined to mere criticism, and all essential legislation will be passed by the permanent government majority in the Council of State. It is not therefore worth the while of our Moslem brethren to apply the communal principle in all its rigour to elections to the Legislative Assembly. In the second place the essence of the communal system will in any case be left intact inasmuch as the numbers of Muhammadan seats in the Assembly will be fixed by statute. All that is wanted is that the Muhammadan members of the Assembly should be elected by all the members of the provincial council Hindu and Muhammadan, voting together, just as much as all the Hindu members of the Assembly will have to seek the votes of the entire body of members whatever their religion, of the provincial councils. If the joint voting be tried on such a limited field it cannot do much harm even from the worst Muhammadan point of view, whereas by the development of a spirit of unity and patriotic self sacrifice it may have the way for the eventual abolition of all communal tests which will

wishers of Indian self-government so ardently desire. Moreover the Government of India have definitely expressed themselves in favour of the introduction of direct election (para 35 of the Fifth Despatch) before the enquiry of the first statutory commission ten years after the introduction of the reforms. That being so, the system of a mixed electorate roll, the number of communal seats being fixed which is the transitional method towards the ultimate abolition of the communal principle, has here an excellent chance of being put to the test, and if it proves successful in this limited sphere, it may when direct elections to the Legislative Assembly take the place of the present indirect method of election, be extended to such elections in the first place to be gradually extended in the case of elections to the provincial councils where alone the principle of self-government has been allowed a limited scope for development. We commend this suggestion to our Moslem leaders.

Periodic Commissions

Almost the only suggestion of the Government of India with which we are wholly in agreement, though perhaps not from identical motives is that in which they make regarding periodic parliamentary commissions. "We think," they say in para 112 of their First Despatch, "that a commission appointed *ad hoc* will be able to deal with the complicated questions involved more expeditiously, more authoritatively, and more impartially than the Government of India, and that it will be advisable to deal with all the provinces at once rather than *seriatim*."

We desire in fact to lay the greatest stress on the advantages of enquiries at stated intervals by an outside authority whose recommendations will carry weight both with Parliament and with the people of India. We attribute the favourable attitude of Indian opinion on this matter largely to the confidence of the people (a confidence, we may add, for which there is hardly sufficient justification in view of the artificial importance attached to Anglo-Indian opinion in England) in a commission of the nature proposed and to the guarantee implied that the whole political situation both in the provinces and the Government of India will come under review at regular intervals. Any suggestion

that future progress should depend entirely on the initiative of the Government of India would meet with the strongest opposition and we think rightly. We ourselves consider these commissions to be the most substantial safeguard which the scheme affords against a policy of drift and we are convinced that the success of the whole scheme will be gravely jeopardised if its future development is left to be treated in a haphazard manner according to the Government of India's whim and inclination.

Residential Clause

The Franchise Committee (para 29 of their Report) although on principle opposed to such a restriction anywhere, resolved, on a consideration of the evidence, to abandon uniformity and exempt Madras and Bengal from the residential restriction imposed on the other provinces. It may be noted in passing that the Government of Bengal insisted on a residential qualification but the neighbouring Governments on the east and west did not. The Government of India decided "to accept the committee's proposal" not because they agreed with the progressive politicians whose views they expressly contradicted, but mainly because we doubt the effectiveness of insistence on the residential qualification but also because it will give us an opportunity of testing it by results in different areas. The committee write as follows in their report:

Associations and individuals representing what may be termed the more progressive element in Indian politics were definite in their view that there is no justification for restricting the choice of the electors in this respect and that insistence on such a regulation might, by depriving the new councils of the services of men of experience and capacity, impair the success of the reforms now being inaugurated. It was pointed out to us that one object of constituting territorial electorates is to encourage the candidature of persons with knowledge of local interests and actually representative of such interests and that the chance of securing such candidates among the rural population hitherto unrepresented in politics would be impaired by the competition of candidates from outside. Much of the educative effect of the franchise would thus be lost and the representative character of the councils impaired.

The last argument sounds well in theory, but the fact is that in these days of rapid travelling and facilities of communication, and in the case of a fairly

homogeneous people like the Bengalis, whose intellectual and political activities are moreover centred in a single capital everybody who is anybody is well known throughout the country and knows the country well and is therefore quite capable of looking beyond his nose and getting thoroughly acquainted with the needs and requirements of other districts than his own. There are indications here and there in the mass of official opinion published in the despatches of some acquaintance with Lord Bryce's standard work on the American Commonwealth. Now those who have even cursorily glanced through the pages of this book know quite well that Lord Bryce is emphatically of opinion that the low level of American public life and its failure to draw the best men of the country into politics is due in a very large degree to the residential clauses in the constitution. Again and again Lord Bryce points out how sadly the public life of America suffers from the existence of this unnecessary restriction, and the argument applies with all the greater force in the case of a country like India where the masses in the interior cannot compare with the corresponding classes in America in political educational and social advancement. If the enlightened and advanced people of rural America find the residential restriction a bar to the election of the best men, how much more must it be the case in India where the rural population is not nearly so advanced. In Great Britain as everybody knows there is no such restriction and English politicians frequently seek election in Scotch constituencies and vice versa?

Bureaucratic Resistance

The opponents of this [Congress] movement maintain that the Congress was started by the Bengalis and the Brahmins of South India and that India as a whole was not with them. The Marathas were invited to declare that they had nothing to do with these Bengali and South Indian agitators. We know now the answer. The Mahomedans were warned that the Government might tolerate the agitation carried on by certain classes but they the Mahomedans will not meet with the same favourable reception. No efforts were spared to inform them that the Congress was hostile to them. The exigencies of

controversy alone can now represent the attitude of the Mahomedans as hostile to reforms. Indeed their advanced section asks for reforms more far reaching than any that the Hindus claim. Lord Lansdowne introduced an elected element into the councils but there was no real improvement. All their efforts for more than fifteen years proved abortive. They were told that they did not know the conditions of the country themselves that the officials knew better and against their strong protests measures were enacted and a line of conduct pursued which led to the growth of sedition in the country. It is extremely difficult if not impossible to initiate or to carry out any progressive policy under the present constitution of the Governments in India which has been explained in detail in the Report in the opinion of the political leaders reform is imperative for another reason. It is required in the interests of peace order and good government i.e. efficient government according to English ideals. The present system has proved inefficient. —(Sir Bankaran Nair Minute of Dissent to the First Despatch)

Peace and Order

Leaving now the question of the budget let me take the equally important question of peace and order. If sedition had its origin in Bombay it would be noticed that this was due to the harsh administration of the plague regulations by a collector which would have been impossible if the Indian element was powerful in the government of the country. Similarly the course of misadministration by the government of Eastern Bengal which was responsible for the growth of real Bengal sedition would also be practically difficult. Under the law which we have recently passed [the Rowlatt Act] and under certain regulations which were passed at the commencement of the last century to meet certain exceptional classes of cases it would be open to an executive government in a province to deprive a man of his liberty and of his freedom of speech without the orders of the magistrate or any other judicial tribunal. The press may also be deprived of its freedom by executive action the ordinary courts being deprived of their jurisdiction. The Governor of a province has the power of depriving a person who attacks him of his liberty of person and of his property without affording him public opportunity of proving his allegations before the ordinary tribunals of the country. Under this law no Indian paper would venture to indulge in criticisms distasteful to the head of the province. Any agitation against the civil service or the bureaucratic form of government would scarcely be possible under the civilian head of a province. The Home Rule agitation or in fact any constitutional agitation may be suppressed without the interference of a judicial tribunal solely at the instance of an executive government. In these circumstances it seems to me to be imperative that

the Indian element and the popular element should be powerful in the government of a province. Otherwise we will perpetuate all those evils due to the inutility of the Councils which are forcibly pointed out in the Report are responsible for the widening gulf between officials and non-officials.—Sir Sankaran Nair's Minute of Dissent to the First Despatch

Summary

In para 109 of the First Despatch the Government of India write as follows:

At this point it seems desirable that we should sum up our impressions of the working of the machinery as a whole and of the manner in which it may be expected to fulfil the purposes for which it is designed. The fundamental idea is that the Governor in Council shall be armed with sufficient power in the administration of the reserved subjects to discharge the responsibility for them which he owes to Parliament while ministers will have the widest liberty to administer transferred subjects according to the *conventional (traditions)* but in constant sight of and comparison with the working of their official colleagues.

To say that the ministers will have the widest liberty is simply absurd having regard to the serious limitations under which they will have to work—limitations intentionally introduced in order to hamper their initiative and keep the bureaucratic control inviolate. The Government of India's attitude towards the ministers under the reforms scheme is throughout that of the Drill sergeant and the purely gratuitous assumptions underlying the various despatches as to the bureaucrats' natural superiority to the ministers are actuated by jealousy and would be amusing if they had not been so mischievous. To the bureaucrat the knowledge of official red tape may be the essence of good government but in England the bureaucrat is always kept in his place and never allowed to aspire to ministerial dignity for such knowledge as he possesses is valuable only in a subordinate capacity. A knowledge of facts and data upon which the minister, a public man without technical knowledge or administrative experience is to base his constructive plans. The Right Honble Mr Fisher who came to know the civilians as a member of the Public Service Commission wrote as follows in *The Empire and the Future*:

It may indeed be questioned whether the life spent in the Indian Civil Service is calculated except in rare cases to stimulate that part of political talent which consists in the study and guidance of political opinion or in the framing of the large legislative proposals which are from time to time needed in actively thinking political communities.

Sir Sankaran Nair who quotes this passage in his minute of dissent and who came into intimate contact with the civilians of Simla evidently does not think very highly of the civilian's boasted administrative capacity and individual worth. In both these respects and in conceiving large plans and boldly executing them some of the ministers of the larger native states who had a comparatively free hand have done much better than the hidebound bureaucrat, tied to departmental routine and irresponsive to the progressive currents which agitate the country. The Government of Bihar and Orissa say:

It is contrary to human nature that three hundred million people should acquiesce in the perpetual domination of a small body of foreigners from a distant land however high-minded and efficient the latter may be. The present regime cannot continue for ever and British rule will have failed of its purpose in India if it does not draw out all that is best in Indians and help them to build up a fabric of self-government which will stand unshaken on its own foundations.

We are deliberately of opinion that the position given to the ministers in the Government of India Bill and the despatches of the Government of India cannot possibly draw out the best in Indians—in fact some may even think that the position has been intentionally made a humiliating one in many respects in order to keep away the best men who might not find it consistent with their self-respect to accept the ministerial portfolio on the terms proposed.

The summary (para 109 of the first despatch) concludes:

In brief as we anticipate the course of events progress towards full responsible government will take two forms. One will be the regular periodic advance as defined by the statutory commissions and measured by the further and still further transfer of the once reserved subjects to ministerial control. The other informal but always at work will be the increasing influence

with the elective franchise will require over the whole of the world. But there will be a simultaneous process which is not in our program and which we shall have steadily to resist [but why?] the constant endeavour to transform the international law over the frontiers of the administration for which the responsibility is with the official Government.

The International Labour Conference

The importance of the coming International Labour Conference at Washington has not been sufficiently felt in India because people here find that their interests are determined for them by others on the plea of their immaturity on most selfish or casual grounds. Problems of tropical resettlement ought to have an important place in the discussions of the conference but such as will casually arise will be dealt with by the High Contracting Parties according to their own interests. The fact has been that Germany will not be allowed to continue the policy of exploitation which has led to an awful decimation of the native races. The theory of the mandate which is the logical outcome of economic imperialism the doctrine of the white man's burden may be productive of as much suffering as the German or Belgian Plantation system. International safeguards are essential to protect the rights and secure the well being of the immature races but it remains to be seen how far the principles laid down by the Berlin and Brussels congresses are expanded and adapted to modern requirements in the tropical regions now required by the allies. The world is now in greater need of the raw materials of the tropics than ever before and the process of unethereal competition and exploitation now first developing will bring in its train untold evils and even bear the seeds of future estrangements and wars between races. The limits of white colonisation have now to be frankly recognised and land policy in the tropical regions modified accordingly. The due regulation of white capitalism must have to receive the sanction and support of international bodies. There is a need of international labour legislation much on the lines suggested in the article relating to the subject in the present

issue. The problems of labour supply, and especially of immigrant labour supply cannot be effectively dealt with except by international agreements. There remains the ticklish problem of supplying loans to such countries as Persia and China which must no longer be allowed to drift to spheres of influence of particular races. International action can alone be qualified for the task of setting right past mistakes and abuses in this connection. Equally momentous is the demand for the open door in the West in the United States Canada and Africa for instance by the easterner who sees his own regions being explored and exploited by the white races and yet large areas in different continents are kept barren by the fiat of sovereign authority. The ethics of the White Australia and of the Anglo-Saxon Mandate policy is in need of discussion in the light of the open door policy forced upon the East. Japan is putting forward the claims of the East but her deceit in the occupation of Shantung is a reminder of the older cannibalistic imperialism which must go sooner or later. The League of Nations or the Supreme Economic Council of the allies which is now devising methods for a more effective exploitation of the tropical regions must adjust the relations between white capital and black or yellow labour on an ethical and humanitarian basis and give up once for all the older policies of unfair treatment and unequal opportunities which have bred sources of estrangement in the past. Finally we have to remember that the world cannot be a world of peace until and unless there dawns the sense of a cosmic humanism the concept of a physical and spiritual unity of man which supported by science would devise the same means of social and economic progress for all races great or small advanced or backward and not reserve special measures for the so called superior types and would extend to immature races that are being ousted and despoiled the loving hands of protective law and administration for the welfare of humanity and the increase of international wealth at large.

R. K. M.

Civilian Governors

Paragraph 75 of the First Despatch says

As regards the appointment of Governors however it is clear from another passage [of the Montagu Chelmsford Report] that although there is no idea of excluding the members of a permanent service from appointment to governorships the intention is to assimilate the method of appointment of all kinds of officers to that of the present Governors. We observed that no immediate large scale alteration in existing practice by which the charge of the provinces in question has always been entrusted to men with long official experience in India and we think that at all events for some years to come no such change is possible.

A few lines down the Government of India admit. We take this opportunity to note that all the three President Governments have called attention to the heavy personal burdens which the new order of things will impose upon the Governor. How heavy this burden will be has been shown in detail by the Bengal Government in para 20 of their letter in which it is said that the whole responsibility for efficiency will fall ultimately on his shoulders. They further say that the reforms give prominence to the capacity of one individual the Governor and this is but too true for he shall be called upon at every step to exercise his judgment and tact with a view to the smooth working of a complicated machine one part of which will be run on the usual bureaucratic lines and the other part move upon constitutional principles with which a governor brought up in the traditions of the Civil Service is not likely to be familiar. Tact judgment the spirit of mutual give and take tolerance sympathy a disposition to listen to the other side in a conciliatory spirit &c. are qualities which a life spent in bureaucratic routine is not likely to develop and if it be true as Mr Bernard Houghton in his *Bureaucratic Government* says that in spite of plausible protests to the contrary we must clearly recognise that a bureaucracy as such is and from its nature will always be hostile to a popular government then there can be no doubt that it does not augur well for the reforms that they are going to be started under

civilian auspices. Sir Sankarar Nair truly voices public opinion when he opposes the views of the Government of India in this matter on the ground that the primary consideration that should weigh with the Secretary of State in making the appointment is the fitness of the person to carry out the duties not as hitherto of an autocratic head of a province but of a constitutional ruler. Those civilians who are in sympathy with Indian progress or who can be trusted to work smoothly with the political machinery of the future under the altered conditions and who are not prejudiced by the feelings of hostility to the proposed reforms evinced by many of them may be appointed as heads of provinces. Mr Havell in the introduction to his new book on *Aryan Rule in India* says. It is significant that Indians generally prefer an administrator who has not been through the mill of the Indian Civil Service from the idea that he will be likely to treat high political questions in a more liberal and unbiased spirit. The strong Indian feeling in favour of a statesman brought up in the parliamentary and free public life of England should not be ignored by the Joint Parliamentary Committee now sitting in London.

A Laudable Undertaking

We gladly make room for the following and commend it to the attention of those who can render help —

RADHANAGAR RAMMOHAN MEMORIAL
SOCIETY
PUBLICATION OF RAMMOHAN ROY'S
WORKS
IMPORTANT PROPAGANDA WORK

The Works of Raja Rammohun Roy are by far truer memorial to his greatness than any that we can raise in brick or stone. The Radhanagar Rammohun Memorial Society have therefore besides erecting a memorial of the great man at his Birth Place thought it their bounden duty to bring out a popular edition of the Raja's English, Bengali, Sanskrit and Persian works which will be carefully edited and elaborately annotated. There is no greater authority on Rammohun Roy

persons were awarded the severest punishments allowed by the law

Travancore Industries

Says the *Indian and Eastern Engineer*

Dr S G Barker's report on his recent industrial survey of the Travancore State shows that Travancore like Mysore possesses very considerable assets both vegetable and mineral but their development can hardly be said to have begun and what little industry does exist is in need of co-ordination and guidance for its progress and development. The more important industries indicated are tapioca, shellac, sugar, fiber, dyeing and weaving and on these immediate concentration of effort is most necessary. One experiment of special interest mentioned in the report is the manufacture of acetone from the shell of the coconut for this acid has an important use in the manufacture of rubber an enterprise which is being taken up by a very large number of the people of the state and the high price of acid now makes it difficult to carry on the work. It is satisfactory therefore to note the experiment has shown the possibility of

cheap and easy production of the acid. Travancore is not in a satisfactory position as regards power. There is no coal and although the waterfalls are fairly numerous few survive the hot weather. For the present power will have to be generated by means of wood fuel. With regard to motor spirit Travancore proposes to strike out in a direction which will produce results of value to the country at large. The Government of Travancore has a big distillery in south of the State and experiments are being made for the employment of the alcohol distilled there to drive engines of small power. What is needed is cheap fuel for manufacturing plant.

Cheap fuel for manufacturing plant can be obtained by wood distillation. The charcoal left as a by-product of the distillation may be used as fuel. We understand preparations are in progress at Benkipur in Mysore for wood distillation in connection with the Mysore Iron scheme for obtaining cheap fuel in this way. As Travancore has forest areas, the wood distillation industry should be prying in that State both directly and indirectly.

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WHOLE
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AUTUMN FESTIVAL

By RADHADRANATH TAGORE

*Translated by the author from a Bengali play written for the boys of the
Shanti Niketan*

CHARACTERS

SANJASI—EMPEROR VIJAYADITYA IN DISGUISE

THAKURDADA

LUCKESWAR

UPANANDA

RAJAH

THE BOY COURTIER & C

SCENE—The Forest near the River
Vetrasi

LUCKESWAR AND UPANANDA

Luckeswar

Have you brought me the money which
is long overdue?

Upananda

My master died last night

Luckeswar

Died! Absurd! That trick won't do
What about the money?

Upananda

He hasn't left anything except the *vina*
which was his only means of paying off
your debt

Luckeswar

Only the *vina*? That's a consoling piece
of news to bring to me

Upananda

I haven't come to give you news
There was a time when I was a beggar in
the street he sheltered me and allowed

me to share his food which was scanty
enough I have come to offer my service
till his debt is fully paid

Luckeswar

Indeed! Now that he is no more you
have come to share my food which is not
overabundant I am not such an ass as
to be taken in by you However let me
first know what you can do

Upananda

I can copy manuscripts and illuminate
them Food I won't take in your house
I shall earn it and also pay off the debt

Luckeswar

(Aside) The *vina* player was a big fool
and he has moulded this boy in his own
pattern This vagabond is pining to take
up some voluntary burden to be crushed
to death For some creatures this is the
only natural death—Good I agree But
you must pay me the money on the third
day of each month otherwise—

Upananda

Otherwise what! Your threats are of
no use In memory of my dear master I

take this up. But no threats for me, I warn you.

Luckeswar.

Don't take offence, my child. You are made of gold, every inch of you ; you are a jewel. You know I have my god in the temple, his worship depends upon my charity. If, owing to any irregularity in your payment, I have to curtail the temple expenses, the sin will be on your head. (Upananda moves away to another side of the forest.) Who's that ! It must be my own boy prowling about this place. I am sure the rogue is seeking for the place where I keep my treasure hidden. Simply out of fear of these prying noses I have to remove it from place to place.—Dhanapati, why on earth are you here ?

Dhanapati

If you give me leave, I can have my game here this morning with the other boys.

Luckeswar

(Aside) I know their game. They have got scent of that big pearl which I hid near this spot. (To Dhanapati) No, that won't do ! Come at once to your multiplication table

Dhanapati

But, Sir, it is a beautiful day—

Luckeswar.

What do you mean by the day being beautiful ! Come at once ! (Drags him away.)

ENTER BOYS WITH THAKURDADA.

First Boy

You belong to our party, Thakurdada !

Second Boy.

No, to ours.

Thakurdada

Children, I don't sell myself in shares. I must remain undivided. Now for the song.

(THEY SING.)

Over the green and yellow ricefields

sweeps the shadows of the autumn clouds followed by the swift-chasing sun.

The bees forget to sip their honey ; drunken with light they foolishly hover and hum.

The ducks in the islands of the river clamour in joy for nothing.

ENTER ANOTHER GROUP OF BOYS

Third Boy.

Was it fair ? Why didn't you call us when you came out ?

Thakurdada.

It is your part to call me out. Don't quarrel, finish the song.

(THEY SING.)

Let none go back home, brothers, this morning, let none go to work.

Let us take the blue sky by storm and plunder space as we run.

Laughter floats in the air like foam on the flood.

Brothers, let us squander our morning in futile songs.

First Boy.

Look there Thakurdada, a sanyasi is coming.

Second Boy.

It's grand ! We shall have a game with the sanyasi. We shall be his followers.

Third Boy.

We shall follow him to the end of the earth and nobody will be able to find us out.

Thakurdada.

Hush, he has come.

The Boys.

(Shouting) Sanyasi Thakur ! Sanyasi Thakur !

Thakurdada.

Stop that noise ! The father will be angry.

First Boy.

Sanyasi Thakur, will you be angry with us ?

Second Boy

We shall become your followers for this morning

Sanyasi

Excellent! When you have had your turn I shall be your followers
That will be splendid fun!

Thakurdada

My salutation Who are you father?

Sanyasi

I am a student

Thakurdada

Student

Sanyasi

I have come out to fling to the four winds my books

Thakurdada

I understand You want to be lightened of your learning to follow the path of wisdom unburdened

First Boy

Thakurdada is wasting time with talk and our holiday will come to its close

Sanyasi

You are right my boys My holidays are also near their end

The Boys

Have you long holidays?

Sanyasi

Oh! no extremely short My school master is already after me

First Boy

You frighten us! Even you have school masters?

Sanyasi

What boy is that under the shade of that tree merged in his manuscripts?

Boys

He is Upananda

First Boy

Upananda we are Sanyasi Thakur's followers come and become our chief

Upananda

Not to day I have my work

Second Boy

No work You must come!

Upananda

I must finish copying manuscripts

Third Boy

Father you ask him to come He won't listen to us

Sanyasi

(To Upananda) What work have you my son? To day is not meant for work

Upananda

I know it is our holiday But I have my debt to pay and I must work

Thakurdada

Upananda your debt To whom?

Upananda

My master has died he is in debt to Luckeswar I must pay it off

Thakurdada

Alas that such a boy as you must pay your debts and on such a day! The first breath of the autumn has sent a shiver through the white crest of flowering grass and the *shrub* blossoms have offered their fragrance to the air as if in the joy of reckless sacrifice and it pains me to see that boy sitting in the midst of all this toiling to pay his debts

Sanyasi

Why this is as beautiful as all these flowers—his paying his debts He has made this morning glorious sitting in its centre Baba you go on writing let me watch you Every line you finish brings you freedom and thus you fill your holiday with truth Give me one of your manuscripts and let me help you

Thakurdada

I have my spectacles with me let me also sit down to this work

First Boy

We shall also write This is great fun!

Second Boy.

Yes, yes, let us try.

Upananda.

But it will be such a great trouble to you, father.

Sanyasi.

That is why I join you. We shall take trouble for fun. What do you say to that, boys?

The Boys

(Clapping hands) Yes, yes.

First Boy.

Give me one of the books.

Second Boy

And me also.

Upananda.

But are you sure you can do it.

The Boys.

O! Yes!

Upananda.

You won't be tired?

Second Boy.

Never.

Upananda.

You will have to be very careful.

First Boy.

Try us.

Upananda.

There must be no mistakes

Second Boy.

Not a bit.

Sanyasi

Baba, Upananda, what was your master's name?

Upananda.

Surasen.

Sanyasi.

Surasen, the vina player?

Upananda

Yes, father. Was he known to you?

Sanyasi.

I came to this place with the one hope of hearing him.

Upananda.

Had he such fame?

Thakurdada.

Was he such a master, that a sanyasi like yourself should have come all this way to hear him? Then we must have missed knowing him truly.

Sanyasi.

But the Rajah of this place?

Thakurdada.

The Rajah never even saw him. But where could you have heard him play?

Sanyasi.

I suppose you know that there is a Rajah whose name is Vijayaditya.

Thakurdada.

We may be very provincial, but surely you don't expect us not even to know him.

Sanyasi.

Very likely. Surasen played the vina in his court, where I was present. The Rajah tried hard to keep him permanently in his capital, but he failed.

Thakurdada.

What a pity that we did not honour him.

Sanyasi.

But that neglect has only made him all the greater. God has called him to His own court. Upananda, how did you come to know him?

Upananda.

At my father's death I came to this town seeking shelter. It was at the end of July and the rain was pouring down in torrents. I was trying to find a corner in Lokanath temple, when the priest came and drove me out, expecting me to be of a low caste. My master was playing the vina in the temple. At once he came up and putting his arms round my neck asked

me to come to his house From that day he brought me up suffering calumny for my sake

Sanyasi

How did you learn illuminating manuscripts ?

Upananda

At first I asked him to teach me to play the *vina* so that I could earn something and be useful to him He said Baba this art is not for filling one's stomach And so he taught me how to use paints for copying books

Sanyasi

Though Surasen's *vina* is silent I hear the undying music of his life through you My boy go on with your writing

The Boys

(Starting up) There he comes Luckis owl ! We must run away (They go)

ENTERS LUCKESWAR

Luckeswar

Horror ! Upananda is sitting exactly on the spot where the pearl is hidden I was simple to think he was a fool seeking to pay off other people's debts He is cleverer than he looked He is after my pearl I see he has captured a sanyasi to help him Upananda !

Upananda

What's the matter ?

Luckeswar

Get up from that spot at once ! What business have you to be sitting there

Upananda

And what business have you to be shouting at me like that ! Does this place belong to you ?

Luckeswar

It is no concern of yours if it does or does not — You are cunning ! The other day this fellow came to me looking innocent as a babe whose mother's milk had hardly dried on his lips And I believed him when

he said that he came to pay his master's debts Of course it is in the King's statute also —

Upananda

I sat down to my work here for that very purpose

Luckeswar

That very purpose ! How old am I do you think ? Only born overnight ?

Sanyasi

But why do you suspect him and of what ?

Luckeswar

As if you know nothing ! False Sanyasi

Upananda

(Getting excited) Won't I just smash his teeth with this pestle of mine !

(Luckeswar hides himself behind the sanyasi)

Sanyasi

Don't be excited Luckeswar knows human nature better than any of you here Directly he sets his eyes upon me I am caught — a sanyasi false from his matted hair to his bare foot I have passed through many countries and everywhere they believed in me but Luckeswar is hard to deceive

Luckeswar

(Aside) I am afraid I am mistaken It was rash on my part He may curse me I still have three boats on the sea (Taking the dust off Sanyasi's feet) My salutation to you father ! I did make a blunder Thakurdada you had better take our Sanyasi to our house I'll give him some alms But you go first don't delay I shall be there in a minute

Thakurdada

You are excessively kind Do you think that father has come crossing hills and seas to accept a handful of rice from you ?

Sanyasi

Why not Thakurdada ! Where that

handful of rice is so very dear, I must claim it. Come Luckeswar!

Luckeswar.

I shall follow you. Upananda, you get up first! Get up, I say, with your books and other nonsense.

Upananda.

Very well, I get up. Than I cut off all connection with you for good

Luckeswar.

That will be a great relief to me. I was getting on splendidly before I had any connection with you.

Upananda.

My debt is paid with this insult that I suffer from your hands. (Goes.)

Luckeswar.

My God! Sepoys riding on horses are coming this way! I wonder if our Rajah also—I prefer Upananda to him. (To Sanyasi) Father, by your holy feet I entreat you, sit on this spot, just on this spot; no, slightly to the left, slightly more. Yes, now it is all right. Sit firmly on this plot of grass. Let the Rajah come or the Emperor, don't you budge an inch. If you keep my words, I'll satisfy you later on.

Thakurdada.

What is the matter with Luckeswar? Has he gone mad?

Luckeswar.

Father, the very sight of me suggests money to my Rajah. My enemies have falsely informed him that I keep my treasure hidden underground. Since this report, our Rajah has been digging an enormous number of wells in this kingdom. When asked for reasons, he said it was to remove the scarcity of water from this land. And now I can't sleep at nights because of the fear that a sudden fit of his generosity might lead him to remove the water scarcity from the floor of my own dwelling.

ENTERS THE KING'S MESSENGER

Messenger.

Father, my salutation! You are Apurva-Ananda?

Sanyasi.

Some people know me by that name.

Messenger.

The rumour is abroad of your extraordinary powers. Our Rajah is desirous of seeing you.

Sanyasi.

He will see me whenever he sets his eyes on me.

Messenger.

If you would kindly—

Sanyasi.

I have given my word to somebody that I shall remain immoveable in this place.

Messenger.

The King's garden is close by.

Sanyasi.

All the less trouble for him to come.

Messenger.

I shall make known to him your wishes. (Goes.)

Thakurdada.

Since an irruption of Rajahs is apprehended, I take my leave.

Sanyasi.

Do you gather my scattered friends together and keep them ready for me.

Thakurdada.

Let disasters come in the shape of Kings or of anarchy, I firmly hold by you (Goes.)

ENTERS LUCKESWAR.

Luckeswar.

I have overheard all. You are the famous Apurva-Ananda! I ask your pardon for the liberties I have taken.

Sanyasi.

I readily pardon you for your calling me a sham sanyasi.

Luckeswar

But father mere pardon does not cost much You cannot dismiss Luckeswar with that I must have a boon—quite a substantial one

Sanyasi

What boon do you ask ?

Luckeswar

I must confess to you father that I have piled up a little money for myself though not quite to the measure of what people imagine But the amount does not satisfy me Tell me the secret of some treasure which may lead me to the end of my wanderings

Sanyasi

I am also seeking for this

Luckeswar

I can't believe it

Sanyasi

Yes it is true

Luckeswar

Then you are wider awake than we are

Sanyasi

Certainly

Luckeswar

(Whispering) Have got on the track ?

Sanyasi

Otherwise I shouldn't be roving about like this

Luckeswar

(Touching his feet) Do make it a little plain to me I swear I shall keep it secret from everybody else

Sanyasi

Then listen I am on the quest of the golden lotus on which Lakshmi keeps her feet

Luckeswar

How bold ! This takes my breath away But do you think you can find it undisturbed ? It means expense Do one thing let us go shares in it

Sanyasi

In that case you will have to be a *sanyasi* never touching gold for a long time

Luckeswar

That is hard

Sanyasi

You can only prosper in this business if you give up all others

Luckeswar

That sounds very much like bankruptcy But all the same I do believe in you— which astounds even myself There comes our *Rajah* Let me hide behind this tree
(He lies himself)

ENTERS THE RAJAH

Rajah

My salutation !

Sanyasi

Victory to you What is your desire ?

Rajah

Surely you can divine it already My desire is to rule over a kingdom which is supreme

Sanyasi

Then begin by giving up what is small

Rajah

The overlordship of Vijayadittra has become intolerable to me

Sanyasi

To tell you the truth he is growing too much even for me

Rajah

Is that so ?

Sanyasi

Yes All my practices are to bring him under control

Rajah

Is that why you have become a *sanyasi* ?

Sanyasi

Yes.

Rajah.

Do you think your charms will be potent enough to bring you success?

Sanyasi.

It is not impossible.

Rajah.

In that case do not forget me.

Sanyasi.

I shall bring him to your court.

Rajah.

Yes, his pride must be brought low.

Sanyasi.

That will do him good.

Rajah.

With your leave I take my departure.

(Goes.)

(Returning) Father, I am sure you know Vijayaditya personally—is he as great as the people make him out to be?

Sanyasi.

He is like an ordinary person,—it is his dress which gives him a false distinction.

Rajah.

Just what I thought. Quite an ordinary person!

Sanyasi.

I want to convince him that he is very much so. I must free his mind from the notion that he is a different creature from others.

Rajah.

Yes, yes, let him feel it. Fools puff him up and he believes them, being the greatest of their kind. Pull down his conceit to the dust.

Sanyasi.

I am engaged in that difficult task.

(The Rajah goes.)

ENTERS UPANANDA

Upananda.

Father, the burden is not yet off my mind.

Sanyasi.

What is it that troubles you, my son?

Upananda.

In my anger, at the insult offered to me, I thought I was right in disowning my debt to him. Therefore I went back home. But just as I was dusting my master's vina its strings struck up a chord and it sent a thrill through my heart. I felt that I must do something super-human for my master. If I can lay down my life to pay his debts for him, this beautiful day of October will then have its full due from me

Sanyasi.

Baba, what you say is true.

Upananda

Father, you have seen many countries, do you know of any great man who is likely to buy a boy like me for a thousand kahan? That is all that I need for the debt.

Sanyasi.

What do you say to trying Vijayaditya, who used to be so fond of your master?

Upananda.

Vijayaditya? But he is our emperor.

Sanyasi.

Is that so?

Upananda.

Don't you know that?

Sanyasi.

But what if he is your emperor?

Upananda

Do you think he will care to pay any price for a boy like myself?

Sanyasi.

I can assure you, that he will be ashamed.

ed of his full treasury if he does not pay
your debt

Lprananda

Is that possible father ?

Sanvasi

Do you think in God's world Luckeswar
is the only possibility ?

Lprananda

But I must not idly wait for chances
In the meanwhile let me go on with my
work and pry off in small parts what I
own

Sanvasi

Yes my boy, take up your burden

Lprananda

I feel ever so much stronger for having
known you Now I take my leave

(Goes)

ENTERS LUCKESWAR

Luckeswar

I give it up It is not in my power to
be your follower With an infinite struggle
I have earned what I have done To leave
all that at your bidding and then to re-
pent of my rashness till the end of my days
would be worse than madness it would
be so awfully unlike myself Now then
father you must move from your seat

Sanvasi

(Rising) Then I have got my release
from you ?

Luckeswar

(Taking out a jewel case from under
some turf and dry leaves) For this tiny
little thing I have been haunting this
place like a ghost from the morning You
are the first human being to whom I
have shown this (Holding it up to him
and then hastily withdrawing it) No im-
possible ! I fully trust you yet I have not
the power to put it into your hands even
for a moment Merely holding it in the
light makes my heart palpitate Can you
tell me father what kind of man is Vyasa
ditta ? If I try to sell it to him are you
sure he won't take it away by force ? Can
you trust him ?

Sanvasi

Not always

Luckeswar

Well, that does not sound promising
I suspect after all this will be under-
ground, and after my death nobody will
be able to find it

Sanvasi

Neither kings nor Emperors but the
dust will claim it as its final tribute

Luckeswar

Let it that does not trouble me But
my anxiety is lest some one should dis-
cover it when I am no more However
father I shall never forget about that
golden lotus I feel sure you will get it
some day but all the same I cannot be
your follower

(Goes)

ENTERS THAKURDADA

Sanvasi

After long days I have learnt one thing
at last and that I must tell you

Thakurdada

I rather you are very kind to me

Sanvasi

I know why this world is so beautiful
—simply because it is ever paying back its
debt. The ricefield has done its utmost to
earn its fulfilment and the Betasini River
is what it is because it keeps nothing back

Thakurdada

I understand father There is One
Who has given Himself in creation in his
abundance of joy And Creation is every
moment working to repay the gift and
this perpetual sacrifice is blossoming every-
where in beauty and life

Sanvasi

Wherever there is sluggishness there
accumulates debt, and there it is ugly

Thakurdada

Because where there is a lacking in the
gift the harmony is broken in the eternal
rhythm of the payment and repayment

Third Villager

But did he see it with his own eyes ?

Second Villager

Yes with his very own eyes
(They do)

ENTERS LUCKESWAR

Luckeswar

I can't stand this You must take
away your charm from me My accounts
are all getting wrong My head is in a
muddle Now I feel quite reckless about
that golden lotus and now it seems pure
foolishness Now I am afraid Thakurdada
will win and now I say to myself let
Thakurdada go to the dogs But this
doesn't seem right It is sorcery for the
purpose of kidnapping No no that will
never do with me What is there to smile
about ? I am pretty tough and you shall
never have me for your disciple

(Goes)

ENTER BOYS

First Boy

We are ready for the autumn festival
What must we do ?

Sanyasi

We must begin with a song (Sings)
The breeze has touched the white sails
the boat revels in the beauty
of its dancing speed
It sings of the treasure
of the distant shore
it lures my heart to the voyage
of the perilous quest
The captain stands at his helm
with the sun shining on his face
and the rain-clouds looming behind
My heart aches to know how to sing to him
of tears and smiles made one in joy

Sanyasi

Now you have seen the face of the
autumn

First Boy

But where is father ?

Sanyasi

Don't you see those white clouds sailing on ?

Second Boy

Yes yes

Third Boy

Yes I can see them

Sanyasi

The sky fills up

First Boy

With what

Sanyasi

With light And don't you feel the
touch of the dew in the air ?

Second Boy

Yes

Sanyasi

Only look at that Betasini River—what
headlong rush to spend herself And see
the shiver in the young shoots of rice
Thakurdada let the boys sing the welcome
song of the autumn and go round the
forests and hills yonder

(Thakurdada sings and the boys join him)

I have spread my heart in the sky
and found your touch in my dreams
Take away that veil from your face
let me see your eyes
There rings your welcome at the doors
of the forest fairies
your anklet bells sound
in all my thoughts
filling my work with music
(The boys go out singing)

ENTERS LUCKESWAR

Thakurdada

Hallo Our Luckeswar in a sanyasi
garb !

Luckeswar

I have become your disciple at last
father Here is my pearl-case and here
are the jewel caskets Take care of them

ENTERS LUCKESWAR.

Luckeswar.

What are you two people conspiring about?

Sanyasi.

About that golden lotus

Luckeswar.

Have you already given away your secret to Thakurdada? You hope to be successful when you do your business in such a manner? But is Thakurdada the proper man to help you? How much capital has he, do you think?

Sanyasi.

You don't know the secret. He has quite a big amount, though he does not show it.

Luckeswar.

(Slapping Thakurdada on the shoulder) You are deep. I never thought of that. And yet people only suspect me and not you, not even the Rajah himself. . . . Father, I can't bear Thakurdada to steal a march on me. Let all three of us join in this business. Look there, a crowd of people is coming this way. They must have got news that a Swami is here. Father, they will wear out your feet up to the knees taking the dust of them. But I warn you, father, you are too simple. Don't take anybody else into your confidence. . . . But, Thakurdada, you must know business is not mere child's play. The chances of loss are eleven to one—keep that in mind. I give it up. But no, I must take time to decide.

(Goes)

ENTER VILLAGERS

First Villager.

Where is the Sanyasi they talked about?

Second Villager.

Is this the man?

Third Villager.

He looks like a fraud. Where is the real one,

Sanyasi.

A real one is difficult to find. I am playing at Sanyasi to amuse boys.

First Villager.

But we are not boys.

Sanyasi.

I know the distinction.

Second Villager.

Then why did someone say, that some swami is somewhere about?

First Villager.

But your appearance is good. Have you learnt some charms?

Sanyasi.

I am willing to learn. But who is to teach me?

Second Villager.

There is a proper man. He lives in Bhairabpur. He has control over some spirits, and there is no doubt of that. Only the other day a boy was about to die. And what do you think this man did? He simply let the boy's life-spark fly into the inside of a panther. You won't believe it, but I can assure you, that panther is still alive, though the boy died. You may laugh, but my own brother-in-law has seen the panther with his own eyes. If anybody tries to injure it, the father rushes at him with his big stick. The man is quite ruining himself by offering kids twice a day to this beast. If you must learn charms, this is the man for you.

Third Villager.

What is the use of wasting time? Didn't I tell you in the beginning, that I didn't believe a word about this sanyasi. There are very few people in these days who have magic powers.

Second Villager.

That is true. But I was told by Kalu's mother that her nephew knew a Sanyasi who overturned his pipe of ganja and there came out a skull and a full pot of liquor.

Third Villager

But did he see it with his own eyes?

Second Villager

Yes with his very own eyes
(They go)

ENTERS LUCKESWAR

Luckeswar

I can't stand this. You must take away your charm from me. My accounts are all getting wrong. My head is in a muddle. Now I feel quite reckless about that golden lotus and now it seems pure foolishness. Now I am afraid Thakurdada will win and now I say to myself let Thakurdada go to the dogs. But this doesn't seem right. It is sorcery for the purpose of kidnapping. No no that will never do with me. What is there to smile about? I am pretty tough and you shall never have me for your disciple.

(Goes)

ENTER BOYS

First Boy

We are ready for the autumn festival. What must we do?

Sanyasi

We must begin with a song. (Sings)
The breeze has touched the white sails
the boat revels in the beauty
of its dancing speed
It sings of the treasure
of the distant shore
it lures my heart to the voyage
of the perilous quest
The captain stands at his helm
with the sun shining on his face
and the white clouds' warning behind.
My heart aches to know how to sing to him
of tears and smiles made one in joy.

Sanyasi

Now you have seen the face of the autumn

First Boy

But where is it, father?

Sanyasi

Don't you see those white clouds sailing on?

Second Boy

Yes, yes.

Third Boy

Yes, I can see them.

Sanyasi

The sky fills up

First Boy

With what

Sanyasi

With light. And don't you feel the touch of the dew on the air?

Second Boy

Yes.

Sanyasi

Only look at that Betasini River—what headlong rush to spend herself. And see the shiver in the young shoots of rice. Thakurdada let the boys sing the welcome song of the autumn and go round the forests and hills yonder.

(Thakurdada sings and the boys join him)

I have spread my heart in the sky
and found your touch in my dreams
Take away that veil from your face
let me see your eyes
There rings your welcome at the doors
of the forest fannies
your anklet bells sound
in all my thoughts
filling my work with music
(The boys go out singing)

ENTERS LUCKESWAR

Thakurdada

Hallo. Our Luckeswar is a Sanyasi garb.

Luckeswar

I have become your disciple
father. Here is my pearl-
are the jewel caskets. Take

me a handful of rice. Do you think you will be able to fill an Emperor's hand?

Luckeswar.

But, Sire, it was a sanyasi's hand which gave me courage to propose what I did.

Sanyasi.

Then I free you from your promise.

Luckeswar.

With the Maharajah's leave I take my departure. Everybody's eyes seem to be turned upon these caskets.

(He goes.)

ENTER THE BOYS.

They shout.

Sanyasi Thakur ! (They suddenly stop and are about to run away.)

Thakurdada.

Boys, do not go.

Sanyasi.

Rajah, leave me.

(Rajah goes.)

(To his courtiers) And you also.

(They go)

Now back to our festival.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

AMERICAN universities have within the past few years undertaken a new responsibility. Just as they have for many years been training students to become lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and technical men, they are now training them to become business men. Commerce has been made a subject of study in American universities ever since it became recognized as a science, ever since by systematic experiments and investigations its laws have been formulated; and the theories of advertising, marketing, and accounting have been established.

Twenty years ago the commercial schools and colleges, so-called, limited themselves to the teaching of shorthand, typewriting, and bookkeeping. Even now there are many of these schools, turning out sometimes efficient, more often, indifferent stenographers, clerks, and bookkeepers. But the more progressive schools are now giving courses which are wider in scope, though even these cannot be said to give a training which will qualify a student to become a business executive.

There are, however, about a dozen first class universities which do make this claim, and most of them with justice. Among these the most noteworthy are, (1) School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance of the New York University; (2) School of

Business of Columbia University; (3) School of Commerce of the University of Chicago; (4) Wharton School of Finance, of the University of Pennsylvania; (5) School of Administration and Finance, of Dartmouth College; and the Schools of Commerce of the Northwestern University and the Universities of California, and Illinois.

A business may be said to have five departments: production, distribution, transportation, financing and accounting. These universities offer courses which give a general knowledge of each of these, and a thorough training and education in any particular one of them, if the student so desires. Then there are further courses in the more important special lines of business, such as Foreign Trade, Insurance, Real Estate, Consular Service, etc.

Courses in accounting begin with simple book-keeping and then proceed to the accounting of complicated business ventures, to the theory of accounting, to fiduciary, investment and cost accounting, auditing, and research work, consisting of audit examinations, and investigations and system building in various fields of business.

An advertisement of a school of accounting, emphasizing the value of this study, says—

Accountants must take the soundings the post-war era demands safety as well as progress—both require frequent determination of profit and loss results and financial condition accurate costs of production including dependable inventories understanding of capital needs including permanent and working requirements and knowledge of markets domestic and foreign of financial procedures of compensation and bonus plans of sound and progressive management

New York University has listed on its bulletin 28 courses in finance. These include several courses in banking its theory practice and history Corporations the American octopus in industry and finance receive due attention in the courses entitled Corporation Finance Analysis of Corporation Reports Financial Investigations The Work of Wall Street Physical Construction Operation Valuation and Rate-making of Public Utilities and Comparative Corporation Finance Harvard University has three courses in Financial Management—(1) Industrial Corporations (2) Railroad Companies and (3) Local Public Service Corporations. The University of Chicago furnishes light on the all powerful trusts in the courses (1) Industrial Combinations (2) Problems in the Control of Trusts and Corporations and (3) Public Regulation of Prices and Earnings

The most important of these studies and the one in which the greatest number of investigations have been made is the field of distribution and marketing. New York University has a department of Advertising and Marketing which offers twenty different courses in this line. In the courses in advertising the student is taught the essentials first and then made to write advertisements. He is further instructed in Lay-outs Printing Advertising Media. The Principles of Art and Their Application to Advertising and most important of all The Psychology of Advertising and Selling. In marketing proper there are courses in Markets and Marketing Methods Salesmanship Sales Management and Export Selling Methods followed by Marketing Research when the student

is sufficiently advanced. In Harvard marketing includes courses in Retail and Wholesale Store Management and Purchasing. The University of Chicago has an interesting course bearing the pedantic title of Marketing Function and Market Structure. The general principles of production and administration and their application to factories labor problems business policies business statistics theory and methods also come under this head as do courses in commercial and industrial history and geography and in the important products and industries of the world.

Harvard has four courses in Railroad marketing which have to do with the organization accounting operation and rate making of the railroads. There is also a course in Ocean Transportation. Since the war the United States has the second largest tonnage in the world and New York University recognizing the importance of steamship traffic has established a course in Principles of Merchant Marine Administration and Operation.

There are some special lines of business activities which have been recognized by the Universities as being worthy of scholarly research. Of these Insurance—fire life and marine—is most conspicuous in university announcements. New York University teaches Real Estate and Harvard gives three courses in Lumbering under which it lists General Lumbering Principles of Forestry and Lumber Problems. Two courses that will be of especial interest to Indian students are those given by Professor Cherrington of Harvard on Chambers of Commerce. They deal with the duties of a secretary of a commercial organization functions of chambers of commerce and methods of organization and management.

The businessman should know at least a little law—enough to prevent his getting into difficulties and to provide first aid in emergencies. With this in mind various schools have provided courses in law relating to contracts business associations and banking operations. Courses of this kind will teach a prospective businessman caution and prudence in

travways and the administration of civil justice should be transferred to the control of the minister

The number of constituencies proposed in the Southborough report is too small, in Mr Ramaswami's opinion. The executive Council should be composed of an equal number of Indian and non Indian members. There should be no difference made in the status position, and salary of the Minister and of the member of Executive Council. It is not argued that uniform scheduled salaries should be fixed for Ministers, but in no case should they be less than the salaries of the respective Executive Council Members of the State, and the Act itself must settle the question. The Governor should not have power to compel a Minister to carry out a policy to which he is opposed. If such action is taken, it should be on the sole responsibility of the Governor himself. The Minister should be chosen by the elected members of the Legislative Council from among themselves. The salary of the Minister should be provided in the Bill, and should be placed on the transferred estimates, otherwise his accountability to the Legislature would be very shadowy. Statutory rules should also be provided for the institution of standing committees, and the appointment of under-secretaries.

There should be a rule requiring the Governors to be appointed from the ranks of public men in the United Kingdom.

If the legislature is deprived of the power of initiating fresh taxation proposals, the bills originated for the purposes of reserved subjects may be referred to the Grand Committee and thus may be secure of all control. Administrative control must go hand in hand with adequate financial supervision. As finance is a reserved subject, there will be no real popular control at all over expenditure. So far as reserved subjects are concerned, the Council cannot even resist taxation occasioned by extravagance in respect of them. Instead of removing large topics from discussion under the heading of permanent charges and of extending the doctrine of certification, annual discussions of all but a very few indispensable heads

and the resort to the procedure of supplementary budgets is suggested.

Responsible Government must be introduced in the Central Administration. It is pointed out in Mr Ramaswami's Memorandum that under the Bill even the Statutory Commission will have no power to recommend a transfer of power to popular representatives in this sphere. "Under this scheme popular control is denied access to the place where the country's future is most in the making." No one insists that the progress should be on the same scale as in the provincial governments, but if no promise is held out of progress in the Central Government, all future attempts will be strenuously resisted. Half the members of the Executive Council, Provincial and Imperial, should be Indians.

Very strong objections are taken to the power conferred upon the Council of State to pass laws without previous discussion in the Legislative Assembly. For the present, a procedure analogous to that of the Grand Committee is suggested, instead of the creation of an inadequate second chamber. In any case, half the total strength should consist of elected members. Permanent legislation of an exceptional character should not be carried through the Council of State against the opinion of the Legislative Assembly, but the Select Committee of the House of Commons should sanction the passage of such legislation. It should, moreover, be only temporary.

The power of the Council of State to certify that a Bill is essential to the interests of British India or any part thereof is very strongly objected to. The power of ordinance would be sufficient.

The devolution of the powers of the Secretary of State as defined in the Crewe report is favourably commented upon in the All India Home Rule League Memorandum. The abolition of the India Council will bring about active co-operation between the Government and the people under joint action. The creation of the projected Advisory Committee will, it is thought, preserve all the defects of the present system and detract from the undivided responsibility of the Secretary of State. If the Council is retained during the transitional

period it should be reconstituted as suggested by Mr Basu half its members being Indian while Englishmen taken from public life in England should be included in the other half. The appointment of a permanent Indian Under Secretary of State must be provided for in the rules if not in the Bill itself. The fear is expressed that the appointment of a High Commissioner may mean only an amplification of functionaries and establishments and it is thought it may well be postponed until the India Council is reconstituted.

It would be unfortunate the Memorandum states if the Select Parliamentary Committee be abolished. Unless the public services are placed in a position of subordination to the Indian legislatures they will not come in line with the new conditions. If a public service Commission is contemplated it should be on the same footing as the Civil Service Commission in England.

Rules should be made by His Majesty's Government in Council on the recommendation of the Secretary of State. The mere submission of statutory rules to Parliament is inadequate to invest Parliament with real control over principles unless and until those principles are definitely discussed. Attention is called to the experience of 1909 in connection with the Morley-Minto reforms in regard to this matter.

Each province should contribute either on the basis of its population or its revenue.

(II)

The delegates of the Madras Presidency Association consisting of Messrs V. Chakkarai Chetty B.A. B.L. B.P. Wadia and P. Chenchiah B.A. M.L. rendered a great service to the Indian cause by presenting a Memorandum to the Joint Select Committee contradicting the statements as to the social relations existing between the Brahmans and non Brahmans of Madras put before the Committee by the South Indian National Federation—the non Brahman supporters of the Indo-British Association propaganda. The Madras Presidency Association Delegates repudiate the statement that the

Brahman is playing the part of a tyrant and asserts that many of the social movements for the amelioration of the conditions of the Panchamas have been led by Brahmans. They categorically deny that caste feeling is on the increase that Brahmans take advantage of their power to influence elections that Brahmans as members of the legal profession wield undue influence on the non Brahmans or that the Brahmans alone stand in the way of social progress and present indisputable facts to support their argument.

As practical politicians however and in view of the fact that certain sections of the non Brahmans of Madras want their interests safeguarded the Delegates of the Madras Presidency Association suggest in their Memorandum purely as a matter of expediency that plural constituencies be created with a general electoral roll and that a limit be fixed to the number of Brahmans to be returned. It is recommended that the number of members of the Legislative Council of the Presidency be fixed at 200 and the seats distributed as follows:

Non-nated Members of the Government	20
Mahomedans	28
Ind. an Christians	7
European Trade and Commerce (including Planters)	6
Ind. an Trade and Commerce	6
Graduates of the Madras University	3
Uriya Tamindars	1
Uriyas	1
Tamindars other than Uriyas	4
Landholders North	2
South	2
Malabar	1
Backward classes to be nominated by elected representatives if election by them is not possible	8

108 Members to be elected by 12 groups of general electorates each group returning 9 members of whom not more than two should be Brahmans. All who pay Rs 5 and over as land revenue or as tax per annum or who earn between Rs 15 and Rs 20 should be titled to vote. The Franchise should also be extended to women. The Madras Presidency Association deprecate the Government scheme to arrange the constituencies so that 30 out of the 61 non-Muslim seats should be

reserved for non Brahmins, and contend that that scheme would throw open 31 seats to Brahmins as well as to non Brahmins. Their own scheme, they point out, would fix a maximum for Brahmins instead of a minimum for non Brahmins, and would place a restriction in all the 12 electorates.

The Association strongly supports the demand for the introduction of the principle of transferred and reserved subjects in the Central Government, and the grant of fiscal autonomy.

(III)

In the powerful Memorandum submitted by Mrs. Naidu to the Joint Committee, urging the claims of Indian women, she stated that there were two reasons why she desired to dwell on the ancient and historic Indian tradition of woman's place and purpose in the civil and spiritual life of the nation and to recall the versatile and illustrious record of her contribution to the national achievement by her wit and wisdom, her valour, devotion, and self sacrifice, as scholar and statesman, soldier, saint, queen of her own social kingdom, and compassionate servant of suffering humanity. First, she wished to refute the reiterated argument of the illiberal or instructed opponent of women's suffrage as being too primitive or too novel and radical a departure from accepted custom likely to offend or to alarm a sensitive and stationary prejudice. Secondly she wished to demonstrate that the Indian woman is essentially conservative, in her impulse and inspiration, and so far from demanding an alien standard of emancipation she desires that her evolution should be no more than an ample and authentic efflorescence of an age long ideal of dedicated service whose roots are deep-rooted in the past.

Mrs. Naidu did not attempt to deny that the story of the Indian women's progressive development had suffered severe interruption and shared in that general decline that befalls a nation with so continuous a chronicle of subjection to foreign rule, but of recent years the woman of the Indian renaissance largely owing to the stimulus of invigorating western ideas and influences, had

once more indicated herself as not wholly unworthy of her own high social and spiritual inheritance. Already she was beginning to recover her natural place and establish her prerogatives as an integral part of the national life.

It was, indeed, Mrs. Naidu said, a curious and startling irony of fate that the trend of a doubtless conscientious but over-cautious official decision was to refuse her a formal legislative sanction for a privilege which was already hers in spirit and in substance tacitly acknowledged and widely exercised, for the power of the Indian woman is supreme and her influence incalculable in the inner life of her own people. There was no summit to which she might not aspire or attain in any sphere of Indian national energy or enterprise, unhampered save by the limitations of her own personal ambition and ability.

Wherein, Mrs. Naidu asked, had her sex disqualified the Indian woman or disinherited her from the rich honours she had earned in equal emulation and comradeship with her brother, in every field of intellectual or political endeavour? In our old Universities she had won brilliant distinction in the Arts and Sciences, Medicine, Law, and Oriental learning. She held office in the Courts and Senates of our younger Universities like the Hindu University of Benares and the Women's University of Poona, and the National University. She had evinced her creative talent in literature and music, and had proved her consummate tact and resource in administering vast properties and intricate affairs, and demonstrated beyond all question her marvellous capacity to organise and sustain great educational institutions and large philanthropic missions for social service. She had been pre-eminently associated with the political life of the country, uplifting the voice of her indignation against all measures of unjust and oppressive legislation, like the Partition of Bengal, the Press Act, and the Rowlett Bill.

She had accorded her cordial support to all beneficent social and economic measures like Mr. Gokhale's bill for free and compulsory education, Mr. Biju's Civil Marriage Bill, Mr. Patel's Inter-caste Marriage Bill,

and the Swadeshi movement inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi and all efforts to ameliorate the condition of the depressed and afflicted members of our society.

Moreover Mrs Naidu continued the Indian woman had not only participated in the programmes of our great periodic national assemblies like the Indian National Congress the Muslim League and the Social Reform and Service Conferences but had not unfrequently been called upon to guide their deliberations and to direct their policies to harmonise their differences and unite their ideals towards a common goal of self-realisation. Where then had the logic of their refusal of the franchise to Pradita Ramabai or Swarna Kumari Ghosal or to Ramabai Ranade or Kamala Sathiana dhan to Kamini Sen or Shrenbhu Cursetji to Vagutan Joshi or Anadhyar Satbhra to Abhola Bose or Cornelia Sorabji to Indira Devi or Sarala Devi to Mrs Chandrasekhar of Mysore or to Mrs Sridashu Iyer of Madras?

And what of that group of women in the seclusion of the purdah whose culture and accomplishments reveal the golden age of the Saracens? There were Her Highness Nawab Sultana John Begum of Bhopal and Her Highness Nazli Riffa Begum of Jangra Abri Begum Tyaba Begum Khujra Sultana Begum Abadi Begum the lion-hearted mother of the Ali brothers the courageous young wife of the Hasrat Mohani the late Suhawardya Begum who from her sequestered corner set paper on Oriental Classics for the Calcutta University and Amma Hydari who won the Kaisri Hind decoration for her selfless services in a time of tragic distress in the Hyderabad State.

But it is the Purdah that constitutes the chief weapon in the armoury of opposition against franchise for Indian women. Mrs Naidu declared. She readily conceded that it might in its initial stages seriously inconvenience and complicate the electoral system and perhaps might even be appended with temporary danger of fraudulent votes. But she emphasised she failed to understand when the interests of small political minorities of men were

safeguarded why it might not be possible, in course of time to extend a similar charitable consideration to the Purdah nashin in those local and limited areas where that custom was rigidly enforced. She was certain that her vote would usually be exercised with intelligence and discretion and prove a valuable acquisition to India. She was convinced moreover that like all time honoured but already obsolete social observances and usages the Purdah system could no longer remain immutable but must readjust itself to the needs and demands of a widespread national reawakening. After all she remarked the terrors of the polling booth would scarcely daunt the Purdah nashin who in the course of her religious pilgrimages habitually encounters immense multitudes and becomes no more than a casual unit of a heterogeneous pilgrim democracy. Whether the franchise be one of literacy or property Mrs Naidu thought that the inclusion of the enlightened women of the Sikh Parsi and Christian communities of the Arya Samaj of the Punjab and the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal would in no wise disturb or deflect the normal electoral arrangements.

In a splendid peroration at the end of her statement Mrs Naidu made a special appeal to the statesmen of a glorious country whose cherished freedom is broad based upon a people's will. There is not one citadel of Hindu civilization she declared nor one centre of Islamic culture where she had not scattered broadcast her message of India's duty and destiny among the free nations of the world. She had spoken to the youths in their academies to the women in their walled gardens to the merchants in the market place to the peasants in the shade of their fig and banana trees. How she asked should her prophecy be realised and how should her country take her predestined place worthily in the noble world federation of liberated peoples until the women of India were themselves free and enfranchised and stood as the guardians of her national honour and the symbols of her national righteousness?

Mrs Naidu submitted the following

illuminating appendices along with her statement :

APPENDIX I.

WOMEN'S LITERACY IN BRITISH INDIA.

Community	Vernacular Proficiency	English Proficiency
Hindus	814,810	23,596
Muslims	135,867	3,910
Parsees	31,218	8,317
Christians	252,295	112,613
Jains	21,120	209
Sikhs	17,280	239
Aggregate Literacy	1,600,763	152,026
Standard of Education	Public Institutions	Private Institutions
Arts Colleges	169	1,873
Professional Colleges	131
Secondary Schools	93,997
Primary Schools	993,459	73,400
Special School instruction	2,403

APPENDIX II

WOMEN'S OCCUPATION IN BRITISH INDIA,

(Census Report 1911)

Women living on their own Income	62,614
Department of Medicine	11,298
Department of Instruction	25,715
Letters, Arts and Sciences	88,471
Aggregate of Women following Professions and Liberal Arts	402,586

APPENDIX III.

SOME LEADING NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN WHICH INDIAN WOMEN HAVE TAKEN A PROMINENT PART

All-India Movements

Indian National Congress
 Social Conference
 Social Service League Conference.
 Medical Conference
 Music Conference
 Industrial Conference
 Muslim League.
 Home Rule League.
 Mohamedan Educational Conference
 One-Language Conference
 Temperance Conference
 Humanitarian Conference
 Arya Samaj Conference

Sikh Conference.
 Ladies' Conference.
 Muslim Ladies' Conference.
 Hindu Sabha Conference.
 Theistic Conference.

Provincial Movements.

Bombay
 Madras
 Sindh
 United Provinces
 Punjab
 Bombay Educational Conference.
 Madras Students' Convention.
 Behar Students' Conference.
 Bombay Students' Federation
 Depressed Classes Mission.
 Andhra Library Movement.
 Satyagraha Movement.
 Swadeshi Movement.
 Seva Sadan.
 Bharat Stree Maha Mandal of Bengal, Malabar, United Provinces, and Punjab.

I must add that Mrs. Naidu has had the political tact to accomplish the hitherto impossible task of getting men belonging to the various Indian deputations to agree to take joint action. She persuaded two members of the Moderate Deputation, Mr. Kamat and Mr. Prithwis Chander Ray, to join with representatives of the Congress, the two Home Rule Deputations, and the Indian community settled in London, to go in a deputation to the Secretary of State for India to press for the enfranchisement of Indian women.

She herself headed the Deputation. Mrs. Annie Besant, the Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Mrs. B. Bhola Nauth, Mrs. P. L. Roy, and Mrs. Kotwal, Mr. Patel, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Mr. Kamat, Mr. Prithwis Chander Ray and I supported her.

I felt that Mr. Montagu, while non-committal in his brief remarks, went away impressed with the fact that Indian opinion was united on the question, and that he must exert himself to get the Joint Select Committee to recognise at least the principle of women's suffrage.

THE EUGENICS OF HINDU MARRIAGE

I INTRODUCTION

WHAT constitutes national progress is more often asked than answered. Yet all of us have a more or less vague notion that everything with us is not right and that something is needed to make the wheel of national fortune run smooth. Religious and philanthropists, politicians and educationists and a host of other well-wishers of society have each a programme in view which they think will supply the one thing needful. A little thought will however tell us that as a nation consists of peoples and a people of races national progress implies race progress. The fitness of man and woman of each race. That is the problem of Eugenics which, in the words of Dr Saleeby, one of the progressive eugenicists of England, desires the coming of nobler and finer men and women, the disappearance of disease and ugliness and stupidity and miseries and the making of a better world than dawned the Golden Age which poets fabled in the past but towards which we know our feet are pressing. Eugenics is not yet fifteen years old but has come to possess a viridity welding potent influence on the thoughts of and ideas of civilised mankind. The gigantic war which has happily ended will undoubtedly direct the attention of the civilised nations of Europe not only towards national organisation as a necessity for existence but also towards fixing the wider problem of how to obtain the highest type of citizen as material for organisation.

Eugenics has often been defined as the science of human breeding or the production of fine people. This definition is obviously incorrect like medicine it is more a practice than a science. Herein lies the difficulty inseparable from every practice and more in the case of eugenics since it may ask us to remodel our social customs and laws to discard our cherished notions of love and marriage and to view mankind as a breeder does his animals. We are asked the question—

What are the factors that make the individual noble or base, healthy or diseased, wise or foolish, clever or stupid, kind or cruel? To the eugenicist the answer is clear. They say that every attribute and character of every living being is the product of what is conveniently called Nature or Nurture. Nature includes everything given at the individual's beginning—nurture includes all nutrition from the moment of the formation of the new individual onwards—all environment physical social spiritual.

The child is born at the moment of conception when the germ cells of the parents—the sperm

and the ovum fuse into one cell inheriting vast potentialities impossible to foresee. Then Nature or as the Hindus say the Ordainer of Nature imprints what the new cell is destined to be. Hence genetics the science of heredity must take the first place. What the fusing cells bring is the Nature or heredity of the new individual.

All the influences which play upon him mould stimulate or otherwise affect the new individual from the moment of fusion constitutes its Nurture including environment.

A question as important as intricate arises here. Which is more potent heredity or environment in shaping the individual physically, mentally and spiritually? The point has raised a storm of controversy not yet settled. For it has a most important bearing on practical politics. As Prof. Karl Pearson says, "Practically all social legislation has been based on the assumption that better environment meant race progress, whereas the link between the two is probably that a genuine race progress will result in a better environment. The views of philanthropists and of those who insist that the race can be substantially bettered by changed environment appeal to sympathies, but these reformers have yet to prove their creed. As far as our investigations have yet gone they show that improvement in social conditions will not compensate for a bad hereditary influence. So did Gallon the father of eugenics write that 'when nature and nurture compete for supremacy on equal terms the former proves the stronger.' It is needless to insist that neither is self-sufficient. The highest natural endowment may be starved by defective nurture while no carelessness of nurture can overcome the evil tendencies of an intrinsically bad physique, weak brains or brutal disposition. This school of eugenicists asserts that the influence of nature is on the average five to ten times as important as that of nurture. They prepare lists of questions to be answered by interested persons and then submit to statistical analysis. They are known as biometricians."

There are people to whom Darwin's theory of natural selection has a fascination too subtle to be evaded. This theory practically condemns charity and altruism in all their forms and asks us to be silent onlookers of the cruel operation of the law. Biologists of the Darwinian school have found a powerful advocate in Nietzsche and assert that we must not combat infant mortality or mortality from pestilence, famine and poverty as the victims are not worth saving and that mankind is degenerating because the law of natural selection has been abolished.

But civilised man having got his mentality and spirituality through a long process of evolution cannot now go back to the state of savagery far less to that of nature. It is seen that natural selection eliminates those that are not fit to survive but does not produce those that survive. It destroys, and never creates. Within the last few years a school of biologists has come to the front and has challenged not only the statistical study of heredity but also shaken the very foundation of Darwin's theory. That evolution must proceed by insensible transformation of masses of individuals has almost lost its charm and variation occurring as an individual and discontinuous phenomenon has taken its place. With the year 1900 a new era has begun. Mendel has compelled the biologists to revise their methods and to re-construct their theories anew. Weismann asked for the proof that acquired characters—those characters which are acquired during the life time of an individual—those which are induced by peculiarities of habit or use or disuse or by some change in surroundings and nurture generally—more precisely practical experience—can really be transmitted to the offspring. The majority of biologists are now obliged to admit the utter inadequacy of the evidence for the belief which seemed so natural to Darwin and his followers. De Vries pointed out the clear distinction between the impermanent and non-transmissible variations which he speaks of as *fluctuations* and the permanent and transmissible variations which he calls *mutations*. He witnessed the actual occurrence of sudden departures from type—not one but several—by which at one step in descent distinct and frequently purebreeding types like the generation of new species were produced. We are asked to view the bodies of animals and plants at least of the higher types not as single structures but as double. There is the world of germ-cells possessing characters among them according to definite systems. Each character—unit character or factor—has to be considered separately and the development of characters in animals or plants depends on the presence of definite factors in their germ-cells. Purity of type has nothing to do with a prolonged course of selection natural or artificial. It depends upon the meeting of two germ-cells bearing similar factors. In the course of the formation of the germs the characters the factors dissociate or segregate. The segregation of the factors is the essence of Mendelian heredity. The dominance of certain characters in a cross bred to the exclusion of the opposite character the recessive is another feature of Mendelism.

The study of human genetics presents almost insurmountable difficulties. The statistical method has certainly its use in analysing complex phenomena in mass. But it is equally certain the method of biometry which serves in individual analysis out of account will not

advance our knowledge. W. Bateson an enthusiastic exponent of Mendelism in England puts the case thus: 'It is not in dispute that the appearance or non appearance of a characteristic may be in part decided by environmental influences. Opportunity given may decide that a character manifests itself which without opportunity must have lain dormant.' Again.

It may be anticipated that a general recognition of the chief results of Mendelian analysis will bring about a profound change in man's conceptions of his nature and in his outlook on the world. It is likely that the science of sociology will pass into a new phase some serious physical and mental defects almost certainly also some morbid diatheses and some of the forms of vice and criminality could be eradicated if society so determined.

I cannot however pursue the fascinating subject further in this place but shall follow Dr Saleeby and state that the problems of practical eugenics are comprised under two groups—natural eugenics and nurtural eugenics. Under natural eugenics arise the questions—(1) how worthy parenthood may be encouraged (2) how unworthy parenthood may be discouraged and (3) how parenthood may be protected from racial poisons. Nurtural eugenics comprises the nurture and education of every individual from conception onwards.

II EUGENICS AND HINDU MARRIAGE

Let us now turn to the marriage institution of the ancient Hindus and endeavour to ascertain how far they recognised eugenics and tried to secure the supreme end of all policy the making and maintaining of the largest possible number of the fittest people. This Dr Saleeby asserts is the end of ends by which all other ends and all means whatsoever all political parties all institutions old or new all dogmas all human practice conduct and belief will in the last resort be judged. How much life and of what quality did they produce. It will be seen that the Hindus did recognise eugenic marriage and embodied their ideals into the laws—the *Grhya Sūtras* and *Smritis*—which all who claimed to live within their pale tried to obey. They are laws socio-religious in character and more binding than enactments of Parliaments inasmuch as violation of any was regarded as a sin. It is however well to remember that the customs of a society dating back to at least four thousand years could not have always remained the same. There must have been stages of stability and of transformation as in other societies. Indeed it is possible to discern in many cases the evolutionary process of change which occurred with lapse of time and accumulation of experience. Nor could all the races which were derived from various sources and lived widely apart and gradually came under the influence of the Aryan civilisation follow strictly the ideals set forth by those intellects of the

time which regulated their own small society. Hinduism, as at present understood, is a social organisation recognising the caste system of varying degrees of rigidity, and believing in the transmigration of souls. Nevertheless there underlies a principle too subtle to be analysed yet recognisable as a whole. It is the ideals of the upper classes of a society, not always the practices of individuals, by which it has to be appraised. For my present purpose I shall endeavour to look at the problem of practical eugenics from the point of view of the Brahmins who lived within the five centuries preceding the Christian era, the middle age of the Hindu civilisation.

(1) NATURAL EUGENICS

(a) *You shall marry*

The question at the outset therefore is: What was the fundamental idea about marriage? In other words, why should men and women marry? The answer is clear: *You shall marry*, in order that you may have a *puttra*, a son. It is not for pleasure, the satisfaction of racial instinct, that you should marry. You may marry for pleasure, and such a marriage may be lawful, but you shall marry that you may have a *puttra*, a son. The mating of men and women resulting in no son has always been regarded as ridiculous and has furnished a commonplace metaphor when an object is not gained in spite of the best preparations. The non-birth of a son is a calamity, the unfortunate couple is to be pitied. For a son is a blessing from Heaven, from *Prajapati*, the Lord of peoples. Therefore it is not *dharma*, if you lead a life of celibacy, you violate His will and go against His creative impulse. Celibacy is selfish; it shirks parenthood.

Marriage is therefore obligatory. But the perversity of the obligations is that the penalty for non-performance is suffered not by the offending individual but by his ancestors. The lawgivers declared that a son is necessary in order that the ancestors may be pleased. They put it in a different way and said that the ancestors long for offerings from their descendants, and you should therefore leave a son behind. The Purans which were composed for the masses, went further and said that the ancestors do not live in peace, indeed they live in a hell until they receive homage from their son.

This requires some explanation. The reference to ancestor worship and to hell habitation is considered lightly by the moderns. The fact appears to be that he ceased to think in the way his ancestors did and fails to realise the significance of the racial instinct. Etymologically the word 'son' is the same as the Sanskrit *sunu* or *suna*, an offspring. It is a bud, a blossom produced by the meeting of the germ-cells. The Hindu idea is that the father is re-born in the mother in the form of a son to continue the current of life. The ancestors were the trustees of a life*

principle appointed by the creator for the fulfilment of His wishes. And is it not their duty to see that the life-current does not cease and is in no way vitiated? This is Weismannism in a spiritual garb, or as Bergson puts it, 'life is like a current passing from germ to germ through the medium of a developed organism,' only he forgets to add that it is a sin to stop the current. The human body is a tabernacle of God, and it is folly to be deprived of the highest privilege one may aspire to. Could a man be what he is without his ancestors? If it is their *dharma* to feel filial affection it is equally his *dharma* to reciprocate the feeling. Sociologically, a son is an asset to the society for he forms one of the individuals. A sonless woman is *abrita*, without a valiant protector, after the death of her husband.

But the word *puttra* implies more. It is usually derived from the Sanskrit root, *pu*, to make pure, to atone for, and a *puttra* is one who atones for the omissions of duties of the father. A man makes various resolves but cannot see them all realised during his lifetime. His resolutions prove false and he commits sins. He is reborn as son and keeps on in the line until his sin is absolved. There is continuity not only of the physical body but also of the mind and spirit in the work which was left undone. Hence every offspring is not the son for whom the ancestors pine. An offspring is merely a *tanaya*, a *santati*, an extension of the ancestral line. The son is the *atmaja*, born of Me, and of no one else. He alone can say that I and my father are one, none other. Verily, he is the father and son combined, and his worship of ancestor is no other than the worship of the universal soul present in the germ-cells. He inherits the ancestral property for he is the father, grandfathers and great-grandfathers of the family, and the title to the property cannot disappear because of the transformations of the physical envelope. He is the true extension of the ancestor in body, mind and spirit and extension of the will of the Lord of peoples manifest in them. Therefore, he is the *puttra*, the darling of the parents.

(b) *Marry in your Class but outside your Family line*

A word or two is necessary on the origin and significance of caste. Vedic scholars tell us that in the bulk of the Rigveda the Aryans seem to recognise two classes: a class to which they themselves belonged and a second class including the non-Aryans the *dasas*. In a later portion of the book there is the mention of four *varnas* the Aryans forming the first three, and the *dasas* the fourth. The primary meaning of *varna* is a covering; hence a dye, a colour, and hence a class. I suspect that the Aryans at first recognised only two *varnas* the white-coloured and the black-coloured peoples. The colour of their skin was white, and they belonged to the *arya varna* while that of the other peoples the

non Aryans was black and these formed the *dasa varna*. Certain Aryans performed the sacrifices and became ultimately Brahmans the priests others fought the battles with the contending aborigines, the *dasyas* and formed Kshatriyas, the military class while the general mass of the Aryan population engaged in agriculture and pastoral pursuits and was known as *Vishya* the people. It is likely the occupations favoured the development of shades of red and yellow in the skins of the Kshatriyas and *Vishyas* respectively. In treatises on gems we find a classification say of diamonds into four *varnas* those of white colour were recognised as belonging to the Brahman *varna* those of red colour to the Kshatriya *varna* those of yellow colour to the *Vishya varna* and those of black colour to the *Dasa* or Sudra *varna*. Manu and other law givers speak of *varna* and not of *jati* the proper word for caste. *Varna* or colour does not refer to birth as *jati* does. They declare that there is no fifth *varna* besides the four. The *Aryas* belonging to the first three *varnas* had a higher status than the *Dasyas* or Sudras because the latter belonged to the conquered race and were illiterate and generally unclean. Any of the three higher classes would not as a rule eat with the Sudras. But those that were domestic servants could offer food cooked by them to their superior masters. The Sudras were the slaves of their masters and could be purchased and inherited like chattel.

When the Aryans consisted of one race and were few, every one could marry whom he or she liked and every one was equally likely to be the product of every possible male and female. But such a state could hardly have continued long. No two persons are born alike and the differences of character and disposition led to differences of occupation. The enormous part played by environment helped in making certain characters more frequent and possibly dominant in the individuals of each occupational class. Nature could not but have asserted herself in selective mating and then in assortative mating and the foundation was laid of class heredity and the formation of classes. The non Aryans coming into frequent contact and conflict accentuated the development of class feeling. We can imagine the repugnance of the Aryan to marry non Aryan women and to give them a status similar to their own. Yet we may be sure such matings were not infrequent resulting in a race of cross-breeds. The true possibility of skin-colour is still obscure. It seems racial colours blend in crosses and though many intergrading colours exist there is a tendency often well marked to segregation. The intergrading colours are diluted colours while the deeper colours are saturated colours of the same red tint. Besides the colour there were certainly other characters which differentiated the non Aryans from the Aryan. At least some

of these segregated and by the Mendelian principle there were among the cross bred non Aryan type a non Aryan type and a mixed type. The dominants and the recessives could be easily assigned places but what to do with the impure dominants perplexed the Aryan sociologists. The purists were horrified at the uncertainty of blood caused by crossing and vehemently condemned the creation of hybrids.

It was however, too late in the day to retrace the steps. In spite of the denunciation the evil of fresh accession of hybrids to the society increased. When the number was small, the crosses did not attract much attention. Nor were they considered of much moment when an Aryan community came to a new place and remained in an unsettled state. With longer stay and growth of neighbourly feeling between the two races an Aryan could persuade himself to accept a Sudra woman as his wife. Here was thus a fresh door opened for the formation of a race of half breeds. At first these belonged to the fathers' family, and received their status. But those who happened to resemble their non Aryan mothers stood in the way of complete amalgamation. The idea of heredity took firm root, the importance of *gotra* or pedigree was recognised and classes became castes of hereditary character.

A new custom arose. A man of a higher class was permitted to marry a woman of a lower class even a Sudra woman but not the reverse. The marriage of an Aryan male with a Sudra female was however discouraged. Some condemned their marriage and the restriction rested upon the three higher classes also. The result was that inter-class marriage became intra-class. There is some evidence to show that in spite of discouragement the regularity of the order was reversed and marriages between an inferior male and superior female used to take place though not as frequently as marriages in the regular order. No case has yet been found in which the male was a Sudra or even a *Vishya*. There are many reasons to account for this remarkable state. The first is that the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas often competed for supremacy and became rivals. Marriage between equals takes place oftener than between unequals. As far as history goes the *Vishyas* the mass of the Aryan population never competed with the other Aryans for supremacy but were contented with their occupation of traders and agriculturists. The Sudras were serfs and artisans and were never allowed to rise. The second reason is found in the pride of class and the third in the theory of heredity to be explained later on.

Examples of marriages in the regular order are numerous and such marriages are said to have occurred even as late as the 12th century A.D. But the status of the children was lowered from that of the father to that of the mother. The four classes were maintained. But those who were born of inferior male and superior

female could not be taken into the mothers class. These were regarded as true hybrids and classed with the Sudras. The result of the union of a hybrid and a pure was regarded as worse. There would be only six classes of hybrids in the above sense but the number of crosses between hybrids and pure and between hybrids and hybrids was large. In this way Manu explains the formation of various castes of various status. There is nothing improbable in the scheme which would apply only to the particular facts known to him. As regards the people of other tracts he tells us to determine their caste by their occupation. On the whole it will be seen that rightly or wrongly the theory of heredity maintained by the law-givers was at the bottom of the caste system.

In the early period the castes were occupational and none could marry within the *gotra* one of the same lineage but not without the caste. In later period the Hindu society was divided into *varnas* and castes and the latter into various sections and sub-sections based on occupation geographical situation and also on custom and forms of rituals accepted by them. The circle of choice of matches has thus been narrowed almost to a point undreamt of before. There has always been a third restriction common to all societies in varying degrees. The bride must not be within five degrees on the mother's and seven degrees on the father's side. This prohibition varied to some extent in different times and places. Thus in the Vedic age marriage was allowed between members of the third or fourth generation. Probably the effects of consanguineous marriages were perceived, and rigorous action was taken to prevent them. What is noticeable is the line drawn between the degrees on the mother's and the father's side five on the former and seven on the latter. The male germ-cell is throughout supposed to be more potent than the female. Broadly speaking the Hindu society is divided into four *varnas* or classes each *varna* into *jatis* or castes each *jati* into *gotras* or *haes* each *gotra* into *kulas* or families etc. etc. Sudras have of course no *gotras* of their own forming as they do a mixed population. Latterly they have claimed to belong to the *gotras* of their priests forgetting the obvious anomaly of the scheme and proclaiming their own descent. Once however a *gotra* is acknowledged there is no possibility of consanguineous marriage which might occur with out it.

Having regard to the circumstances in which the Aryans found themselves the division into classes and classes into castes was inevitable. We are apt to compare the past with the present and to judge old customs and usages in the light of the present. But consider for a moment the long interval and the foreign setting of the old Hindu society. It is

ed the natural desire of consolidating the various element on the one hand and of freedom on the other, the undoubted spiritual and intellectual superiority of the Brahmans and equally undoubted inferiority of the Sudras who could by their mere numerical strength swamp the Aryans the ever increasing mixed population and the Mendelian inheritance. No intellect can frame laws to suit all times. The caste system has defects but none can be blind to its merits. The cult of each caste raised the people immensely in moral conscience, and turned the society into a confederacy of republics. The ancient law gives framed laws to suit their society and it is not their fault if their descendants choose to forget the altered circumstances and ignore the principle running through the institutions. These descendants have rather altered them by following some injunctions and discarding others. Take the case of intra-caste marriage. It is a form of inter breeding only on a large scale. It is doubtful if it secures the desired purity of line but it tends undoubtedly to weaken the constitution and if long continued to partial sterility. The Census Reports appear to confirm this physiological fact. It is said that Hinduization which implies imitation of the practices of the higher castes is accompanied by a reduction of fecundity and by an increase of longevity. This is however not peculiar to the Hindu Society. It is a recognized fact that in most civilised societies of Europe the rate of increase is greater in the lower grades than in the higher. As a result the net fertility of the undesirables is greater than the net fertility of the normal types of the more capable classes. Take the Brahman population of Bengal. According to the last census it is about twelve lacs and a half only. It is easy to see that the rate of increase has been abnormally small or the Brahman population must have been a mere handful only a thousand years ago unless the majority had swelled the ranks of non-Brahmans. Hindus instituted *Kulnism* in the belief that good qualities can be passed on. The belief is founded on fact. But there must be some means of stopping the flow of taints. *Kulnism* is practically in breeding of selected types. But it is forgotten that this is successful up to a certain limit and soon reaches a uniform dead level from which descent is rapid unless rigorous selection is continually maintained. Mendelians tell us that the distinction of intra-racial and inter-racial heredity has no foundation in fact. What would they say to the supporters of the distinction of intra-caste and inter-caste heredity? The recognition of numerous subdivisions of a caste within which marriage is at present confined has also tended to the practice of inter breeding to an extent undreamt of by the ancient law-givers. The loss of vigour and virility thus occasioned may be the important cause of the dying of the race.

place. What can be stronger than crushing nature's youthful impulses? But it is a fact that the society did not countenance them but went forward to regulate marriage from the racial point of view. Marriage without fondness is of course a calamity but the psychical aspect may prove stronger than the physical. There is selection, but no 'sexual selection'. Critics of eugenic marriage have said in the West that eugenicists wish them all to be forcibly married by the police and that they want to substitute for human marriage and parent-hood the methods of the stud farm. It seems the Hindus had long ago anticipated the modern eugenicists and made a practical application of genetic principles to their own population. They adopted measures both for the extinction of the criminal and degenerate and for the persistence of strains regarded as desirable.

Let us hear what the *Āśvins Sūtras* say. Let him first examine the family of the intended bride or bridegroom those who are on the mother's and on the father's side. Let him give the girl to a young man endowed with intelligence. Let him marry a girl that shows the characteristics of intelligence, beauty and moral conduct and who is free from disease. (*śrāvaṇa*) Let him marry a girl of good family and character with auspicious characteristics and of good health. Good family a good character auspicious characteristics learning and good health these are the accomplishments of a bridegroom (*īpāstambā*). In every handbook and in many Purāṇs we are asked to select girls and youngmen of auspicious characteristics (*śulīkṣaṇā*). In modern phreology these are eugenic characteristics. Whether these were correct or not is beside our purpose now. A vast literature appears to have been in existence and Varāha (5th century) has long chapters which might be useful to the modern biometrists. For instance he tells us to examine the stature weight joint joints general physique the colour of the eyes palm-nails &c the brilliancy of the teeth and eyes; voice the five characteristics the shape of the face the ten parts of the body and clearness of complexion. Apparently there were experts in these matters of physical fitness one of whom was *Saṅkṛā* who had a school of his own. Similar directions are found in many Purāṇs as, for example, the *Gaṇḍa* and *Viṣṇu*, which served to disseminate the knowledge to the masses. The medical works of *Charaka* and *Susruta* have also many hints. *Vatsavāna* treats of the subject from the sexual point of view.

Māṇḍūkya was divided into various classes according to character. The well-known classification into three known as the 'fine the human and the demoniac' occurs in *Charaka*. *Varāha* and others though some have counted

four and others six classes. *Varāha* tells us that persons of the divine class are altruistic, mild, and affectionate, those of the human class are always of good character, kind to their friends and fond of music and ornaments (i.e. possess a fine aesthetic sense) and those of the demoniac class are ill tempered, wicked, feeble-minded, degenerate, garrulous, dirty and fatty. It is said that when both the male and the female belong to the same class, the mating is the best when the male belongs to the 'divine' class and the female to the 'human', the mating is second best and that other combinations are incompatible. It appears that there were experts probably like the present *ghāṭakās* or match makers who used to study family history and pedigree and advise people in the selection of suitable matches. It is no wonder that the art of astrology was also invoked for the purpose. For mating however carefully considered is all up into the unknown.

Manu declares that a child may be given away in marriage before age if a youngman of excellent character family and physique be found. On the other hand let the girl rather remain a maid all her life than be wedded to one devoid of good qualities. *Manu* enjoins the avoidance of the following kinds of families even if they are great in other respects and wealthy viz those in which the usual good practices of life are conspicuous by their absence in which no male children are born in which the members are illiterate and do not study the Vedas in which the members are very hairy afflicted with hemorrhoids tuberculosis dyspepsia epilepsy white leprosy and leprosy. The commentator *Kullaka* adds that the diseases are transmitted and the progeny inherits the evils. *Manu* enjoins us to avoid the girls whose eyes are brown hair turning body copiously hairy who possess extra organs or other abnormal malities and who are invalids and virgins.

There may not be truth in the hereditary characters of the defects enumerated above and some though inheritable may not be ordinarily considered to be material to well being. The intention was undoubtedly the improvement of the race by marriage between families inheriting good qualities and possessing good environment. The injunctions are stringent and apparently many males and females had to remain single throughout their life. They lived in the society yet were segregated for the purpose of population. It is likely that *manu* included the ranks of the celebrities, the *śrāyās* and *raṅgs*.

III HINDI THEORY OF HEREDITY

A people who produced some of the master minds of the world and were yet apparently listless even in the minor details of life could not but have speculated on the destiny of man. To the philosophers who maintained the thesis that whatever exists will exist, and whatever does not will not the answer

was simple. A man is what he is because he is born with certain potentialities which become manifest in the environment in which he lives. To be more precise he is what he is on account of two factors viz (1) *dava* or *karmasava* a natural tendency acquired by previous actions, and (2) *purushakara* his present efforts. The first determines his birth his individuality his longevity and his ability the qualities inherent in the germ-cells and the second the environment. In other words he is what he is because of heredity and environment. The Hindu philosophers maintain that both are essential for every work done by him. His effort is limited by his inherited capacity.

Manu (Chap IV) as an ecclesiastic doctor has something to say in support of his laws. He compares the wife to soil and the husband to seed and maintains that all organisms are the product of the union of the two. When both are good the product is the best. Of the two Manu tells us the seed appears to be more potent since no organisms deviate from the character of the seeds. It is also seen that plant seeds sown in the same soil in the right seasons do not fail to grow up into plants resembling those which bore the seeds but do not inherit the qualities of the soil. Like begets like paddy begets paddy and never an oilseed like sesamum.

From this illustration it appears that Manu regarded the female germ as complementary to the male the functions of the former being mainly nutritional and that of the latter of the nature of a determiner. He appears to have anticipated the modern view that the sluggish ovum is a store of nutritive material and the active sperm cell is its antithesis. This doctrine however explains why Manu preferred intra-class marriage and why according to him regular inter-class marriage is more desirable than marriage in the reverse order. Intra-class marriage is based on the general rule of marriage of equals. The consequence is more far reaching than we commonly imagine. The rule goes against the mating of unequals fit and the unfit. It encourages the mating of two fit and also even that of two unfit and leaves the consequence to the law of natural selection. We are here not called upon to justify Manu's view of class or caste heredity or to consider whether this has a foundation in fact. As regards inter-class or inter-caste marriage he probably argued that it is an abuse of national asset if the determiner is of inferior quality. None of the ancient writers were in favour of crosses between inferior male and superior female.

It was however considered possible to make up for the undesirable strain of the female by excessive addition of the desirable strain in the progeny. Thus Manu tells us that if a Brahman marries a Sudra wife and gets a daughter and if the daughter marries a

Brahman and so on for six generations the seventh in the line becomes a Brahman on account of the continued increase of excellence of the seed. Conversely, the offspring of a Brahman husband and a Sudra wife becomes a Sudra in the seventh generation if the successive descendants marry Sudra women. In the case of a Brahman marrying a Vaisya woman it takes six and marrying a Kshatriya woman three generations either for a rise to the Brahman quality or a fall to the Vaisya and Kshatriya quality respectively. In other words the four classes of people represented four classes of characteristics in the order of 64, 32, 16, 8 from the highest to the lowest. If this be admitted and heredity of the class characters be true Manu followed the advice of modern eugenicists and the practice of animal breeders' weakness in one being mated with strength in the other.

As regards the question of relative strength of nature and nurture the ancients were unanimous in the view that nature is more powerful. Manu tells us to marry in the best families in order that the progeny may grow better. But a girl born in an ignoble family but excellent in every respect may be married. In other words the qualities of an individual are more essential than environment. Nature is supreme like the natural colour of charcoal which cannot be changed by washing a hundred times. The imbecile will remain imbecile in spite of good home and education and the incurable incurable in spite of asylums and hospitals. The view has so permeated the Hindu mind that notwithstanding its feeling of compassion for all creatures it regards charity to lepers as a sin since there is no help and the sooner they disappear the better for them as well as for society.

But what led the Hindus to marry child wives? Not merely Manu and other social religious lawyers and politicians like Chakraborty but medical authorities also have prescribed child marriage limiting the age of the intended wife to 12. The reasons I have suggested before appear to me inadequate to explain the universality of the custom. We should therefore seek further explanation. Hindu parents have certainly preferred male to female children. The reason is obvious. Male children are useful to the parents. To the Hindus they are useful in this world as well as in the next in the latter because they continue the race. Female children are useful only in the next world. Hindu parents literally give away their daughters as the highest gift that lies in them to make. It is a gift for the purpose of creation in the name of Prayapati the Lord of peoples and an eugenicist would say a gift to the race. Such a gift must be spotless or it becomes a sin. The girl must therefore be a virgin. The minimum age of puberty was found to be 12 which became the maximum

limit of the marriageable age. Some were not so sure and reduced it to 10.

But this sanctity of gift could not have weighed heavily with the general population. We can understand the abhorrence one feels at the birth of an illegitimate child and the solicitude of parents to preserve the natural spotlessness of their daughters. We can also understand how a fastidious race like the Hindus could be hypercritical in these matters of purity. But when we remember that the same race enjoined and gave religious sanction to a wife to get a son by a brother or a kinsman of the husband and when the latter was either dead or incurably diseased we pause and wonder and ask whether the explanation is correct. There must have been felt dire necessity for maintaining the population if not for increasing it and the loss of a single possible male was a matter of immense concern to the community. But the male to be born must be of the approved quality. The Levirate law ensured the procreation of the desirable. I wonder if the eugenic idea could go further. Stripped of religious ceremonies and consequent sanctity Hindu marriage was in its essence purely eugenic and savoured more of the methods of animal breeders than those of human beings. I think the Hindu ecclesiastical and medical doctors believed in teleology the supposed influence on the progeny of a female of a sure with which she had previously been mated. If for instance a pure-bred bitch is accidentally mated with a mongrel it is said that she is spoiled for further breeding. That is her future offspring by a male of her breed will tend to partake of the mongrel character. This belief is said to be widespread among practical breeders though careful experiments have failed to substantiate it. Manu (Chap. IX) condemns adultery on various grounds one of which is that the offspring of the union belongs to the husband and not to the adulterer just as a deer shot by one belongs to him and not to another who may shoot the animal again. For according to Manu the husband and the wife are one and the same. I think these and similar other statements imply more than what is on the surface and possibly a belief in teleology.

While Manu gave a bare outline of the inheritance of specific characters and left the heredity of individual characters obscure Hindu medical writers as expected elaborated a theory from their point of view. Thus Charaka (Sarrira Chap. III) like the philosophers maintain that birth is no other than unfolding of what already exists. The embryo may be said to be born as well as not born. It is the result of the union of male and female seeds and of soul. Any one of the three is ineffaceable. The male seed contains the essence of the whole body each organ furnishing its quota (Chap. IV). Susruta (Sarrira Chap. IV) is more explicit and states that the parental seed pervades the entire body just as fat does fresh milk

and sugar the juice of the sugarcane. It exists in the body in a subtle state just as the smell of a flower exists in its bud though it is not perceived (Sarrira Chap. XIV). The embryo just formed possesses all the organs they are in visible on account of their minuteness just as the fibres pulp stone and kernel of the ripe mango are not seen when the fruit is very young (Sarrira Chap. III). From these it is clear that according to these authors the parental seed is a complete whole a man in miniature. As Charaka (Sarrira Chap. III) puts it as the model of a man is obtained by casting molten metals in mould the original being made of bees wax the future man is likewise present in the sperm cast in the mould of the ovum. So is the case with all animals.

But how to account for individual characters? And a question is asked in Charaka (Sarrira Chap. III) viz. How is it that the progeny of those who are stupid blind hump-backed dumb dwarf deformed or crippled become leprous and of those who speak indistinctly through the nose and who are afflicted with white spots on the skin not always inherit these characters? The reply is that though the seed contains all the organs potentially, none of the characters can appear in the children unless it is afflicted. The particular character must be present in the seed before it can be transmitted. The presence or absence of any of these is determined by destiny. The physical body is not the only thing to be considered. There is soul regulating the sense organs and the mind and there are actions of previous births which are unknown.

Leaving aside for the present the spiritual aspect of the question the Hindu theory goes far beyond Weismann's theory of the continuity of the germplasm and reads almost like the theory of unit characters. It was not worked up in detail but there was the basis in the axiom that nothing can either be created or destroyed. The medical men did not deny the inheritance of certain diseases and deformities. Susruta (Sarrira Chap. XIV) for instance mentions leprosy hemorrhoids &c as hereditary, but not invariably. That part of the seed—shall we say that factor?—which is diseased or abnormal produces a similar state in the offspring in its corresponding part (Charaka Sarrira Chap. IV). It is however noticeable that the medical writers gave a subordinate place to the ovum and that they did not absolutely deny the inheritance of acquired characters.

The Hindus went further and held a theory on the sex-determination of the fertilised ovum. They attacked the problem from three different sides. Firstly the ovum is supposed to remain in unstable equilibrium alternately tending to the male and female side until the sperm acts as a stimulus which sets the ovum dividing and determines the sex of the offspring. In modern phraseology there is the rhythm of metabolism

even in the ovum as in the sex differences be-
tween males and females. It is said that the
tendency to the male takes place on every alter-
nate day. Susruta adds that ripeness of the
ovum is beneficial to the offspring. The second
theory states that the dominant character of
the germ-cells determines sex. Charaka explains
this by saying that it means the relative condi-
tion of the parents' general mildness favouring
the birth of a daughter and the opposite a son.
Unfortunately the genetics of sex is still surround-
ed with mystery and it is not for us possible
either to deny or to accept the hypothesis. It
means however that the female contains a
factor which makes her female and the male an
other factor which makes him male and that the
distribution of character is influenced by these un-
like factors. In other words maleness or female-
ness is associated with particular physical and
mental characters. The latter are not as perma-
nently stable as the former. They vary and the
variations indicate corresponding variations in
the germ-cells or the male and female factors. If
this interpretation be correct Charaka seems
to hold that the dominance of either of the
factors influences the sex of the offspring. This
view though conjectural may not be incorrect.
As far as investigations have gone the evidence
of biology is conflicting. Charaka has however
no doubt regarding his theory. He says that
the dominance of sex elements determines sex
and that the sex elements are to some extent
modifiable. The third theory is based on a belief
that desire or willforce and proper nutrition of
the mother can stimulate the fertilized ovum
either to maleness or to femaleness. There was
a similar belief among other old nations that
the imaginations of a pregnant mother may
have a visible effect on the body and mind of the
offspring. While Mendelians leave to the view
that sex like any other character is due to a
definite unit or determiner, Hindu physiologists
were of opinion that the view is partially true.
European physiology regards an individual as
a machine worked by chemical physical forces
only. Hindu physiology is not merely vitalistic
but invokes spirit to explain the genesis of higher
faculties. The behaviour of life is a complex.
Hindus can never understand the machine theory
without a machinist working through every
part of the machine. Charaka maintains that
the uniting cells are part causes of the origin of
an individual. The other causes are a particular
state of the parents' body, proper nutrition to
develop the embryo and to correlate the phy-
sical body of the embryo with the psyche and
soul which imparts life and a latent conscious-
ness which develops with the age of the indi-
vidual. Once these are admitted a belief in the
possibility of modifying the character of the
embryo according to our desire is merely a
corollary. Indeed there are reasons to believe
that in some animals at least nutrition and sex
are correlated. Charaka and other Hindu writers

believed that the quality or nature of food can
influence some of the tissues of the body. There
is a general dictum that the effect is similar to
the cause. Besides the effect of nutrition of the
mother and other causes, Charaka was of opi-
nion that there are sex-dominants. For example
hair, nail, bone, teeth, blood vessels and liga-
ments and sperm are inherited from the male
and skin, muscles, blood, fat and certain inter-
nal organs from the female. Susruta (*Sutra*
Chap. VIII) states that a child becomes crip-
pled, blind, deaf, dumb, dwarf &c. on account of
injurious nurture of the pregnant mother. The
diet, conduct and movements not only of the
mother but of the father also during the time
preceding conception materially influence the
child. As a plant grows healthy and strong
when a fully developed seed is sown in the pro-
per season in a soil supplied with nutrients the
same four factors make a boy handsome, strong
and long lived and worthy of the parents.

The Hindus believed in the transmigration of
souls and therefore found no difficulty in explain-
ing the inequality of birth, the different stations
occupied by individuals in life, the instinct of
self preservation and fear of death common to
all, the instinct of animals and even of just born
babies, the appearance of genius and a host of
similar problems which Neo Darwinians and
Mendelians leave untouched.

IV. NUTRURAL EUGENICS

The Hindu physiologists did not leave the
growth of the embryo to chance. Physicians
prescribed post-embryonic rules of hygiene and
religious lawgivers elaborated them in rituals.
The birth of an individual, the first quickening
of a new life is an event of supreme moment
calling forth an amount of preparation on the
part of the parents which it is difficult for us
now to conceive. The making of a new life is
not less tremendous than the taking of one.
The sanctity of birth is not due to its mystery.
It is due to something divine in it. The series of
ten ceremonies commencing with the expecta-
tion of motherhood and ending with the prepa-
ration for fatherhood plainly show the
depth of anxious care Hindu parents took on
the line of nurtural eugenics. Here is first the
ceremony of *garbhadhana* for securing a concep-
tion or receiving an embryo. After due perfor-
mance of certain rites the husband says to the
wife, "Given birth to a male child may after
him another male be born, their mother shall
thou be of the born and to others mayst thou
give birth" (*Sankhyaana Grihya Sutra*). The
Hindu physicians insisted on a course of
preparation by the parents and laid down rules
for their guidance. In the third month after
conception on the first signs of vitality in the
embryo there is the ceremony of *pumsavana*
for the production of a male child as desired by
the parents. In the fourth month there is the
ceremony of *garbha raksha* for the protec-

RAKSHA BANDHAN

A piece of silken tassel tipped with gold,
 Tied round the wrist by loving sister's hands
 A sacred day in *Shravan*, when the lands
 Are bathed in welcome rain, is said to hold
 A potent charm for good. From days of old
 This pretty faith has come and happy bands
 Of brothers still pay heed to its commands
 One day each year. Who will be rashly bold
 And flout this festival as void of worth,
 An ancient mummary to which man shows
 His slavish piety? Let him, who knows
 Of beings more devoted than the fair,
 Of wishes purer than a sister's care
 And stronger powers than woman's love on earth.
 Benares. P. SEHADRI.

THE LAST HINDU KING OF SYLHET

LONG after the fall of the valiant Chauhan, ages after the dismemberment of the Empire of the proud Gahadavala, centuries after the fall of the degenerate Pala and the Southern Sena, the little Hindu kingdom of Sylhet continued to preserve its independence in the extreme east of Northern India. Very little is known about its rulers and the story of its fall is equally shrouded in mystery.

So long as the later Senas continued in Eastern Bengal, the kingdom of Sylhet was safe from the attacks of the Mussulman rulers of Bengal. The Sena dynasty came to an end in the second decade of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, during the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin Firoz Shah of Bengal, who was a grandson of the Emperor Ghiyas-uddin Balban of Delhi. Secure in the possession of the whole of Bengal the independent Sultans of Bengal turned their attention to the

kingdoms of the east of the Brahmaputra. In the north, the Hindu kingdom of Assam had fallen, in the thirteenth century, an easy prey to the barbarian Shan tribes. To the south, Chittagong had fallen before the semi-civilized barbarians of Rakaing or Arakan, both of whom had repelled Muhammadan inroads with great vigour. The little Hindu principality of Sylhet lay isolated and seemed to be an easy prey. But the men of the valley of the Surama resisted the advance of the conquerors of India with great vigour and succeeded in maintaining their independence till the eighth decade of the fifteenth century.

The History of the downfall of the great Northern kingdoms is still but imperfectly known. Hitherto, Historians of India had relied entirely on the statements of Muhammadan Historians which are very meagre, full of the grossest exaggerations and, like the historical

narratives of all conquering nations full of bias. The result was that the earlier histories of the Muhammadan conquest are one-sided and therefore incomplete. Want of corroborative evidence has made it difficult to ascertain the proper value of the evidence of Muhammadan historians. This data is being recovered very slowly from a tangled mass of Epigraphical and Numismatical evidence. This period of transition that of the fall of the great Northern monarchies of India is full of pitfalls for the historian. The cautious and the unwary have been caught in them as the historical works of an earlier generation prove. The necessity of corroborative evidence has been felt of late. Such evidence existed in the country side by side with the great store of historical works produced by Indian Muhammadans. As most of this evidence is contemporary in nature with the political events which they prove or signify they are not open to the charge of being interpolations or modern fabrications.

In the present case the sole evidence consists of a little silver coin which had existed in the cabinet of a learned Society perhaps for over a century and in that of the Imperial Museum of the country for over a decade without its proper value being recognised. It has been catalogued and described by a renowned historian and numismatist whose ignorance of the ancient alphabet of North Eastern India led him astray and induced him to describe it as a coin of the Kadamba princes of Goa. Before this coin is described the data about the conquest of the Hindu kingdom of Sylhet should be analysed. Sometime ago a Muslim Munshi of Sylhet summarised the evidence in a little book called the *Suhail-i-Iman*. It was based on two earlier works. The *Risalat u-Sulatin* or the tombs of Iings and was composed in 1839.

Munshi Asaruddin's work confines itself mostly to the life and miracles of Shah Jalal the patron saint of Sylhet. The information about the Muhammadan conquest of Sylhet can be gleaned from its pages as

the saint himself was concerned personally with the fall of this last stronghold of Hindu kings in Northern India. A summary of the *Suhail-i-Iman* was published about half a century ago by Dr James Wise of Dacca in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. XLII pt I 1873 pp 278-81). The information which can be gathered from Dr Wise's summary has been used in all historical accounts about the conquest of Sylhet by the Muslims.

In a part of the city of Sylhet called Muhallah Tohtakar lived a Muhammadan named Burhanuddin. Howa Muhammadan came to be allowed to live in the city of Sylhet in that age when the borderland between a Hindu and a Muhammadan kingdom used to be a sort of no man's land and when there was not much toleration among the votaries of either faith is very difficult to understand. It also puzzled the historian Mubarruddin at the unknown age when he composed his *Risalat*. Mubarruddin tries to explain this difficulty by stating that this solitary believer in the Muhammadan faith must have been the member of some Hindu family a statement which is exceedingly difficult to believe because so far as the progress of Muhammadanism in India is known very few Indians voluntarily embraced the Muslim faith before the final conquest of any part of the country. But whatever be the value of this tradition in the eye of the critical scholar we have to take it as we receive it. There was this Burhanuddin a Muslim residing in the Hindu city of Sylhet in the Hindu kingdom of Sylhet. Burhanuddin had made a vow that if he was blessed with a son he would sacrifice a cow. A son being born he performed his vow but as bad luck would have it a kite carried off a portion of the flesh and dropped it in the house of a Brahman. The incensed Brahman went to Gaur Gobind the king of Sylhet and complained. The king sent for Burhan and the child and on the former confessing that he had killed a cow the child was ordered to be put to death and the right hand of the father cut off.

So went the legend among Muhammadans when the otherwise unknown historian Muhammad chronicled it faithfully. A very large portion of it appears to consist of later fabrication. In the first place it was impossible for a Muhammadan to live undisguised in an unconquered Hindu State (Imam a Hindu State which not having been defeated by any Muhammadan army treated Muhammadan subjects according to the Hindu Law of Crimes as the kings judgment on Burhanuddin testifies) for any length of time. He would be regarded with suspicion and either killed by an infuriated people or as a spy. In the second place I consider it almost impossible for a single man to slaughter a cow. A cow is not a goat. The killing is attended with struggle and noise which is likely to attract a good deal of attention in a Hindu city. In the third place it cannot be believed for a moment that a piece of beef carried by a slave and dropped in a Brahman's house could be recognised as beef by a Hindu in those days. I dare say it is impossible to regard a fifteenth century Brahman as a connoisseur of good beef. The tradition recorded at some unknown period by the historian Muhammad unless it is entirely a fabrication suggests the following probabilities:

- (1) That Burhanuddin was a Muhammadan spy residing in disguise in Sylhet
- (2) That he sacrificed a cow to provoke hostilities

The cow and the punishment are either contemporary falsehoods or later fabrications.

The chronicler continues

Burhanuddin left Sylhet and proceeded to the court of Gaur. The king on hearing what had occurred ordered his nephew Sultan Sikandar to march at once towards the Brahmaputra and Saragau with an army.

When news reached Sylhet that an army was approaching, Gaur Gobind who was a powerful magician assembled a host of devils and sent them against the invaders. In the battle that ensued the Muhammadans were routed and Sultan Sikandar with Burhanuddin fled. The prince wrote to his uncle informing him of the defeat and of the difficulties met with in waging war with such foes. The monarch on receiving the news gathered together the astro-

logers and conjurers and ordered them to prophesy what success would attend a new campaign. Their reply was encouraging and Nasiruddin Sipahsalar was directed to march with a force to the assistance of Sultan Sikandar. The reinforcement however did not restore courage to the Muhammadan soldiery and it was decided to consult with Shah Jalal who with 360 Darweshes was waging war on his own account with the infidels. The Sultan and Nasiruddin proceeded to the camp of the saints where the Shah encouraged them by repeating a certain prayer and promised to join their army and annihilate the hitherto victorious army of devils.

The advance of this army of saints was irresistible. The devils could not prevail against them and Gaur Gobind driven from one position to another at last sought refuge in a seven storied temple in Sylhet which had been built by magic. The invaders encompassed this temple and Shah Jalal prayed all day long. His prayers were so effective that each day one of the stories fell in and on the fourth day Gaur Gobind yielded on the promise of being allowed to leave the country.

The terms agreed to, Gaur Gobind retired to the mountains (Kohistan).

So runs the chronicle. Modern analysis of this story yielded the following facts:

(1) At the time of the conquest of Sylhet by the Muhammadans, Shah Jalal the patron saint of Sylhet was waging a religious war (*Jihad*) on his own account against the infidels of the country. This helps us to clear the mystery connected with Burhanuddin's residence in the Hindu town of Sylhet. Burhanuddin was the spy engaged by the holy Darweshes to reside in the Hindu capital and to report on the state of the country, its defences, etc. He was most probably a Hindu renegade who spoke the dialect of the district. The cow slaughter was a deliberate act to provoke war. Even now the sacrifice of cows is prohibited by many Hindu States in India. The holy Darweshes seem to have found it difficult to prosecute the religious war against the infidels of Sylhet and to have resorted to this little stratagem to enlist the sympathies of the Sultan of Bengal whose capital was at Gaur.

The admitted defeat of Sultan Sikandar

the nephew of the Sultan of Bengal shows that the Darweshes had found no mean foe in king Gaur Gobind as Muhammad spells his name. Whenever and wherever a Muhammadan army has been crushingly defeated by an enemy of another faith the charge of witchcraft and devil worship has been brought against him by all historians of the Muhammadan faith. So the charge of witchcraft against the last Hindu king of Sylhet is not to be wondered at. The Sylhet army defeated the first Muslim army from Gaur as it had repulsed the attacks of the fanatical Darweshes and their retinue of the East Bengal plains. One should not pin his faith on Muhammad's statement that the Pir Shah Jalal waged *Jihad* against the Kafirs of Sylhet with three hundred and sixty Darweshes. Along with these Darweshes was an entire army of renegades and free lances which was commanded by these religious zealots. Neither the expeditionary force from Gaur nor the holy army was by itself capable of making any head way against that redoubtable infidel king Gaur Gobind of Sylhet. Shih Jalal of Iaman was possessed of an acuteness rare among religious zealots. By a little stratagem he united the armies and thus conquered Sylhet. The Hindu army had been worn out by constant fighting and when the second expeditionary force from Gaur united with the holy army led by Shih Jalal and the Faquirs it failed to withstand their onslaught. On all sides they were surrounded by uncouth Barbarians who would not stir to help them but would be glad to see them extirpated. I mean the Burmese tribes of the east the Shans of Assam and most probably the Tipras of the south-east. So they shut themselves up in their stronghold which contained a steep temple. Here also the acute Shih Jalal came to the aid of the besieging Muhammadans. By the same stratagem he worked upon the imagination of his army viz witchcraft and then he found the antidote for it and immersed himself for a whole day in prayers. The result was favourable for the besiegers. They were able to press the besieged very hard. Some cause want of men or

scarcity of food or drink, compelled the last Hindu king of Sylhet to capitulate. He was allowed to march out and proceed unmolested to the hills. This act of clemency was a notable act on the part of a Muhammadan army in the fifteenth century in a case where the vanquished were unbelievers. The statement bears the stamp of truth and proves the stoutness of the defence as well as the inability of the invaders to visit the vanquished with their usual clemency. Thenceforth Gaur Gobind passes out of vision.

Munsiff Nasiruddin fails to supply us with two important details viz the name of the Sultan of Bengal who sent two expeditions to conquer the distant land of Sylhet and the date of its conquest. At the end of his summary Dr James Wise tries to supply these details. He states

Again according to the legends still preserved in Sylhet the district was wrested from Gaur Gobind the last king of Sylhet by king Shamsuddin in 1384 A.D. or 86 A.H. during the reign of Sikandar Shah whilst king Shamsuddin can only refer to Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah Sikandar's father. (J.A.S.B. old series Vol. LXII 1873 pt I p 281)

Sikandar was the name of the son of Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah and not that of his nephew. Again if Sylhet was conquered during the reign of Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah, it becomes impossible to place that event in 786 A.H. = 1384 A.D. which year fell within the reign of his son Sikandar. Therefore the date of the conquest of Sylhet according to the legends of that country is not reliable. More than one independent Sultan of Bengal bore the *Kunya* of Shamsuddin.

(1) Shamsuddin Firoz Shah grandson of the emperor Balban—702 22 A.H.—1302 22 A.D.

(2) Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah founder of the two dynasties called Ilyas-Shahi—740-59 A.H.—1339-58 A.D.

(3) Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah grandson of Raja Khas and the last king of his dynasty—835-46 A.H.—1431-42 A.D.

(4) Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah of the second Ilyas Shahi dynasty—879-87 A.H.—1474-82 A.D.

(5) Shamsuddin Muazzar Shah one of the Abyssinian impostors who was

called Sidi Bader Diwana—896-899 A H — 1490 93 A D

The oldest Muhammadan inscription discovered in Sylhet is to be found on one of the Masjids built on four sides of the tomb of Pir Shah Jalal at Sylhet. The inscribed surface is partly concealed in the masonry. It was deciphered and published by Blochman according to whom it records the erection of a *Masjid* by a noble whose titles only are given and who appears to have been one of the ministers (*distur*) during the reign of King Yusuf Shah son of Barbak Shah, son of Mahmud Shah. We know from the *Riyaz us-Salatin Tarikh-i-Farishtah* and *Tibakat-i-Albari* that this Yusuf Shah had the *Kunya* of Shamsuddin and was the son of Rukn uddin Barbak Shah who again was the son of Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah of the Second Ilah Shahi dynasty of Bengal. Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah reigned from 1474-1482 A D. As he was the first independent Sultan of Bengal whose inscription has been found in the district of Sylhet and as he bore the *Kunya* of Shamsuddin I was led to believe that the conquest of the Hindu kingdom of Sylhet was achieved during his reign. The discovery of the coin in question has provided the corroborative evidence which was needed to prove my tentative theory to be a historical fact (*History of Bengal* vol II).

The coin in question is a small round silver coin weighing 37.8 grains and measuring .68 of an inch in diameter. It belongs to the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As the published catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum with which the coin collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was amalgamated some time ago does not give any information about the find spots of coins it is needless to worry about that. It must have been added to the cabinet of the Asiatic Society some time before 1903 when the collections of coins were amalgamated. In the first volume of the catalogue of coins of the Calcutta Museum compiled by Mr V A Smith this coin has been described as an issue of Vishnuchittadeva of the Kadamba dynasty of Goa. In a footnote Mr Smith records

that both of the coins assigned to this prince in the catalogue had been examined by Dr E Hultzsch formerly Government Epigraphist but that the king's name has not been deciphered fully on either (*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta Vol I, p 314, Section III the Kadamba Chiefs of Goa no 2, pl XXX, 6*).

My friend and former colleague Pandit Binod Bihari Bidyabinod drew my attention to the discrepancy between the description given in the catalogue and the actual specimen. There was very little doubt about the fact that one and the same coin had been examined and described by Messrs Hultzsch and Smith as the coin itself had been figured (Pl XXX 6). Pandit Binod Bihari Bidyabinod told me that his attention was drawn specially to this coin because the legend on it was entirely in ancient Bengali characters. In the same volume of the catalogue Mr V A Smith has described large numbers of coins of the North Eastern Frontier of India the legends on which are in ancient Bengali characters e.g., the Ahom dynasty of Assam the kings of Tippera etc. The coin in question is allied to the only coin of the Hindu kings of Tippera that has been published in that catalogue viz that of Ramangamanikya which however has been read as Ramsimhamanikya (I M cat I p 308 pl XXX 1C). In fact when the discrepancy between the description in the catalogue and the original specimen was pointed out to me I took the coin to be a coin of Tippera. The obverse has a lion walking and the date below its feet while the reverse bears the name of the king in ancient Bengali characters arranged in three lines.*

Obverse

- 1 Sri Sri Gu
- 2 rugov
- nda derah

Reverse

Saka 1402

* I am indebted to Pandit B B Bidyabinod for the correct reading of the second syllable of the king's name. I had read it as Gunr Govinda but he corrected me and pointed out the syllable was *ru* and not *ri*.

So far as is known about the kings of Tippera there was no Gurugovinda in Saka 1402=1480 A D. No other Gurugovinda is known in the North Eastern Provinces of India in the fifteenth century A D. Then it struck me that the form Gurugovind may be a Muhammadan distortion of the correct name Gurugovinda. In Persian transliteration Guru is written as G(Gaf) u(uan) r(re) u(uan) - Guru. The Perso Arab letter uau denotes o u and au in Sanskrit transliteration. Most probably the last uau of Guru was dropped in some manuscript and the rest of the name has since been spelt as Gaur instead of Guru. This identification of Gaur Gobind of the legend and of Munsh Nasiruddin Suhaili Yaman and the Guru Govinda of the coin is further supported by the date on the coin and the Sylhet inscription of the time of Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah. The date on the coin Saka 1402=1480 A D =884-85 Anno Hyri falls within the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah son of Sultan Ruknuddin Barbak Shah of the second Ilyas-Shahi dynasty of Bengal. The latest Epigraphic date of this Sultan is 885 A H (Ravenshaw's Gaur its ruins and inscriptions p 53 note).

According to Ferishta Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah died in 887 A H =1482 A D.

As at least one inscription of Yusuf has been discovered in Sylhet it is certain that Sylhet was added to the kingdom of Bengal sometime before 1482 A D. On this basis I had stated in my *History of*



A Coin of the Last Hindu King of Sylhet

Bengal before the rediscovery of this coin that Sylhet was conquered during the reign of Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah. The date on the coin proves that Gurugovinda was a contemporary of Sultan Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah. Therefore very little doubt remains about the identity of Gurugovinda of the legend and the Suhaili Yaman. As the coin proves that Gurugovinda was alive and reigning in Saka 1402=1480 A D therefore the conquest of the independent kingdom of Sylhet or Srihatta was achieved sometime between 1480 and 1482 A D.

K. D. BANERJI

THE AMERICAN FARMER AND THE GOVERNMENT

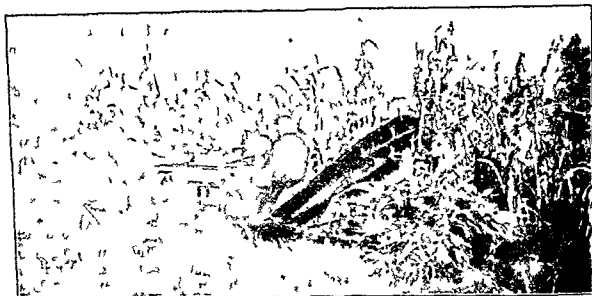
By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

Lecturer in Political Science, State University of Iowa

OVER more the thrice welcome summer is here. The click of the reaping and the hum of the harvesting machines resound through the countryside. Every where in agricultural America there are convincing signs of great progress and prosperity.

How do American farmers become so prosperous? you ask. An average citizen of the United States and he will give nine

times out of ten just one answer. He will say that the simple secret of their prosperity is their willingness to employ approved labor saving methods of agriculture, their ability to use modern farm machinery. That the American farming is thoroughly mechanized is well known in India, but the fact that is not always fully appreciated is the government co-operation with the farmer at every step. Let me therefore

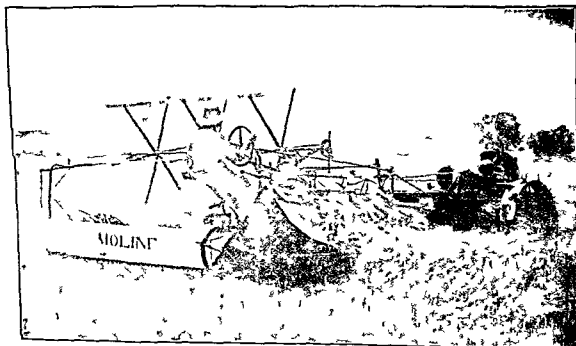


Harvesting Corn with the Moline Tractor and Moline Corn Binder
The Moline tractors are manufactured in Moline Illinois

give a brief sketch of some of the most important phases of this government activity

In order to offer most substantial en-

couragement to agricultural pursuits the Federal Government has established the Department of Agriculture. It is manned by an enormous staff of about twenty



Moline Grain Binder harvesting thirty acres in 10 hours
One man handles the entire machine which is faster than horses

thousand people and its expenses run well over twenty one million rupees a year. But how does the Department help the farmer? It tries to aid him by "making research into all the sciences of production" and by spreading the "gospel of good farming." Statisticians tell us that every year twenty five million copies of bulletins, circulars and reports on agriculture are distributed gratis.

Moreover, there are over sixty agricultural experiment stations in America which are engaged in co-operating with the Department of Agriculture in propagating agricultural instruction. The work of these experiment



Hand Power Tank Outfit Used in Spraying Experiments and Demonstrations by Bureau of Entomology in Virginia.



Illustrating the artificial propagation of certain parasitic insects at Glendale Cal. for distribution to and colonization at distant points.

stations as summarized by H. C. Gauss in *The American Government*, is as follows:

To conduct original researches or verify experiments on the physiology of plants and animals.

The diseases to which they are severally subject with remedies for the same.

The chemical composition of useful plants at their different stages of growth.

The comparative advantages of rotative cropping as pursued under a varying series of crops.

The capacity of new plants or trees for acclimatisation.

The analysis of soils and water.

The chemical composition of manures, natural or artificial with experiments designed to test their comparative effects on crops of different kinds.

The adaptation and value of grasses and forage plants.

The composition and digestibility of the different kinds of food for domestic animals.

The scientific and economic questions involved in the production of butter and cheese.

And as far as practicable, all such stations are required to devote a portion of their work to the examination and classification of the soils of the various states with a view to securing more extended knowledge and better development of their agricultural possibilities.



Class in Live-Stock Studying Sheep on a Farm Near Waterford 1

auds in checking and eliminating such ailments

The Bureau of Animal Industry has a division which is given over to dairy farming exclusively. Its work consists among other things of instructing farmers in the best way to feed house breed and take care of dairy cattle. Experts connected with the bureau frequently go to the country and assist those who need in the building of creameries and cheese factories.

All these various bureaus and others which are not even mentioned here are connected with the Department of Agriculture which is an integral part of the Federal Government.

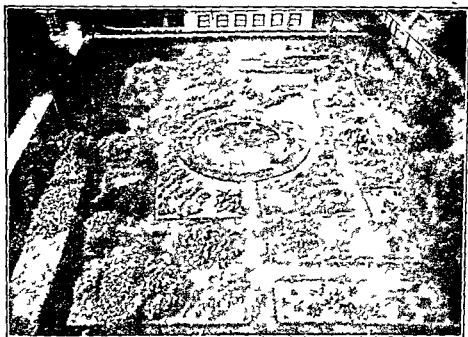
Suppose a farmer needs money to purchase fertilizers, more lands, motorized implements or horses and cattle and he finds it difficult to secure loans on reasonable terms. What will he do? The American genius for organization has solved such difficulties for the American farmers through the enactment of the Federal Farm Loan Act. Without going into its long weary details it may be said that the Act has established twelve Federal Land Banks at the important agricultural centers to

financial aid to farmers. No matter

how high the local rate of interest the Land Banks cannot charge more than six per cent. As a matter of fact the actual interest charged the farmer for the first year is at a uniform rate of five per cent. Under the law these loans are to be made informs Allison in her book *Use Your Government* in periods of not less than five nor more than forty years. In actual practice this is usually thirty six years. The Federal Farm Loan Act

which was passed in 1916 has opened a new epoch in the history of American agriculture. It has lifted farming from the morass of individualistic effort and placed it under the guiding hand of the benevolent government.

Science has become the servant of agriculture no less than that of the manufacturing industry. Agriculture is a complete applied science wrote the late President of the Wisconsin University, Dr. Charles R. Van Hise in his valuable book *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States* built upon a knowledge of pure biology, pure physics and pure chemistry. The agriculturist must apply the principles of botany to his field crops and to his fruits. He must apply the principles of zoology in connection with his animals. He must apply the principles of physics and chemistry to the soil. He must be an engineer in the management of his machinery. In other words modern agriculture is based upon exact scientific principles. And farmers must receive scientific training for their life vocation even as doctors, lawyers and engineers do for theirs. In the United States the spread of scientific agricultural knowledge has been



ROSE GARDEN FOR CHOICE PHARMACY

Drug gardens are now being maintained as a feature of the courses of pharmacy in a number of universities. This illustration shows a garden in which the cultures of medicinal plants furnish material of educational value for the pharmacy course and also serve as an ornamental addition to the grounds of the university.

come the object of serious concern on the part of both the Federal and State governments. Agricultural education is imparted to American youths by hundreds and hundreds of agricultural teachers in universities, colleges, and sometimes even in secondary and rural schools. It has been recently estimated that there are now over 90,000 students in agricultural colleges and high schools in all parts of the Republic. And every four years this large army of trained and aggressive young people will become the potential farmers of the nation.

To conclude, American farmers with their continued application and improvement of farm machinery are so far ahead of the rest of the world that they have no near rival in sight. Farming with the horse is becoming a thing of the past, and farming with the tractor that operates on gasoline or

inexpensive kerosene is rapidly taking its place. I have seen it stated in one of the agricultural journals that there will be in a few months half a million American-built farm tractors where there were practically none five years ago. Doubtless American farmers deserve great credit for accepting all important advances in farm mechanics which have helped them to increase the net output of their lands a hundredfold or more. At the same time one must not forget the important part that is played by the American government in promoting efficiency on the American farm. For certain it is that the government has made the work of the tiller of the soil more elevating, more pleasant, more attractive and more profitable. From the long talks I have had with the wise men in the American government service I am convinced that but for efficient government help

The work of the Department of Agriculture is divided into a number of bureaus. One of the most interesting bureaus of this Department is the Bureau of Plant Industry. It is constantly on the look out for new crops. Its scientific agents are carefully examining the world for new and improved varieties of fruits, vegetables, grains, trees



Librating the imported parasites of alfalfa weevil in the alfalfa fields in Utah

and shrubs which are suitable to different locations in this country. Not many years ago America had to buy rice from abroad, but with the creation of the Bureau of Plant Industry, the situation changed. Its agents secured oriental types of rice better suited to the subtropical climate of the southern states of Texas and Louisiana. At present America uses enough rice not only for her home consumption but for sale to other rice growing countries.

Another great service of the bureau has been the introduction of durum wheat from Siberia. And thereby hangs a tale. For years the wheat crop in the great plains of America had suffered from the lack of sufficient rain. The problem then was to search out a species of hardier wheat

that would grow in this region of light rainfall. American scientific agents went all over the world. At last one of them was able to find the durum wheat growing in the great steppes of Siberia, where the rainfall was no more than in the American great plains. Considerable quantities of the seed were exported to the United States, and presently the Siberian wheat was growing lustily in Montana, Colorado, Dakota, Nebraska, and other States. It has now become a great American crop. Today the cultivation of durum brings American farmers over ninety million rupees a year.

The Bureau of Plant Industry is not only ransacking the whole world for new crops, but it is making as diligent and careful a study of the diseases of plants as physicians do the diseases of men. The bureau in its highly equipped laboratories is making constant researches to discover specific remedies for plant diseases. "The farmer is encouraged to write to the Bureau, giving description of the conditions of disease he is attempting to cure, and if possible, he is asked to send in specimens of diseased plants or vegetables." Advice for the treatment of plant diseases—advice based upon the fire test of real experience—is furnished to American agriculturalists free of charge.

The task of fighting injurious insects belongs to the Bureau of Entomology. Should a new insect be found which is



An American Milkmaid in Sanitary Costume



Class in Live Stock Studying Sheep on a Farm Near Waterford

how high the local
rate of interest the
Land Bank cannot
charge more than
six per cent
matter of
actual
char
for

no
nor
years
practise
ally this
years The
al Farm Loan

auds in checking and eliminating such ailments

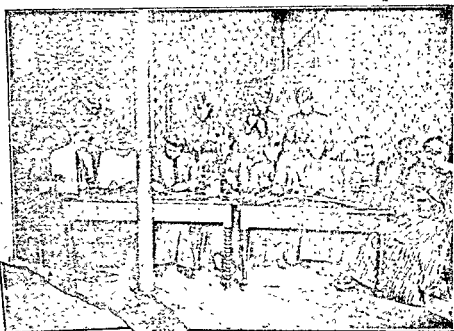
The Bureau of Animal Industry has a division which is given over to dairy farming exclusively. Its work consists among other things of instructing farmers in the best way to feed, house, breed and take care of dairy cattle. Experts connected with the bureau frequently go to the country and assist those who need in the building of creameries and cheese factories.

All these various bureaus and others which are not even mentioned here are connected with the Department of Agriculture which is an integral part of the Federal Government.

Suppose a farmer needs money to purchase fertilizers, more lands, motorized implements or horses and cattle and he finds it difficult to secure loans on reasonable terms. What will he do? The American Society for Organization has solved such years ago. When the American farmers through the great plains of the Federal Farm Loan had suffered from going into its long weary of sufficient rain. They said that the Act has been then was to search Federal Land Banks at a species of harder agricultural centers to farmers. No matter

which was passed in 1916 has opened a new epoch in the history of American agriculture. It has lifted farming from the morass of individualistic effort and placed it under the guiding hand of the benevolent government.

Science has become the servant of agriculture no less than that of the manufacturing industry. Agriculture is a complete applied science. wrote the late President of the Wisconsin University, Dr. Charles R. Van Hise in his valuable book *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States* built upon a knowledge of pure biology, pure physics and pure chemistry. The agriculturist must apply the principles of botany to his field crops and to his fruits. he must apply the principles of zoology in connection with his animals. he must apply the principles of physics and chemistry to the soil. he must be an engineer in the management of his machinery. In other words, modern agriculture is based upon exact scientific principles. And farmers must receive scientific training for their life vocation even as doctors, lawyers and engineers do for theirs. In the United States the spread of scientific agricultural knowledge has been



Plant-life Class Study, the Waterford, Pa., High School

an farmers would not be where they are today. Indeed, the sole end of the American government is and always has been to assist wholeheartedly in accomplishing

State exists for the sake of society, not society for the sake of the State." Is this also the criterion of the English government in India?

HELLENISM IN ANCIENT INDIA*—A REVIEW

WE cannot but congratulate the author of this "Thesis" for selecting the most fascinating subject from Ancient Indian History. The subject has attracted generations of scholars, each of whom by contributing his views on the various aspects of the subject has helped to complicate an already knotty problem and the legacy that has been left by them to the modern and future Indian scholar is the most difficult to handle and in the shape that it has taken, it must necessarily baffle another generation of students, although the clue to its solution has been indi-

cated recently in sure and infallible affirmations. That the problem can only yield its solution to an Indian scholar, with the necessary qualification and preparation to approach it, explains the persistence with which it has hitherto refused to unlock its secret. It was therefore with a mingled feeling of hope and pride that we began to take protracted plunges into Dr. Banerjee's octavo volume of 371 pages—with the hope of finding an adequate attempt to study the question from an unbiased, critical and independent point of view,—with pride in finding that an Indian scholar has at last asserted his right to study the subject.

The work is divided into five sections called 'Books.' The first Book contains the introduction ending with a succinct *resume* which gives us a foretaste of the author's conclusions and a bibliography. The second Book treats, under the four sub-sections of Architecture, Sculpture, Pain-

* *Hellenism in Ancient India* by Gauranga Nath Banerjee, M. A., F. R. S. A. Lecturer on Ancient History in the University of Calcutta, Premchand Raychand Scholar, Member of the Egyptian Association and Oriental Society, Manchester. Calcutta, Butterworth & Co. 1919. Price Rs. 7-8.

every fundamental object of society. True to this tradition, observed President Woodrow Wilson in his excellent volume *The State*: "Society is vastly bigger and more important than its instrument, Government. Government should serve society, by no means rule or dominate it. Government should not be made an end in itself; it is means only,—a means to be freely adopted to advance the best interests of social organism. The

ting and Coinage the Hellenistic influence on the Art of India. The third Book deals with the evolution of scientific and literary culture in India and Hellenism. The last book enunciates the independent evolution of Religion, Philosophy, Mythology and Fables in India and in Greece. Each sub-section is furnished with a bibliography. The author has therefore covered every nook and corner of his subject. Undoubtedly the most important portion of the work is that dealing with the question of the Hellenistic influence on the Art of India. The subject has passed through a new phase since 1905 when Dr. Coomaraswamy first read his paper at the Oriental Congress at Copenhagen. Before this paper was read all archaeologists slavishly following Ferguson, Pouchet and others were pledged to the most grievously erroneous opinion that Indian Art was the pupil of and was indebted to Greek Art and the little value that it possesses is derived from foreign influences. That India had no art of its own and the best period of its art ended with the decline of Gandhara sculpture—that the ideal type of Buddha was created for Buddhist Art by foreigners and the type thus evolved was the foundation of all later representations of Buddha—that after A.D. 300 Indian sculpture properly so called hardly deserves to be reckoned as art.

[Imperial Gazetteer of India, II, Chapter III.]

These were the view of official archaeologists who have dominated and still continue to dominate the valuation of Indian Art and for the matter of that of Indian civilization generally. Soon after Dr. Coomaraswamy's paper was read Vincent Smith & Co. roused from their nightmare suddenly discovered that India had a school of indigenous Painting and Sculpture.

Every student who desires to approach this study with an open and unbiased mind has to appraise critically the opinions of the so-called authorities whose works by lapse of time rather than by the weight of their arguments or by the value of their insight have assumed a seat of false respect to contest which means not only an act of sacrilege but an exhibition of one's so-called national bias. It was not till the discovery of the art of the Parthians that the Western connoisseurs have been in a position to take a critical estimate of the value of Greek Art its character and ideals, both of technique and contents and to evaluate its different phases. Greek art had for centuries exercised a charm over European critics which disqualified them from offering any but the most fulsome praise upon the products of the Hellenic genius. In the matter of appreciation of the history of the evolution of Hellenic art the Western critics had lost their balance which they are now on the point of recovering. It is only recently that critics have been able to gather courage to say that the zenith of Greek Art was reached long before Phidias and what has passed in Greek art as primitive should be classed really as classic. When

Fergusson (1876) Burgess (1882) Grunwedel (1893) and Vincent Smith recorded their views on Indian Art and on the debt that it is supposed to have owed to Greek Art the critical study of Greek Art had not been initiated. These antiquarians had no artistic training for passing judgment on any works of art much less on a foreign art the key of which they were unable to find. Their so-called knowledge of Greek Art itself was of the most rudimentary and of a second hand character. The slightest record of any echo or reminiscence of any kind of travesty of Greek Art upset them and their critical judgment. They were absolutely incapable of appraising the difference between Hellenic and Hellenistic Art and indiscriminately praised anything that had any kind of shadow or colour of Greek civilization. They were constitutionally incapable of critically examining the aesthetic value offered by the Gandhara monuments and were unable to get over the shocks of the discovery of a so-called Greek school of sculpture in the distant soil of the Indus. They failed to realise that before Alexander's conquest the Greek had already shot its bolt. The archaic and classic Art of Greece had passed its page. The beginnings of the Hellenistic epoch represented from the Greek point of view a decadent and a downward course and marked the end of Greek classic art, as such the best phases of which were long past. The prize that is due to the earlier epochs cannot be usurped by later decadence which flooded the eastern colonies. Greece herself would have been shocked to see and would have indignantly repudiated the miserable works by which the Greek colonists in Bactria and Gandhara sought to degrade the old Attic standard. The chief quality and value of Hellenistic Art lay in its neglect of the characteristics of Greek standard. In Hellenistic Art the ancient Hellenic tradition was drained of the all vitality. To quote one critic:

The two of sculptors (Lysippos, Scopas and the Pergamene school) who served as the models of early Hellenistic Art were themselves in process of abandoning the ancient ideals of the Greek race. The Macedonian imperial sm opened to the Greek a new world of ideas. The view of life which he now found himself in contact with was precisely the view which the Classic Age had so consistently discounted and the classic intellect had so severely held in check. Already disenchanted however with his own ideas he proceeded to assimilate eastern ones and he thirstily quaffed at the spring of mystical thought of which the East is the abounding and perennial source. The ideal of Lysippos (B.C. 366-316) and his contemporaries suggests the beginning of a search a quest a groping in the void. What is vital and distinctive in the Hellenistic movement is not so much the imitative traits in it and its clinging to precedent examples as the fact that it exhibits a growing impatience of the classical tradition and an increasing endeavour to reach out into hitherto unexplored regions of thought and emotion. By

its attitude and character the Hellenistic movement was incapable of representing the ideals of the old classic tradition of Hellas. And the miserable Puranic colony in the Punjab frontier cut off by long distance of time and space from the source of Greek civilization represented the worst phase of the Hellenistic epoch. As we have seen the Hellenistic movement professedly set out not to teach Greek ideals but to imbibe oriental ones. It came unfortunately equipped with a set of worn out formulas and canons which were ill suited to express the mysticism and the ideals of the East. In fact if the Greeks had sent out the genius of their last epoch they would have equally failed in the task as did their unworthy descendants in the Punjab colony. For in the whole gamut of Greek sculptors formulas there did not exist a single apparatus by which the eastern conception of the Buddha could be rendered in plastic form. The readiness with which the Baktrian artisans were disposed to carry out the commissions of their Buddhist clients demonstrates the influence of Indian thought on Greek craftsmen and not the influence of Greece on Indian Art. The conversion of Herakleodorus to Vaishnavism attested by the erection of the *Garudā stambha* at Besnagar and the sacrifices performed by Demetrius according to an inscription at the same place demonstrate the same fact viz. the dominance of Indian civilization on the Greeks of Bactria and not vice versa. The Baktrians were more interested in Indian thought than Indians in Greek Art.

At the risk of making our review a little tiresome we have been at some pains to analyse the character of the Hellenistic epoch—the provincial phase of which the Baktrians brought to India—as Dr Bannerjee himself has not been good enough to give us his own analysis of it. As the pivot of the whole question rests on this analysis we think we are justified in indicating the centre of gravity of the study of Hellenism in India which is very often lost sight of by writers on the subject. It has now become fashionable to characterize the critics who try to appraise the exact value of the products of the Baktrian artisans in the Punjab as ante-Hellenists. The epithet would appropriately apply to the archaeologists who gravely characterize the Puranic art of Gandhara by the appellations of Hellenic classical or Greek. It is height of ante-Hellenism and an insult to the Greek genius in art to label the products of Baktrian Greeks as anything characteristically Hellenic, as Dr Bannerjee suggests at several places. In Gandhara sculpture all the qualities of Greek Art have been deliberately flouted. The utter incapacity for invention want of proportions lack of restraint and a deliberate neglect of classic purity symmetry and harmony label the works of the Baktrian artisans as bastards which could never claim to be the legitimate descendants of Classic tradition of any manner or kind. The presence of a few Ionic or Corinthian columns in the most crudest possible

forms a string of ugly Atalantis some cupid and girl and devices and other mechanical makeshifts more Western Asiatic than Hellenistic—are the discarded formulas of Greek artisans from which it is impossible to trace the shadow of a Greek tradition. These coarse pseudo-classical decorative elements have been accepted by the archaeologists as the worthy representatives of Hellenism in Indian Art. Dr Bannerjee's judgment seems to have been overshadowed by the cloud of his archaeological authorities but still he seems to feebly hit at the right point without allowing himself to develop and substantiate his judgment. The Gandhara sculptures moreover are not very artistic either from the Greek or Indian point of view, though they are of immense interest to the students of Buddhism. He seems however to abandon this position and to relapse to the perverted views of his authorities when he answers the criticism of Havell and Coomaraswamy at p. 120 by borrowing the words of Smith and Spooner without acknowledgment. And it appears to us that he has done an injustice to himself and his subject by too much reliance on the infallibility of his authorities. That he is well posted in all the literature on the subject (the greater portion of which he has not critically examined) is well advertised in his pages by aggressive quotations from French and German authors possibly to answer the recent imputation that the Post graduate scholars have no entry into continental authorities. But Dr Bannerjee's thesis demands as its critical apparatus not only a close study of what has been written in the past but also a first hand knowledge and an independent examination of the monuments of the Hellenistic epoch and of the grounds on which the authorities have expressed their views. And we would have much preferred his studying the objects and monuments first, before he read the books and authorities about them. If he had done so he could not have accepted without demur, the theory of the foreign origin of the Buddha image on an *argumentum ex silentio*. The coins of Kanishka and the innumerable Gandharan images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas themselves constitute indisputable evidence of the fact that these coins appear in an already stereotyped form and that the first image of Buddha dates long before the era of Kanishka and the rise of the Gandhara School and the latter only represents the first attempts of Baktrian Greeks to picture Indian coins. The Baktrian image of Iakshmi from Kashmir and a few other non-Buddhist images are additional documents which disprove the Greek origin of the Buddha image and which Dr Bannerjee could have studied with advantage. Dr Bannerjee's bibliography though quite formidable in appearance and gives one the impression of having been compiled with German thoroughness is full of important omissions. He omits to

noted Dr. Coomaraswamy's paper on *Buddhist Primitives* which contain many pertinent matters as also Sister Nivedita's contributions in these columns since reprinted in the *Footfalls of India in History*. But the omissions to references to M. Foucault's paper in *Monuments Prot* and *L'Origine Grec du Image de Buddha* since published in English in the *Beginnings of Buddhism* by Dr. Vogel's paper on *Greek Influence on Ancient Indian Civilization* (East & West January 1912) and Prof. H. G. Rowlandson's admirable paper on foreign influences in India in his *India Historical Studies* 1913 are difficult to explain. In the section devoted to Astronomy, Dr. Bannerjee has overlooked important materials furnished by M. M. Haraprasad Das's paper on *Varanasi Jataka* in the JASB. The chapter on Literature and Drama forms in our opinion the best

written part of the work. We have been inclined to judge Dr. Bannerjee's production by a very high standard. The Post-Graduate courses at the Calcutta University are on the frontier and the public have a right to demand the production of thesis in which ripe scholarship should help to make original contributions to our knowledge. We wish Dr. Bannerjee had realised our hopes. We have no doubt that the industry with which he has studied the existing authorities if directed to the original materials would have placed him in the forefronts of the authorities who have stood between him and his subject. Dr. Bannerjee has all the accomplishments of a sound scholar but in the present instance we think he has not given us all that he is capable of giving.

AGASTIA.



it must be the "second language." The late eminent statesman Sir Wilfrid Laurier, born French Canadian, was as much at home in English as in his mother tongue, French. General Smuts, Dutch Afrikaner as he is, has shown himself a capital master of English. In India there have been many Indians whose mastery of English has been complete. But in addition to these, thousands of undergraduates and graduates are thrown out every year by our schools and colleges, whose knowledge of English is of various grades. English is now the dominant foreign language in the important independent countries of China and Japan. In China it has even given rise to a jargon called pigeon or pidgin English, which really means business English, and is used between Chinese and Europeans. In Lady Brassey's *Logue in the 'Sunbeam'* (1908, p. 294), is given "Take piecey missisy one piecey bag topside" as pidgin English for "Take the lady's bag upstairs." From this it appears that pidgin English is not a very simple affair.

In science for sometime past German has held the first place, French the second, and English the third. But politically and commercially, English has had an overwhelming superiority over both German and French. It has also an inherent superiority over both French and German. Its grammar is simpler than that of French and much simpler than that of German. Why then does not English come to be spontaneously adopted as the common medium of international intercourse? Why, with such a language ready to hand, have attempts been made to invent an artificial language for purposes of international communication? Volapuk (world speech) was the artificial language put before the world as a world language about the year 1879 by its German originator Schleyer. It had not much success. About eight years later a far cleverer artificial international language, now widely known as Esperanto, was put before the world by the late Lithuanian savant, Dr Zamenhof. A later international language, called Ido, has come into the field. I know only of its being mentioned as an improvement upon Esperanto.

In constructing his vocabulary Dr Zamenhof had particularly his eye on words which are similar in the principal European languages, as, for instance, *chamber*, *fish* and *nose*, which in Esperanto appear as *cambro*, *fisho*,* and *naso*. The Esperanto vocabulary has been constructed with wonderful ingenuity. It is based mainly on Latin stems, but not exclusively, for instance, *fisho** with the final *o* removed is the same as the English *fish* and the German *fisch*, but is a little different from the Latin *piscis*. As regards his grammar Dr Zamenhof told the late

Mr W T Stead* that he drew his first inspiration from the simple grammatical structure of the English language, and that it was from Russian that he got the idea that by means of suffixes he "might make an endless number of words out of one root." All nouns in Esperanto end in *o*, all adjectives in *a*, and all adverbs in *e*. Males and females are distinguished by the insertion of *n* before the *o* of the noun, as *patro* (father), *patrino* (mother). English grammar is simple enough, but it is less simple than that of Esperanto, which is however less simple in certain respects than that of the Asiatic languages, Persian, Hindustani, and Bengali, which Dr Zamenhof apparently had no knowledge of. These three languages have no distinction of *he*, *she* and *it*, as Esperanto, like English, has. Nor has Bengali, like English and Esperanto, a distinction of number in verbs. Esperanto is thus not as simple in its grammatical structure as it is possible for a language to be. Nevertheless, in its grammatical structure as well as in its vocabularies, it has a clear advantage over English. It has already acquired a large currency, and this currency is on the increase. If English is to be set up as a world language in competition with Esperanto, it requires to be divested of certain drawbacks that now attend it. This divestment should be restricted to English as it may be fitted out for use as an international language and not be sought to be at once imposed on English as spoken and written in all English speaking lands. The simplifications made for internationalizing English may be left to work their way, from their own merit, into current English everywhere.

Standardization of pronunciation and phonetic spelling are essential requisites of internationalized English, and these may, with advantage, be at once applied to the current English of the present day. Sir Harry Johnston in England and Prof Brander Mathew in America are strong advocates of standardization of English pronunciation, a difficult process indeed and in need of revision after long intervals to suit changed pronunciations. But it is a necessary preliminary to phonetic writing. Phonetic writing hardly needs any justification, non phonetic writing being simply irrational, though, being of long standing, it has necessarily a host of supporters. Sir Harry Johnston is a powerful champion of phonetic spelling being applied to English, French and other transgressors of phonetism. The British and American public have now to some extent come to see their English language spelt phonetically in the International Phonetic Script. This has been a good step towards disposing English speaking peoples to give up their bad conventional method of spelling for a phonetic one. The International Phonetic Script is admittedly

* Here *sh* is used for the Esperanto symbol for the English sound *s* with an angular mark over it.

* The Review of Review, September 1907, p. 277.

imperfect and needs improvement which indeed it seeks. I criticised this script in the last May number of *The Modern Review* and showed that some of its letters were bad. It has discarded capital letters but retains the Roman blemish of script letters different in shape from printed letters. This blemish requires to be swept away.

In connection with application of phonetic spelling to English it has to be noted that though the general rule should be that the spelling should conform to the standard sound it would be very desirable that in the two special cases mentioned below a reverse process should be adopted.

(1) Proper names like *Dante* and *Beatrice* from Italian and other proper names from any other phonetically written language should retain their present spelling in English but their sounds should conform as far as is possible to their native sounds. While *Dante* and *Beatrice* for instance retain their present spelling in English it would be best to pronounce them in the Italian way barring of course the Italian sounds of the letters *d* and *t* which English speakers' organs of speech fail to pronounce.

(2) Learned words like *centigrade* and *ovigen* drawn from Latin and Greek, and spelt alike or very nearly alike in English and in the Latin family of languages should retain their present English spelling and be pronounced as far as possible in accordance with the Latin and Greek sounds of letters so that this class of words may have a uniformity of sounds all over the English and Latin worlds.

Slang terms are rightly considered unusable into serious writing and so their use in English internationalized must be interdicted. Some slang terms have in the past required by reason of their particular fitness a recognised place in the language and this process may go on in the future. All slang terms that win their way to recognition can properly be introduced into internationalized English.

With slang terms should also be banned all English idiomatic expressions of an arbitrary character. As good a man as ever trod shoe-leather* for as good a man as ever lived is quite an arbitrary English idiom for no rational interpretation of the terms that make up the phrase can yield even in a figurative way the meaning intended to be conveyed. Treading shoe-leather* may be interpreted as meaning wearing shoes but the wearing of shoes cannot be taken to constitute the essence of living or even a main function of it. No objection can be taken but it understood to figurative expressions like was born with a silver spoon in his mouth which involve no logical flaw. British meat from English internationally employed of

expressions involving a logical flaw may reasonably be demanded. Their banishment from every kind of English would be a gain to the language.

In connection with the question of logical flaw may be considered the English puzzle of the use of *shall* and *will*. *Shall* and *will* are the two auxiliary verbs by means of which the future tense is formed in English and about them Mr Nesfield writes as follows:— One of the puzzles in English is to know when to use *shall* and when to use *will*. With a view to clearing up this matter it should be understood that there are *three* senses in which the future tense can be used—

(a) To express merely future time and nothing more.

(b) To combine future time with an implied command.

(c) To combine future time with an implied intention.

But what admits of no clearing up is why *shall* and *will* should bear different senses in different persons and also bear in assertive sentences senses different from what they bear in interrogative ones. The present conventional uses of *shall* and *will* can claim no basis in reason and it is exceedingly difficult to understand how they originated. Cutting the Gordian knot was found to be the best way of dealing with it. May not the present knot be cut too? It may be cut by laying down the rule that *shall* in all cases shall indicate what happens in the natural course of things (moral obligation being included in this as in Thou shalt not steal) and that *will* in all cases shall indicate intention. The solution of the puzzle offered here is indeed a very bold one particularly bold as coming from a foreigner. But the solution offered if accepted would be a boon to all foreigners learning English and a boon also to future generations of native English speaking people.

Languages have changed in the past and the changes undergone have almost wholly been in the direction of increased simplicity. The printing press has now set up a barrier against changes and so given a certain fixity to languages. But as a stage of perfection has been reached yet by no language it is desirable that a comparative study of languages should be made the means of deliberately effecting changes that would be improvements. An encumbrance that has disappeared from a closely related language or some dialect of the language itself which is wanted to be improved is fit to be dropped from the language. Grammatical gender has to be admitted to be an encumbrance in a language. It does not exist in English but exists in German (in three genders masculine feminine and neuter) and in French (in two

* Readers of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* have to put up with As proper men as ever trod upon it a leather

† *Idiom Grammar and Synthesis* by J. C. Nesfield M.A. 1911 p. 60

genders masculine and feminine) It does not exist in Bengali (borrowings from Sanskrit like *hitakari sabha* being excluded) but exists in two genders (masculine and feminine) in literary Hindustani (in both its Urdu and its Hindi phase) Hindustani (in its Urdu phase) as spoken in Bihar is however partially free from it Many words that are feminine nouns in standard Hindustani are ordinarily used as masculines in Bihar Can it then be said that it is impossible to cast off grammatical gender altogether from Hindustani? If the idea spreads that grammatical gender is an unnecessary burden upon a language that some speakers of Hindustani actually disregard it and that what according to the orthodox view are grammatical mistakes and corruptions are really in many cases but improvements in a language then a disposition may grow up for the discarding of grammatical gender from Hindustani altogether There are difficulties in the way but they cannot be pronounced insurmountable Great writers may be pioneers of the change.

The difficulty arising from the existence in English of what are called synonyms is one very hard to deal with Words have come into the English language from two main sources Teutonic and Latin and this has caused in some cases a word of Teutonic origin and another of Latin origin meaning the same thing in English as *forgive* and *pardon* and *freedom* and *liberty*

The synonymous words have come to be applied somewhat differently however in the language Beg your pardon is good English but Beg your forgiveness is not though begged to be forgiven cannot be objected to do set free is reckoned good English but set at freedom is not though set at liberty is In these cases a reasonable solution of the difficulty would be to put *forgive* and *pardon* and *freedom* and *liberty* on exactly the same footing in regard to their use But there are numerous cases where derivation from different sources is not a factor and where slight shades of difference of meaning have arisen from usage About this class of words the suggestion I have to offer is that a number of British and American experts well versed in philology and in the methods of science should undertake to investigate the shades of difference of meaning between English synonyms in a rational and not a conventional spirit and then lay the results of their labours before the world as a help alike to native and foreign students of English

In spite of all the disadvantages of the English vocabulary as compared with that of Esperanto it can emphatically be asserted in favour of the former that it is all itself and vigorous which think and feel gain by a vigorous race of people generations have injured it it is too perfect it is too perfect in Esperanto could they translate into Esperanto what they think and feel in their native or other tongues? Can

Esperanto or any other artificial language have such simple vivid and happy combinations of words as are found in the following lines from English poetry?

- 1 Brevity is the soul of wit
- 2 He jests at scars that never felt a wound
- 3 Where more is meant than meets the ear
- 4 To party gave up what was meant for mankind
- 5 'Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore
And coming events cast their shadows before
- 6 Eternal summer gilds them yet
But all except their sun is set
- 7 Our sweetest songs are those
That tell of saddest thought
- 8 'Tis only noble to be good

Science is the common property of all the world and it is most desirable that language barriers should part its votaries as little as possible It would obviously be an advantage to scientific investigators all over the world if contributions to science in all its branches came before the world in some particular language and were thus easily accessible to all investigators Patriotic impulse is here in opposing force But there is a way in which a reconciliation may here be effected between patriotism and cosmopolitanism There can be no obstacle in the way of the speaker of any language however limited may be the area over which it is spoken recording and publishing his researches in his own language for home consumption and publishing at the same time for world consumption a translation of the original record into English or French or German or present and in future into a universally recognized international language if there is to be one such I would here instance the fact of *The Mediterranean Pace* of Prof Sergi which contains a very valuable contribution to the science of anthropology, being published first in the Professor's native language Italian and a little later in German and in English * and also the announcements facing the title page of Prof Seignemus *Principles of Economics* of translations of the author's works into French Italian Spanish Russian and Japanese A scientific work is not like a poetical composition which must be without much of its native flavour if brought out as a translation It can lose nothing by translation

* When this little book was first published in an Italian edition in 1895 and in a German edition in 1897, I was still unable to obtain many anthropological data needed to complete the picture of the primitive inhabitants of Europe In the English edition the book is less incomplete either in anthropological documents and hence more conclusive I refer to the English edition 1901

A discussion here of the contention of the patriotic school which stands up for scientific contributions being made in the contributor's vernacular tongue seems to be very necessary. Prof Mendeleeff the great Russian chemist recorded his researches in his native Russian and not in French or German. This gained him admirers at home and abroad. Among his foreign admirers is our widely renowned countryman Sir Asutosh Mookerjee whose great all round ability untiring energy and culture, wide and deep have made him a veritable power in the land. I append here an English translation of the extract given in the Bengali periodical Prabasi for Magh 1323 BS first page of number of the address read by Sir Asutosh at the tenth meeting of the Bengali Sahitya-Sammilani held at Bankipur about two years and a half ago —

English Translation of Extract

If Bengal's glories Dr Rabindranath Tagore Professors Jagadish Chandra [and] Praphulla Chandra and other present intellectuals of Bengal embody the treasures of the weight of their knowledge in Bengali and if those in whose hands will be placed in future the domain of knowledge go on recording in Bengali the final results of their knowledge and if in this way for a long time the service done to Bengali literature continue uninterruptedly then a day will assuredly come when many among cultured foreigners must have eagerly to learn Bengali. If in Bengal those who attain eminence in any subject become specialists in any subject instead of making their discoveries their waves of thought take shape in a foreign tongue add to the greatness of their motherland and so of their mother tongue Bengali by displaying them in their own mother tongue then other educated communities of the world will be obliged to study the Bengali language.

The editor of the Prabasi notes that in the address the example of Russia has been given and says that the Russian chemist Mendeleeff did indeed record his researches in Russian but it is necessary to remember the difference between the condition of Russia and that of Bengal.

Patriotism obscures the mental vision not only of men of the ordinary stamp but of men also of superior mental powers. In the present instance Sir Asutosh Mookerjee a vigorous intellect has not been able to screen him from the injurious influence of patriotic feeling. The prescription he lays down for cultivators of science in Bengal to follow to compel foreign cultivators of science to learn Bengali widely interpreted amounts to the imposition of a most intolerable burden on future cultivators of science all over the world. Bengali is not the only cultivated language in India and Bengalis are not the only intellectual people in India. Leaving aside the cultivated Indian languages of the Dravidian family Bengali Hindi Urdu

Marathi and Gujarati are the Indo Aryan languages that have a progressive literature each. Are foreign students of science in future to be under the necessity of learning all these languages? If so they should also be under the necessity of learning the great Asiatic languages Persian Arabic Chinese and Japanese the people speaking them being of a high order of mentality and so capable of advancing knowledge in future. At present students of science who want to keep them selves abreast of the progress of science have to possess a knowledge varying in degree of the three great European languages German French and English which are the chief media now for scientific contributions. Next after these comes Italian and next after Italian Russian. Leaving aside the minor languages of Europe there remain Spanish and Portuguese each spread over a vast area which, though not now very active contributors to advancing knowledge hold in their promise enough of a better career in future—a promise warranted by the past intellectual history of the Spanish and Portuguese races and also by the large recruitments of Italian immigrants that these two races have been receiving in South America. According to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's prescription taken in its widest range all the above host of languages must have to be learnt by cultivators of science in future—a very dismal prospect indeed. But there is comfort in the thought that such a thing can never be to hamper the advancement of science. As regards the value of translations from foreign languages into one's own the passage quoted below from Emerson will bear ample testimony.

I rarely read any Latin Greek German Italian sometimes not a French book in the original which I can procure in a good version. I like to be beholden to the great metropolis of English speech the sea which receives tributaries from every region.

As a matter of fact it was not the chemical researches of Prof Mendeleeff recorded in Russian which induced many persons in Western Europe and America to learn Russian but the attractive literary works of Tolstoy Turgenief and others. Bankimchandra's and Rabindranath's attractive literary works have won the regard of many Europeans for our noble mother tongue Bengali. It is best for us to employ it ridding it of the baneful effects of Pandit influence that still continue to afflict it in the cultivation of every branch of human knowledge without any thought about foreigners learning it or not. Nor should we think of confining the splendid scientific discoveries of Sir Jagadishchandra Bose and Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray within the limited range of the Bengali language but should be broad minded enough to consider it a fortunate circumstance that the discoverers have

are dumb. The press is written by a handful of persons who in becoming writers have ceased to belong to the multitude and the multitude does not read. The difficulties of Western statesmen are due to an opposite cause. The populations are highly articulate. Such is the din of voices that it is hard to say which cry prevails which is swelled by many, which only by a few, throats. The organs of opinion seem almost as numerous as the people themselves and they are all engaged in representing their own view as that of the people. Like other valuable articles genuine opinion is surrounded by counterfeits. The one positive test applicable is that of an election and an election can at best do no more than test the division of opinion between two or three great parties leaving subsidiary issues uncertain while in many cases the result depends so much on the personal merits of the candidates as to render interpretation difficult.

IV THE MASSES CANNOT BE PROPERLY REPRESENTED BY THEMSELVES

'It is now after long resistance by those who maintained that they knew better what was good for the people than the people knew themselves at last agreed that as the masses are better judges of what will conduce to their own happiness than are the classes placed above them they must be allowed to determine ends. This is in fact the essence of free or popular Government and the justification for vesting power in numbers. But assuming the end to be given who is best qualified to select the means for its accomplishment? To do so needs in many cases a knowledge of the facts a skill in interpreting them a power of forecasting the results of measures unattainable by the mass of mankind. Such knowledge is too high for them. It is attainable only by trained economists, lawyers, statesmen. If the masses attempt it they will commit mistakes not less serious than those which befall a litigant who insists on conducting a complicated case instead of leaving it to his attorney and counsel. But in popular governments this distinction between ends and means is apt to be forgotten.

V IN EUROPE THE CLASSES REPRESENT THE MASSES

In Europe there has always been a governing class a set of persons whom birth or wealth or education has raised above their fellows and to whom has been left the making of public opinion together with the conduct of administration and the occupancy of places in the legislature. The public opinion of Germany, Italy, France and England has been substantially the opinion of the class which wears black coats and lives in good houses though in the two latter countries it has of late years been increasingly affected by the opinion of the classes socially lower. Although the members of the

British Parliament now obey the mass of their constituents when the latter express a distinct wish still the influence which plays most steadily on them and permeates them is the opinion of a class or classes and not of the whole nation. The class to which the great majority of members of both Houses belong (i.e. the landowners and the persons occupied in professions and in the higher walks of commerce) is the class which chiefly forms and expresses what is called public opinion. Even in these days of vigilant and exacting constituencies one sees many members of the House of Commons, the democratic robustness or provincial crudity of whose ideas melts like wax under the influence of fashionable dinner parties and club smoking rooms. Until a number of members entered the House who claimed to be the authorised representatives of the views of working men the complaint used to be heard that it was hard to keep touch with the opinion of the masses.

VI PUBLIC SPIRIT NOT THE SOLE MOTIVE POWER IN POLITICS

To rely on public duty as the main motive power in politics is to assume a commonwealth of angels. Men such as we know them must have some other inducement. It is much to be wished that in every country public spirit were the chief motive propelling men into public life. But is it so anywhere now? Has it been so at any time in a nation's history? Let anyone in England dropping for the moment that self-righteous attitude of which Englishmen are commonly accused by foreigners ask himself how many of those whom he knows as mixing in the public life of his own country have entered it from motives primarily patriotic how many have been actuated by the love of fame or power the hope of advancing their social pretensions or their business relations.

VII THE GROWTH OF RACE-CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG THE NEGROES OF THE UNITED STATES

Among the small class of educated and reflective Negroes one may distinguish two tendencies. Reference has already been made to the opposite views of those who counsel acquiescence in and of those who would agitate against the restriction of the suffrage to a small section of their race. The divergence of views however goes further. There are those led by Dr. Booker Washington who see no use in resisting potent facts and therefore hold that all the negro can at present do and the most effective thing that with a view to the future he could in any case do is to raise himself in intelligence, knowledge, industry, thrift and whatever else makes for self-help and self-respect. When he has gained these things when he is felt to be a valuable part of the community his colour will not exclude him from the opportunity of advancement which business presents nor from the suffrage nor

from a share in public office. Complaints of injustice well grounded as many of them may be will profit little and may even arouse further antagonism but industrial capacity and the possession of property are sure to tell.

Others there are such as Professor Du Bois who find it hard to practise this patience, and some are beginning to organise themselves in a more aggressive spirit for common help and protection.

One thing is now common to both these sections of the educated men of colour—a growing sense of race solidarity and a perception that instead of seeing favours from the whites or trying to cling to their skirts the negro must go his own way, make his own society, try to stand on his own feet, in the confidence that the more he succeeds in doing this the more respected will he be. This race consciousness finds expression in various organizations which have been formed among the negroes for helping themselves as well as in appeals to give their patronage by preference to members of the race in business relations and in professional work.

This feeling of Race Consciousness has in most cases included and now more and more includes the people of mixed blood that racial consciousness to which I have already referred has been drawing all sections of the African race together disposing the lighter coloured since they can get no nearer to the whites to identify themselves with the mass of those who belong to their own stock.

VIII THE WORKING MEN OF AMERICA

The native work people [as opposed to recent immigrants] are of course fairly educated. They read the daily newspapers while their women may take a weekly religious journal and a weekly or monthly magazine many of them specially in the smaller cities belong to a congregation in whose concerns they are generally interested. Most are total abstainers. Their wives have probably had a longer schooling and read more widely than they do themselves. In the smaller towns both in New England and the West and even in some of the large cities such as Philadelphia and Chicago the richer part of them own the houses they live in, wooden houses in the suburbs with a little Verandah and a bit of garden and thus feel themselves to have a stake in the country. Their womanhood dress with so much taste that on Sunday or when you meet them in the steam cars you would take them for persons in easy circumstances.

Contrast anyone of these countries [of Europe] with the United States where the working classes are as well fed, clothed and lodged as the lower middle class in Europe and the farmers who till their own land (as nearly all do) much better or where a good education is within the reach of the poorest

where the opportunities of getting on in one way or another are so abundant that no one need fear any physical ill but disease or the results of his own intemperance. The impression which this comfort and plenty makes is heightened by the brilliance and keenness of the air, by the look of freshness and cleanness which even the cities wear. It is impossible not to feel warmed, cheered, invigorated by the sense of such material well being all around one, impossible not to be infected by the buoyancy and hopefulness of the people.

IX THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

This striking growth in the number of students seems due to two causes. One cause, operative all over the country, is the sense that a knowledge of applied science has great practical value for many occupations, and especially for agriculture and for the various branches of engineering and that it is therefore worth while as a business proposition to spend some years in acquiring that knowledge systematically than to begin practical life on leaving school at fifteen or sixteen years of age. The other cause is that University education has become fashionable and is more and more coming to be considered not as a luxury for the few, nor a thing needed only by those who mean to enter one of the so-called 'learned professions' but a preparation for life with which all those who can afford the money and the time ought to be furnished. Formerly young men intended for a business life seldom thought, except in two or three of the older states of going to College. Now they are just as likely to go as any others. This is the most noteworthy new feature of the last thirty years and is also the most striking educational difference between America and Europe. A university education has in the United States ceased to be the privilege of the few. It is for all the world.

The change is itself largely due to two economic facts. One is the rapid increase in the number of persons with incomes large enough to make it easy for them to send sons and daughters to college. The other is the erection of State Universities especially in the Western States in which instruction is provided at a very low charge. These have so much popularised the higher education that through their example and influence the influx of students to all colleges has increased. It may be added that charges are everywhere moderate. Nor can it be denied that the rivalry not only of denominations but of particular places even comparatively small places has borne a part in this immense multiplication of teaching institutions. Each little city or even rural area thinks it a feather in its cap to possess a college and those who own real estate believe that it raises the value of the land they have to sell. Once the college is established its staff as well as the

local people are concerned to boom and boost it

This increase has tended to give the Universities and especially the larger ones a much more prominent place in the life of the country than they formerly had. They have become objects of general interest. Questions affecting them are more amply discussed in newspapers and magazines and appear to lay more hold on the community at large than is the case in England or perhaps in any European country. The alumni of the greater universities form associations some few of which have branches in the chief cities of the country while others are locally established. They meet from time to time, and when their *Alma Mater* celebrates an anniversary or opens a new building or inaugurates a new President they flock to her and give importance to the festivity they respond generously when the University asks them to contribute to some new object indeed it is largely through them that extension funds are raised. In one university the custom has grown up that each class shall on the completion of the twenty-fifth year from graduation offer not less than 100 000 dollars (£20 000) to the University treasury.

With this rise in the importance of the American University its headship has come to be an office of enhanced dignity and influence. The man selected for it is usually a person of literary or scientific eminence though he is expected to possess administrative talents; he is often also a leading figure in the State perhaps even in the Nation. No persons in the country hardly even the greatest railway magnates are better known and certainly none are more respected than the Presidents of the leading universities.

WANTED QUALITY AS WELL AS QUANTITY

So far then as quantity goes whether quantity and variety of attendance or quantity and variety of instruction nearly all that the needs of the time and the country demand has been attained.

Quality is of course another matter. In education improvements in quality do not always keep pace with increase in quantity and often follow with sadly lagging steps. Nevertheless, they do generally tend to follow. No doubt the first and easiest thing for an ambitious institution is to devote itself to material improvements, to enlarge its buildings and its library its scientific apparatus, even its gymnasium. When money is spent on these things the result can be seen and even the least instructed visitors are impressed. To secure more able more learned more inspiring teachers, and by their help to improve the instruction given and the standard of attainment which a degree represents is a slower and more difficult task.

It is felt that there ought to be a stronger

pulse of intellectual life among the undergraduates in the College or Academic department those who are keenly interested either in their particular subjects or in the things of the mind in general are comparatively few in number. Athletic competitions and social pleasures claim the larger part of their thoughts and the University does not seem to be giving them that taste for intellectual enjoyment which ought to be acquired early if it is to be acquired at all.

The conception of a general liberal education the ideal of such an education as something which it is the function of a University to give in order to prepare men for life as a whole, over and above the preparation required for any particular walk of life [vocational education] is described as being in some institutions insufficiently valued and imperfectly realised. Those whose views I am setting forth admit that professional and other special schools can give and often do give an effective training of the mental powers in the course of the special instruction they impart. What they miss is that largeness of view and philosophic habit of thought which the study of such subjects as literature philosophy and history is fitted to implant when these subjects are taught in a broad and stimulating way. In short the pressure of the practical subjects and of the practical spirit in handling these subjects is deemed to be unduly strong.

XI THE INFLUENCE OF DEMOCRACY ON CREATIVE INTELLECTUAL POWER

There are two opposite theories on the subject. Democratic institutions stimulate the mind of a people not only sharpening men's wits by continual struggle and unrest, but giving to each citizen a sense of his own powers and duties in the world which spurs him on to exertions in ever widening fields. The other view is that the opinion of the greatest number being the universal standard everything is reduced to the level of vulgar minds. Originality is stunted variety disappears no man thinks for himself or, if he does fears to express what he thinks. Lord Bryce says that both these theories will be found on examination to be baseless, but from his very instructive discourse it would appear that he rather leans to the second theory as containing more of the truth. He begins by saying that the absence of brilliant genius among the ninety millions in the United States should excite no surprise.

The wind bloweth where it listeth the rarest gifts appear no one can tell why

how. But America has also failed to produce its fair share of talents of the second rank. What is the cause of it? Here is Lord Bryce's answer:

"Those who have discussed the conditions of intellectual productivity have often remarked that epochs of stir and excitement are favourable because they stimulate men's minds setting new ideas afloat, and awakening new ambitions. It is also true that vigorous unremitting labour is speaking generally needed for the production of good work and that one is therefore less entitled to expect it in an indolent time and from members of the luxurious classes. But it is not less true though less frequently observed that tranquillity and repose are necessary to men of the kind we are considering, and often helpful even to the highest geniuses for the evolving of new thoughts and the creation of forms of finished and harmonious beauty. He who is to do such work must have time to meditate and pause and meditate again. He must be able to set his creation aside and return to it after days and weeks to look at it with fresh eyes. He must be neither distracted from his main purpose nor hurried in effecting it. He must be able to concentrate the whole force of his reason or imagination on one subject to abstract himself when needful from the fitting sights and many voiced clamour of the outer world. Interrupted thought, trains of reflection or imaginative conceptions constantly broken by a variety of petty transient calls of business claims of society matters passing in the world to note and think of not only tire the mind but destroy its chances of attaining just and deep views of life and nature as a wind ruffled pool ceases to reflect the rocks and woods around it. Mohammed falling into trances on the mountain above Mecca. Dante in the Sylvan solitudes of Fonte Avellana. Cervantes and Bunyan in the enforced seclusion of a prison. Hegel so wrapt and lost in his speculations that taking his manuscript to the publisher in 1801 on the day of the great battle he was surprised to see French soldiers in the streets. These are types of the men and conditions which give birth to thoughts that occupy succeeding generations and what is true of these greatest men is perhaps even more true of men of the next rank.

In Europe men call this an age of unrest. But the United States is more restless than Europe more restless than any country we know of has yet been. Nearly everyone is busy. The earning of one's living is not indeed incompatible with intellectually creative work for many of those who have done such work best have done it in addition to their gainful occupation or have earned their living by it. But in America it is unusually hard for any one to withdraw his mind from the endless variety of external impressions and interests which daily

life presents and which impinge upon the mind, I will not say to rest it but to keep it constantly vibrating to their touch. In the United States the ceaseless stir and movement the constant presence of newspapers chase away from it the opportunities for repose and meditation which art and philosophy need, as growing plants need the coolness and darkness of night no less than the blaze of day. The type of mind which American conditions have evolved is quick, practical, versatile but it is unfavourable to the natural germination and slow ripening of large and luminous ideas, it wants the patience that will spend weeks or months on bringing details to an exquisite perfection.

It may be objected to this view that some of the great literary ages, such as the Periclean age at Athens the Medicean age at Florence the age of Elizabeth in England have been ages full of movement and excitement. But the unrestfulness which prevails in America is altogether different from the large variety of life the flow of stimulating ideas and impressions which marked those ages. Life is not as interesting in America, except as regards commercial speculation as it is in Europe because society and the environment of man are too uniform. It is hurried and bustling it is filled with a multitude of duties and occupations and transient impressions. In the ages I have referred to men had time enough for all there was to do, and the very scantiness of literature and rarity of news made that which was read and received tell more powerfully upon the imagination."

VII THE MATERIALISTIC TENDENCY

Nor is it only the distractions of American life that clog the wings of invention. The atmosphere is over full of all that pertains to material progress. Americans themselves say, when excusing the comparative poverty of learning and science that their chief occupation at present is the subjugation of their continent, that it is an occupation large enough to demand most of the energy and ambition of the nation but that presently when this work is done the same energy and ambition will win similar triumphs in the fields of abstract thought, while the gifts which now make them the first nation in the world for practical inventions will then assure to them a like place in scientific discovery. There is evidently much truth in this. But besides this withdrawal of an unusually large part of the nation's force, the predominance of material and practical interests has turned men's thoughts and conversation into a channel unfavourable to the growth of the higher and more solid kinds of literature, perhaps still more unfavourable to art. Goethe said: If a talent is to be speedily and happily developed the chief point is that a great deal of intellect and sound culture should be current in a nation. There is certainly a great deal of intellect current in the United States. But it is

chiefly directed to business that is to railways to finance, to commerce, to inventions, to manufactures, (as well as to practical professions like the law), things which play a relatively larger part than in Europe, as subjects of universal attention and discussion. There is abundance of sound culture, but it is so scattered about in diverse places and among small groups which seldom meet one another, that no large cultured society has arisen similar to that of European capitals or to that which her universities have created for Germany. A young talent gains less than it would gain in Europe from the surroundings into which it is born. The atmosphere is not charged with ideas as in Germany, nor with critical *finesse* as in France. Stimulative it is, but the stimulus drives eager youth away from the groves of the Muses into the struggling throng of the market place. In the city or State where he lives there is nothing to call him away from the present. All he sees is new, and he has no glories to set before him save those of accumulated wealth and industry skilfully applied to severely practical ends."

XIII INFLUENCE OF CHEAP LITERATURE

'It might have been thought that the profusion of cheap reprints would quicken thought and diffuse the higher kinds of knowledge among the masses. But by far the largest number of these reprints, and the part most extensively read were novels and among them many flimsy novels which drove better books including some of the best American fiction, out of the market, and tended to Europeanize the American mind in the worst way. The habit of mind produced by a diet largely composed of newspapers is adverse to solid thinking and dulling to the sense of beauty. Scorched and stony is the soil which newspaper reading has prepared to receive the seeds of genius.

'Does the modern world really gain so far as creative thought is concerned, by the profusion of cheap literature? It is a question one often asks in watching the passengers on an American Railway. A boy walks up and down the car scattering newspapers and books in paper covers right and left as he goes. The newspapers are glanced at, though probably most people have read several of the day's papers already. The books are nearly all novels. They are not read in time, and sometimes they give incidentally a superficial knowledge of things outside the personal experience of the reader, while from their newspapers the passengers draw a stock of information far beyond that of a European peasant or even of an average European artisan. Yet one feels that this constant succession of transient ideas none of them impressively though many of them startlingly stated all of them flitting swiftly past the mental sight as the trees flit past the eyes when one looks out of the car window,

is no more favourable to the development of serious intellectual interests and creative intellectual power than is the limited knowledge of the European artisan or peasant. Printing is by no means pure gain to the creative faculties, whatever it may be to the acquisitive, even as a great ancient thinker seems to have thought that the invention of writing in Egypt had weakened the reflective powers of man."

XIV NEED OF THE CRITICAL FACULTY

Criticism is lenient, and for a time it could scarcely be said to exist, for the few journals which contained good reviews were little read except in four or five Northern Atlantic States, and several inland cities. A really active and searching criticism, which should appraise literary work on sound canons, not caring whether it has been produced in America, or in Europe, by a man or by a woman, in the East or in the West is one of the things which America needed and the rise of which is a thing to be welcomed. Among highly educated men this extravagant appreciation of native industry used to produce a disgust expressing itself sometimes in sarcasm, sometimes in despondency. Some still deem their home-grown literature trivial and occupy themselves with European books watching the presses of England, France and Germany more carefully than almost anyone does in England. Yet even these, I think, cherish silently the faith that when the West has been settled and the railways built, and possibilities of sudden leaps to wealth diminished when culture has diffused itself among the classes whose education is now superficial, and their love of art extended itself from furniture to pictures and statuary, American literature will in due course flower out with a brilliance of bloom and a richness of fruit rivaling the Old World."

DEPRESSING EFFECT OF THE WANT OF AN INTELLECTUAL CAPITAL

'The United States is the only great country in the world which has no capital. By a capital I mean a city which is not only the seat of political government, but is also by the size, wealth and character of its population the head and centre of the country, a leading seat of commerce and industry, a reservoir of financial resources, the favoured residence of the great and powerful, the spot in which the chiefs of the learned professions are to be found, where the most potent and widely read journals are published, whether men of literary and scientific capacity are drawn. The heaping together in such a place of these various elements of power, the conjunction of the forces of rank, wealth, knowledge, intellect, naturally makes such a city a sort of foundry in which opinion is melted and cast where it receives that definite shape in which it can be easily propagated and diffused through the whole country, deriving not only

an authority from the position of those who form it but a momentum from the weight of numbers in the community whence it comes. The opinion of such a city becomes powerful politically because it is that of the persons who lie at headquarters who hold the strings of Government in their hands who either themselves rule the state or are in close contact with those who do.

In the field of art and literature the influence of a great capital is no less marked. It gathers to a centre the creative power of the country and subjects it to the criticism of the best instructed and most polished society. The constant action and reaction upon one another of groups of capable men in an atmosphere at once stimulative to invention and corrective of extravagance may give birth to works which isolated genius could hardly have produced. Goethe made this observation as regards Paris contrasting the centralised society of France with the dispersion of the elements of culture over the wide area of his own Germany. Now conceive a city like Paris where the highest talents of a great kingdom are all assembled in a single spot and by daily intercourse strife and emulation mutually instruct and advance each other where the best works both of nature and art from all kingdoms of the earth are open to daily

inspection—conceive this metropolis of the world 1833, where every walk across a bridge or across a square recalls some mighty past and where some historical event is connected with every corner of a street. In addition to all this conceive not the Paris of a dull spiritless time but the Paris of the nineteenth century, in which during three generations such men as Moliere, Voltaire, Diderot and the like have kept up such a current of intellect as can not be found twice in a single spot on the whole world and you will comprehend that a man of talent like Ampere who has grown up amid such abundance can easily be something in his four and twentieth year (*conversations with Eckermann*). The same idea of the power which a highly polished and strenuously active society has to educe and develop brilliant gifts underlies the memorable description which Pericles gives of Athens. And if it be suggested that the growth of such a centre may impoverish the rest of a country because the concentration of intellectual life tends to diminish the chances of variability and establish too uniform a type some compensation for any such loss may be found in the higher efficiency which such a society gives to the men of capacity whom it draws into its own orbit.

A

SHIVANATH SHASTRI M A

I

THE life of Rammohan Roy (1773-1833) exactly bridges the Dark Age in the history of modern India namely the period from Warren Hastings to Lord William Bentinck. At its commencement the old order was dead, and decency and public health alike required its quick burial. In the late 18th century, Mughal civilisation (which had once worked wonders for us in the spheres of life and thought) was like a spent bullet. Its force was utterly exhausted; it could serve the nation no longer. Its representatives both Hindus and Muhammadans were (with a few exceptions) unworthy to conduct the administration to give the law or to lead thought. The disappearance of the good left only its evil elements free to flourish in society. Our record in that age is one of which no lover of India

can be proud, and the hope of India's future lay not in the hands of what was then known as Indian civilisation but which was really the last stage of the moribund Mughal culture. The relentless law of evolution worked itself through the foreigners who hardly knew that they were entrusted with India's destiny. In the interests of efficiency and public good, the Indians were totally excluded from the public service, the command of the army and the control of education. The future seemed hopelessly dark to the great grandsons of Aurangzeb's generals and ministers, poets and scholars. They seemed to be doomed to live on as Pariahs or coolies (though unindentured) till the extinction of their race from the face of the globe.

Such was the outlook for India in the

infancy of Ram Mohan Roy. But when he closed his eyes in death the Eastern horizon was suffused with the unmissable crimson of a new dawn. Indians were again taking—or, rather, just beginning to take—a legitimate share in the honourable and obligatory work of their country's government, the guidance of their country's thought and the shaping of their countrymen's lives. But these were Indians of a new breed, the children of a culture other than that of Akbar and Shah Jahan. They drew their inspiration and their strength not from the East but from the West. They had acquired *English* learning and thus truly equipped themselves for the work of the modern age. They were the first fruits of the Indian Renaissance and their Prophet was Ram Mohan Roy.

But this Renaissance as might have been expected from the nature of the case and the analogy of the European Renaissance was at first purely intellectual and confined to the Upper Ten. It took time for the new spirit to filtrate down to the masses and to leaven our society, literature and daily life as well as our thoughts. A number of black publicservants, doctors, teachers and journalists were produced who almost equalled the Europeans in efficiency and modern knowledge while doing the work at a quarter of the cost of white labour. The new learning however did not at first modify our social relations, our general outlook upon life, our literary ideals and methods, our religious doctrines and practices.

But as surely as the Renaissance in Europe was followed by a Reformation, such a modification of our life and faith was bound to come. The life of Shivanath Shastri (1847-1919) exactly spans the three score years and ten between Sir Henry Hardinge and Lord Chelmsford, between the first feeble hesitating and sometimes grotesque attempts to translate the new learning into our life and our society and the present day when the ultimate victory of Reform is a clear certainty (though not yet in accomplished fact) when the old order knows itself hopelessly beaten and the cracks in that grey Petrified

Cathedral (*Achalayatn*) our Hindu society have dangerously widened and are threatening the loosening of stone from stone. But happily the problem of the reconstruction of a New India has already been solved in the domains of literature, art, education, politics, thought—and in a less clear and less complete form in society and religion too. The entire dissolution of the old order today will not leave us in anarchy, its successor is ready and partly trained to take the task of social progress from the hands of the dying past. Our work in the last 72 years has been constructive in a high degree and never wantonly destructive for the old order has been dying a slow natural and almost imperceptible death. The life of Shivanath Shastri bridges this chasm and in the construction of a newer and better India which is the glorious achievement of these 72 years he took a leading part.

He was born in 1847 at a time when not a single social reform like Widow remarriage, Enforced monogamy, Inter-caste marriage, Adult marriage &c. was even talked of—when not a single newspaper influencing *political* opinion or educating the *people* was published by any Indian—when not a single work was produced in that marvellous amalgam of the East and the West which is called modern Bengali literature—when not a single religious sect was *organised* that translated the quiescence of Hinduism into action in its daily life and practice—when the Indians had no political association of their own, no articulate voice, no clear or recognised aim even in the shaping of their country's destiny—when University education was unknown in the land and original research not even dreamt of. And he lived to see them all and to contrive just as near as he could his own part in all of them.

II

Shivanath Bhattacharya came of a Vaishya Brahman family of a village 20 miles south-east of Calcutta. His ancestors had long maintained the tradition of honourable poverty and learning in their village and his great-grandfather Ramji Nyayalankar was one of the fore-

most Sanskrit theologians of his time. Young Shivanath (born on 31 January 1847), came to Calcutta and joined the school department of the Sanskrit College in 1856. The poverty and undesirable surroundings and company in the midst of which his boyhood and early youth were passed, have been graphically portrayed by him in his Autobiography and his novel *Jugantar*. They left deep scars on his mind and features to the end of his days. But the unquenchable love of truth and righteousness of this Brahman had carried him to safety in the end, in spite of a fall here and there due to the utter ignorance of childhood. To the sufferings he underwent in his student days must be ascribed the early break-down of his health, which was but imperfectly counter-balanced by his "poor Brahman" hardness and abstinence and his indefatigable energy laughing to scorn the weakness of the flesh. The memory of his unhappy student life was probably the most potent cause of his being a life-long active and successful advocate of the improvement of the physical and moral surroundings of Calcutta student life, the religious instruction of school boys, and the introduction of an element of kindness, personal magnetism, and domestic sweetness into the relations between pupil and teacher in the modern English schools and colleges of India. His exceptionally keen intelligence made him do well at examinations in spite of his privations and the acidity and dyspepsia which seized him in early life (as he told me) in consequence of his having to bolt a reeking dish of rice and *dal* early in the day, run to the bus-rendezvous at Kalighat, and again run from the bus-terminus at Bowbazar to the Sanskrit College. His hard-earned scholarship maintained during the strenuous struggle with poverty, when his father cut him off for having embraced Brahmoism. From 1862 Shivanath had begun to attend the lectures of Keshav Chandra Sen, the most powerful preacher of Brahmoism at the time, who had cast a spell over the hearts of our English-educated youth; in 1865 Shivanath began to find consolation, amidst his manifold woes

and anguish of heart, in communion with God in the privacy of sincere prayer, and in August 1869 he was publicly initiated as a Brahmo on the day of the opening of Keshav Chandra Sen's Church.

Young Shivanath flung himself heart and soul into all kinds of liberal movements—social, political, religious, educational, temperance &c.,—under the inspiring guidance of Keshav.

Miss it was in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven.

That was the true dawn of our Reformation: The number of the benevolent societies they started and their heavy "infant mortality," may raise a smile on the face of the modern reader. But they speak of the boundless energy and dauntless enthusiasm of Shivanath and his colleagues, no less than of their lack of common sense and ignorance of the character of their countrymen. But I am quite sure that Shivanath would have done it over again, even if he had possessed in his youth all the mature knowledge and sad experience of his manhood.

He took his M.A. degree in 1872 and served for some years as a very successful Head master in Government high schools. But in March 1878 he resigned, sacrificed his prospects, and devoted himself to a life of poverty to further the cause of Brahmoism and public improvement. Immediately afterwards came the Kuch Bihar marriage and the disruption of the Brahmo Samaj. Keshav was made an inspired Prophet by his zealous disciples and he did not reject their adoration. The "Left wing" of the Brahmo Samaj could not tolerate man-worship in the late 19th century; they separated from him. The split, inevitable in any case from Keshav's autocratic ways, was precipitated by the incursion of the Extreme Left of the Reformers,—the East Bengal Highlanders (if I may be pardoned this outrage on our country's geography) with their battle-cry of the liberty and equality of women. What a keen pang the separation from his Master must have caused to Shivanath we can easily imagine from his character and spirit of service,

But it was a stern necessity. In 1879 the foundation of the democratic *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj* was laid and the building opened in January 1881. This Church is the creation of Anandamohan Bose, Durgamohan Das and Shivanath Shastri and its history during the next quarter century is the fittest biography of Shivanath. Because he was its intellectual exponent, its highest preacher and writer, its universally respected Minister (*acharya*) at home and its representative and champion abroad.

His high scholarship, his saintly character, his tireless energy and unobtrusive self-effacement drew round him a band of the most promising young workers—men like Promoda Charan Sen and Satish Chandra Chakravarti—who adored him even as he had adored Keshav in his youth. In the perennial supply of such worthy recruits lies the future growth and even life of the Brahmo Samaj.

To the outer public Shivanath Shastri's greatness lay in his work as teacher, writer and preacher. His literary and educational achievements are his richest contributions to the life of New India. The City School in its best days was the embodiment of his spirit and represents the first successful attempt to transplant modern English educational ideals to the Indian soil. How hard, how lovingly, how efficiently he worked as Secretary of this school in its infancy is known only to its earliest pupils, among whom the present writer was one. As a writer Shivanath's sermons created a new style of pulpit oratory in Bengal—simple but dignified, closely reasoned but not dry, fervent but not unrestrained, moral but not goody-goody. His novels are a source of pure delight and the only ones that father and daughter can read together and yet they have high value as



Pandit Shivanath Sastri M A (In his youth)

art (though falling short of perfection) and they never degenerate into sermons. As a journalist he did yeoman's service to the Brahmo Church for many long years, editing both the Bengali and English organs of his brethren, while his charming character sketches of the great men he had known are familiar to the readers of this Review. His *Ramtanu Lahiri* and *His Times* is a storehouse of historic information which no student of our Renaissance can afford to ignore.

III

Why was Shivanath Shastri never a national leader or All India something? The reason is partly personal and partly general. He was too modest,

too retiring he shunned the drawing room and the political platform alike he loved to wrestle not with a political opponent in the *pandal* or the press but with the world the flesh and the Devil in the solitude of prayer He kept no private secretary inspired no personal paragraphs in the daily papers never even became director of a Swadeshi Joint stock Bank or Factory A potential great man with such antiquated prejudices cannot be labelled as a twentieth century Indian Nation builder

Within the Brahmo Samaj itself he was a power only by reason of his character and intellect and not by reason of his status or following This was the consequence of the evolution through which the Samaj is passing The fiery unkempt John Knox type of Brahmo preacher which was so much to the front in the eighties of the last century has disappeared Even the sons of the East Bengal Highlanders have become city bred toned down respectable house owners not lacking the sense of humour The smooth shaven smug Clapham suburban villa type of Non conformist of the mid Victorian era now seems to rule the Samaj The society which congregates in the church now demands a high standard of living and that means the possession of wealth Shivanath never sought wealth

With another class of our people the successful preacher is the facile rhetorician

who can appeal to the emotions raise a mist of tears of *bhakti* among his audience and (metaphorically) drown reason and individual judgment in the roar of a Vaishnav *kirtan* This type was affected by the Keshavites in their latter days But Shivanath would neither dance the ecstatic dance in the street nor foam in the mouth and prophesy The scanty character in India has a natural tendency to gravitate to the celibate *sanyasi* type (whether living in his own house or under the banyan tree is immaterial) Shivanath however was a man of action and the father of a family He therefore could not satisfy the adorers of the Bhaykrishna Goswami or Ramkrishna Paramhansa type

But the disappearance of such a fearless lover of truth and righteousness such a sincere believer and devout leader in prayer is specially to be regretted at the present day The third generation from converts becomes atheists The spring tide of theistic enthusiasm which marked the seventies and eighties of the last century has already begun to ebb

The Sea of faith
Was once too at the full and round earth's shore
Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furled
But now I only hear
Its melancholy long withdrawing roar
Retreating to the breath
Of the night wind down the vast edges drear
And naked shingles of the world

JADUNATH SARKAR

WAR WORK OF INDIANS IN BRITAIN

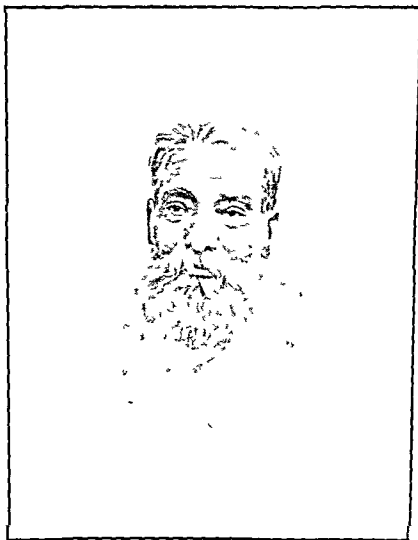
II

THE MILITARY EFFORT

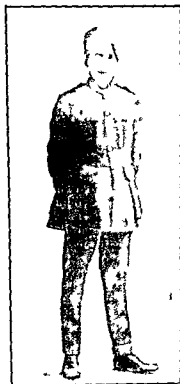
By MRS ST NIHAL SINGH

IN spite of their pretensions to know India even better than Indians themselves retired Anglo Indians who are ubiquitous in Britain felt exceedingly nervous about the attitude that Indians

in Britain and for that matter in India would assume towards the war Immediately after the hostilities commenced I heard many of them asking questions to ascertain what Indians in the United



Pandit Sivanath Sastri M.A. (in his old age)



B. Bonnerjee J. A. who served with the V. M. C. A. in France

Kingdom thought of the German attempt to dominate the world. The casual manner in which they made these enquiries did not conceal their anxiety.

Indians in Britain as in India did not keep the Anglo-Indians on the *qui vive* very long. Almost without thinking certainly without demanding any *quid pro quo* they decided to do all in their power to strengthen the British hand in the prosecution of the struggle.

India's determination made the British people at large almost delirious with joy. But there were Anglo-Indians in Britain as there were no doubt in India who were aghast at the prospect of members of a subject race hitherto to boot being transported to Europe to fight against Christian Europeans and even more so at the idea of Indians serving on terms of equality with the British rank and file.

These felt were dangerous precedents and might gravely interfere with the privileges and monopolies that they enjoyed as superior beings.

Indians at British Universities and Inns of Court found that war or no war they could not enter the Officers' Training Corps though their British fellow students no better than they were being freely admitted to obtain training to qualify as commissioned officers in the new small armies and if perchance they were able to secure the requisite training it was unlikely that in the end they would be given commissions.

Even medical commissions were not easy to obtain and many qualified Indians sought them in vain. After the tragic breakdown in Mesopotamia the



Jemal Arjun Singh who journeyed to England from Argentina to serve in France. He was attached to the Lahore General Hospital, Rothen and other Military Hospital for Indians.



Poresh Lal Roy who served as a private in the Honourable Artillery Company, and was in France almost from the beginning of the war

situation somewhat improved in regard to medical commissions. But even towards the end of the war when the shortage of medical men had become most acute, Indian medical men and medical students in this country were not taken in the Royal Army Medical Corps, though they

It is easy to obtain positions as House Officers in hospitals, and as *locum tenens* for British doctors who had gone into the army.

PRIVATEs AND N. C. O.'S.

Any Indian in the United Kingdom could, of course, volunteer. But so far as I could see, no one in authority showed any particular enthusiasm at their joining

the British army even as privates. Some Indian young men were actually refused admission into British Regiments. I am told, for instance, by Mr. Poresh Lal Roy (the eldest son of the Public Prosecutor of Calcutta) that 2nd Sportsman's Battalion and the Kensington Regiment, would not have him. And Poresh Lal had made a brilliant record as a sportsman while at a well-known public school in London, and at Cambridge!

How well I remember that in the early days of the war Indians keen upon fighting for the Empire were told that they could not expect to be admitted into the British Army, when there was a long line of Britons waiting to be enrolled as soon as there were vacancies in the Territorial establishment. It was pointed out to them, however, that, since the number of sick and wounded was bound to be very large, and the establishment for rendering medical relief was sure to prove inadequate, they would be able to render valuable service to their King and Empire by qualifying themselves as Red Cross workers.

Young Indians in Britain were, however, in no mood to be deflected from their purpose so easily. They felt that they were regarded as members of an inferior race—and even cowardly. Above all they desired equality of treatment—at any rate equality of opportunity to serve. In love for liberty and devotion to the common cause they yielded to none. In mental and moral qualities they *certainly did not lag* behind young Britons. Not a few of them had distinguished themselves on the cricket, hockey and football grounds and in golf and boxing, and had won many championships. What wonder that many of these young men felt that the suggestion that they should engage in medical relief instead of leading men in action, as British students no better fitted to do so than they were doing, was a reflection upon their mental, moral and physical qualities, and a veritable badge of racial and social inferiority!

Had not Indian leaders used all the persuasive powers that they possessed, it is quite possible that many of the Indian

students would have felt that if even in war time, they were not good enough to be treated on par with their British fellow students at Universities and Inns of Court they would simply stand aside and do nothing. Mr and Mrs Gandhi, Mrs Sarojini Naidu and Mr B N Basu were in Britain at the time and reinforced the effort made by the Indians more or less permanently settled in the United Kingdom to convince the young Indians that when a conflict was raging they should not think of their own dignity but should be willing to perform any service no matter how lowly that might be assigned to them. Their entreaties prevailed and a considerable number of Indians residing in the United Kingdom at the time placed their services unconditionally at the disposal of the Government.

This attitude made it possible to organise at the end of August 1914 a group of Indians whom Dr James Cantlie who befriended Dr Sun Yat Sen the Chinese



Private Arnold Nundy who served almost from the commencement of the war in the R.A.M.C.



Lt. Indra Lal Roy, I.P.C. R.A.F. who was killed while flying in France

partiot undertook to train for medical relief work. Towards the end of September it was decided to organise a Field Ambulance Training Corps in connection with the Red Cross Society of which I gave an account in my last article on this subject.

Among the young Indians in the United Kingdom there were however some who in spite of all obstacles were determined to press for the opportunity to fight. Sooner or later some of them got their chance.

One of these pioneers was Mr K. Bonarjee a grandson I believe of the late Mr Womesh Chunder Bonarjee. When hostilities commenced he was at Oxford and managed somehow to get into the Officers Training Corps. In the course of time he got a commission. All sorts of yarns are spun some plausible some otherwise to explain how this fair skinned



Mr. G. V. Utam Singh, an Indian Barrister, who was a member of the Indian Volunteer Corps, and later served as a special constable in London.

young Indian succeeded where others of his race had failed. And many amusing tales are told about the anxiety that his success caused to the caste that monopolised commissions. Whatever the truth of these yarns may be, this much is certain, that Lieutenant Bonarjee was sent out to Egypt where, I believe, he remained till the end of the campaign.

Mr. Kershap Ardesir Dadabhai Naoroji, the grandson of India's Grand Old man, did not get a commission, but left Christ's College (Cambridge) to join the Middlesex Regiment in 1915. He went out to France early in 1916, as a Lance Corporal, and later became a Sergeant. He was the hero of several daring exploits. On one

occasion, for instance, he bayoneted a German officer who had shot a wounded British Tommy. He was wounded in a charge and sent to a hospital in Cheshire, England. Upon recovering he was honourably discharged. Quite recently he was recommended for a Commission and sent to a Cadet Camp. But of that later.

Another under-graduate of Cambridge who, shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, joined the Honourable Artillery Company—the oldest regiment in Britain—was Poresch Lal Roy, to whom I have already referred. He spent three years in France, part of the time doing duty in the trenches with his unit, where he received a wound in 1915, and part of the time doing regimental transport work on roads exposed to shell fire, as will be seen later, towards the end of the war he was recommended for a Commission.

Jogendra Sen, who, as a scholar of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education for Indians, had taken the B. Sc., in Britain, joined the West Yorkshire Regiment as a private, and was killed while in action in France. He was given a military funeral and the officer of the Company in which he served wrote of him that he was one of the best in the Company, and "died like a soldier doing his duty and doing it well."

Another young Bengali who enlisted early in the war was Mr. A. K. Das Gupta, who was studying motor engineering in Britain when hostilities began. After a short training he was sent over to France, where he was attached to the transport section of the Army Service Corps, and rendered extremely useful service. A friend tells me that at present he is with the British Army of Occupation.

Mr. B. Muthu, the eldest son of Dr. Chowri Muthu, the great Indian tuberculosis specialist who maintains (for British patients) a large sanatorium at Wells, Somersetshire, and Mr. A. Nundy, the son of Dr. E. Nundy of Brixton, a suburb of London, gave up their medical studies in London and joined the British Army as Privates. Private Muthu, after serving in France for a time, was sent to Palestine, where he remained 'until

after the cessation of hostilities Private Nundy served in the Royal Army Medical Corps in France, and was required to perform multifarious duties including those of stretcher bearer, ambulance driver and hospital worker.

Hardly had young J Dalal reached military age, when he went to the recruiting office at Harrow where as a public school boy, he had greatly distinguished himself as a cricketer and volunteered for active service. I do not think that his people knew of his intention of joining the army until after he had been accepted. In course of time he went out to France and was in the last big push.

Mr D L Patwardhan a young Marathi who, through dint of self-exertion had become qualified as a marine engineer followed a different course from any of these young men. After serving for a time in the Sussex Yeomanry he secured admission into a Yeomanry training camp and in due course was recommended by his Commanding Officer for a commission. But he found that the powers that be would not have him. Thereupon he undertook to repair British submarines and later qualified as a machine gun expert and taught Britons how to make effective use of that weapon. Early this year he was given a commission in the Royal Air Force.

Arjan Singh a young Sikh who after serving in the Indian Army for several years had gone to the Argentine found on his arrival in England that not even a Viceroy's commission let alone a King's commission could be had. He thereupon went to France and stayed there for a few days hoping to find better luck. Disappointed he returned to England and began again to move Whitehall to find a place for him. After months of persistent effort he finally was made a Jemadar and was sent to one of the hospitals in Britain set apart for the treatment of wounded Indians. Later he was sent to the Indian hospital in France where he remained almost to the end of the war.

Another young Indian who came to Britain for purposes of fighting was Ajit Kumar Rudra son of the principal of St

Stephen's College Delhi. At the outbreak of hostilities he was receiving education at Trinity College Kandy. So fired was he with zeal that he managed to obtain funds for his passage and along with some Ceylonese young men journeyed to Britain. He joined the Royal Fusiliers in 1916 and was wounded in the battle of the Somme. After his recovery he returned to France and joined the band of Indians who, through the V M C A were making life pleasant for the Indian soldiers by providing them with amusement reading and writing their letters and petitions and in other ways looking after their comfort. As will be noticed later he was recommended for a commission a few months before the armistice was signed.

Several Indians who had enlisted in the Canadian and Australian expeditionary forces stayed for a time in Britain either to complete their training or on their way to France. The only one among them whom I met was Gurbachan Singh. Years ago after receiving his discharge from the Indian Army he went to Australia practically penniless unable to speak English but determined to succeed. A friendly Indian taught him the pedlar's trade and he went about the country hawking his wares until he had managed to save sufficient money to start a shop. When the war began he owned a large and prosperous store in New South Wales. But he was a Sikh and fighting was in his blood. He determined to go to the Western front as a soldier. Leaving his store in charge of a manager he succeeded after considerable difficulty in joining the Australian force. Even then he had to continue to bring pressure to bear to be sent abroad. While serving in France he got shell shock and had to be sent to Britain for treatment. Later he was discharged and went back to Australia. On reaching there he immediately sold his store and is at present in his beloved Punjab once more.

II OUR AIRMEN

In spite of all the rebuffs that they met in their efforts to obtain commissions in the Army a few young Indians refused to lose heart. They went patiently from the

officers One of them, Mr L K Roy (the youngest son of Mr P L Roy of Calcutta) has been sent to Sandhurst to undergo training along with five Indians who recently arrived from India The others Bonarjee, Rudra, and Mr V N Bhola Nauth, son of Colonel Bhola Nauth, until recently Assistant Director of Medical Service in Mesopotamia, were some time ago sent to Indore for training

From this survey it is clear that inspite of the most fervid Imperial patriotism and dogged determination shown by young

Indians in the United Kingdom, the powers that be have kept the door leading to military rank almost as tightly shut as when hostilities began It matters little to Indians whether one department or another in Whitehall is to blame What matters is that 19 months after His Majesty's Government announced with a flourish of trumpets that the colour bar had been removed, less than a dozen Indians have been given the opportunity of obtaining training in Britain to qualify themselves to become military officers

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

THE HOME AND THE WORLD by Rabindranath Tagore Translated into English (Macmillan) Pp 294+10 One dollar 75 cents

This novel of modern Indian life in the days of the great Swadeshi movement in Bengal is Rabindranath's reply to Arabindo Ghosh And thereby hangs a tale

Our wrestlers salam each other before they come to grips and so do our poets At the dawn of the present Nationalist agitation Tagore published a long poetical salutation to Arabindo in his best style *Arabinda Rabindrer Laha Namaskar* The inspired seer of Indian Nationalism was equally sweet on Rabindranath And then they began to spar

Tagore publicly denounced the cult of hatred violence and political jugglery taught by some of our Nationalist leaders This moral canker would he argued kill all our country's hopes in God's world nothing immoral nothing false can triumph in the end Arabindo (or more correctly his pal) replied in the *Lande Mataram* saying that such moral preaching was impractical that a great National regeneration can be effected only by rousing a whirl wind of passions that in the great churning of the Indian mind which must precede the construction of our new heaven poison and nectar alike must be expected to rise to the surface that we must awaken the entire man in India in passionate insurrection against the existing order and then somehow in the end the good will triumph over the evil of the Revolution Mr Bipin Chandra Pal also preached Rousseau's dangerous doctrine that the minority (here the East Bengal Muhammadans) must be compelled to be free that

those people who through ignorance or self interest cannot accept the Swadeshi cult must be coerced to join the Nationalist ranks in short that Rabindranath a dreamy poet living in an ethereal atmosphere far away from our real world was a preacher of love and sweetness (as Arabindo styled him) but a child in politics and our war with the Anglo-Indians a bureaucracy cannot be conducted in kid gloves

Rabindranath did not reply immediately The moral shock that he had received forced him to leave the Swadeshi camp and seek to heal his stricken heart in the rural quiet of Shanti Niketan But he

In meditation dwelt

And shaped his weapon with an edge severe

That reply is no polemical tract or platform oration but a novel—the *Home and the World* (*Ghare Baire*) the moral of which he who runs may read

Here in the corner of Bengal selected as the scene the fiery orator (Sundip Banerjee) openly preaches that all the baser passions of man must be roused if we are to save our country that copybook morality a sober decorous conduct on the part of our people will not serve this high purpose that the moral and intellectual elevation of our countrymen for ensuring true national union and love of independence is too slow a process and will be thwarted by the alien bureaucracy and that we have only to set fire to our house and the mysterious force of Goodness will somehow or other present us with a newer and better home as the result! He openly justifies force and fraud in the great cause of the Motherland He would shut his eyes to the enormous drag of so many millions of ignorant Muhammadans and depressed and instead of following the slow

but sure process of converting them elevating them making friends with them—he hoped to achieve a speedy success by hoodwinking them cooing them riding roughshod over them as negligible factors. The whole novel proves that these are not negligible factors and that a nationalistic India when not based upon strength of character hearty union and true obliteration of differences is a house built on sand. The storm came the rain descended and the Nationalist New Jerusalem fell (in Baisril) and tragic was the fall of it. With this tragedy the novel ends.

But Ravindranath is too clever an artist to write a sermon and label it as a novel. *The Home and the World* is much more than a political parable. Indeed readers ignorant of recent Bengal history will relish it none the less for altogether missing its political significance for the abiding interest of the book lies in its unfolding a grave human problem with Jane Austen's delicacy of touch and subtle analysis of character. The problem is how does the cloister virtue of the Hindu home fare in the wide world outside? Hitherto Hindu wives have led a sheltered life within the family circle. We have set up walls round them not so much out of suspicion as from a desire to protect them. We have been giving our daughters in marriage before they could know what temptation is. And they have been models of virtue. But how would such virtue stand the strain of the world outside the home walls where men and women move freely? Would not freedom under proper chaperoning in the early years have braced their characters and made them able to guard themselves like the free womanhood of the West or even of Maharashtra? The Irish girls carefully herded by Catholic priests in all their acts are models of virtue at home but the same Irish girl breaks down hopelessly when thrown on her own guardianship as an emigrant in New York because she has never been taught to take care of her self.

Queen Bee the heroine of our novel at home is all that a wife should be. But as soon as she enters the world her unformed character imperceptibly driven by the irresistible force environment and incident into a stage of development which ruins her home and appals her own self. Dr. Tagore's pitiless scalpel has dissected her heart at every step of this tragic change and herein lies his literary craftsmanship. Oddly enough some vernacular writers have denounced this novel as a plea for free love and the wrecking of a wedded life.

Apart from its personal and deeper significances as described by me above can we not detect in the novel an ironical laughter of Tagore? Is not he here telling his opponents in the Swadeshi camp that he has renounced you justify force and fraud in imposing Swadeshi on the unwilling ignorant minority. How could you like to see the same means

employed for a personal purpose to win an ignorant woman living within the circle of the home? Can the rules of private morality be easily abused in politics?

JADUNATH SARKAR

STUDIES IN MUGHAL INDIA *Jadunnath Sarkar*
M A Pp 313, M C Sircar & Sons Calcutta
Rs 2

Professor Sarkar needs no introduction to the public. The present volume is the second edition of his *Historical Essays* with no less than twelve new essays on various topics. Written in his usual simple and graceful style Professor Sarkar's essays are very charming indeed. He possesses that rare gift of making highly learned subjects easily intelligible and productions of his mature scholarship as they are these essays will be equally interesting to the serious student and lay readers. Here will they find all that is known about the daily life of two great Mughal Emperors the revenue regulations of Aurangzeb, some account of Art and Education in Muhammadan India, the education of a Mughal prince and also learned treatises on various other historical topics. To these have also been added biographical sketches of two great Hindu Historians of Medieval India Bhimsen and Ishwardas Nagar, William Guine a European scholar and Khuda Baksh the Indian Bodley. Such a work would have gone through several editions in a single year in Europe but here in India it will be considered a great thing that it has seen a second edition at all. Every student of Indian History should provide himself with a copy, as the price is within the means of almost all.

S N S

GUJARATI

SAKSHAR JIVAN (साक्षर जीवन) *the life*
Govardhanram Madhavram Tripathi B 1
LL B printed at the Ananya Sagar Press
Bombay and published by his son Ramanu-
ram G Tripathi Bombay. Cloth bound with
a coloured photo of the writer. Pp 309 Price
Rs 2 (1919)

A melancholy interest attaches to this publication as the writer died before he could complete it. It first appeared about eighteen years ago as a magazine article in the quarterly Samalochak and at the time attracted the attention of several thinkers by the philosophical aspect which was lent to it owing to the writer's predilection for the subject. However as it was essentially a theme for those who were learned and cultured it lay in that shape till young Ramanujaram conceived the idea of bringing it out as a separate book. In addition to the deep learning displayed by the late Mr. Tripathi in elucidating the literary life lived by the Indians of old specially such notable scholars as Vyasa and Vishishta the present publication in the introduction contributed to it

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

**Mr Jayaswal's Discovery of two
Saisunaga statues**

Mr Jayaswal claims to have discovered in the two statues still in the Bharhut gallery of the Indian Museum the portrait statues of two Saisunaga Kings Udayin and Nandivardhan. Mr O C Gangoly has given a history of their discovery and a full summary of Mr Jayaswal's arguments in the October number of this Review. Discovered by Buchanan in the second decade of the last century these statues had hitherto attracted very little attention and been rightly or wrongly supposed to be the images of two Yakshas on the authority of the Late General Cunningham who read the inscriptions on the scarfs as Yakhe Achu Sati (or ni) giri and Yakhe Sanatananda. Mr Jayaswal however has rejected this reading and offered another. According to him the inscriptions should be read as Bhage Acho Chhoni dhise and Sapakhate Vata Nandi. He tells us that Acho and Vata are but variants of Aja and Varti and from the Puranas as well as the Pradyota list of the Kings of Avanti it can be proved that these were but other names of Udayin and Nandi Vardhan respectively. From the Pratima Natakam of Bhaskar it appears that in olden days custom demanded that portrait statues of departed kings should be installed in family temples. The script of the inscriptions was pre-Asokan as the two strokes alphabets of the Asoka inscriptions were undoubtedly a decadent form and therefore a later evolution of the three strokes alphabets of the inscriptions in question. From purely art consideration Mr Arun Sen has (according to Mr Jayaswal) arrived at the conclusion that these are specimens of pre-Mauryan sculpture. All these severally and collectively go to prove according to Mr Jayaswal that these two statues represent the Saisunaga Kings Udayin and Nandi Vardhan.

Mr R D Banerji accepts the identification but he is of opinion that the inscription cannot be earlier than the first century B C.

Mr O C Gangoly like a true art critic refrains from passing any opinion on the age of inscriptions but by comparing the two statues in question with two other images of known date and character he upholds the view of Cunningham. He is of opinion that these are by no means in living portrait statues they represent two Yakshas and in support of his view quotes the authority of no other specialist but Mr Arun Sen again.

In the meantime Mr Jayaswal's reading

also has been challenged by two lecturers of the Calcutta University. Mr Rama Prasad Chandra and Dr Ramesh C Majumdar have offered different readings of these two inscriptions in the March number of the Indian Antiquary. While differing in their readings both Mr Chandra and Dr Majumdar agree about the age of the script they are strongly of opinion that the characters of the epigraphs have striking resemblance with the Brahmi character of the Kushan Age. In support of their view the two scholars give many references to old inscriptions which however will not be intelligible to the ordinary reader.

The epigraphs according to Mr Chandra should be read as Bhagya Achachha Nivika and Yakha Sarvata Nandi. But Dr Majumdar opines that they simply give the date of the Statues and should be read as Gate Lechchhiat (vi) 40 4 (the year 44 of the Lechchhavis having expired) and Yakhe Sam Vyayam 70 (the figure of a Yaksha (made) in the year 70 of the Vajus).

Dr Majumdar further argues that even if Mr Jayaswal's reading is correct his identification cannot be accepted. His interpretation of the Puranas for example is untenable as Ajayah Smriti in the Bhagavata Purana means remembered as Ajayah (invincible) and not known as Aja. Consequently Udayin should not be identified with Aja. As for the identification of Nandi Vardhan with Varti Varta or Vata Dr Majumdar says—There are no doubt historical instances of kings possessing double names. Thus Chandragupta II was also known as Deva Gupta and Vighraharjuna had a second name Surapala. But who has ever heard of compound names like Chandra Deva or Deva Chandra and Suravighraha or Vighraha Suraj.

Mr Jayaswal therefore stands alone in his double contention that the statues are portrait statues and the epigraphs are pre-Mauryan. Mr R D Banerji concedes that the identification is correct but he is not ready to assign to the epigraphs an earlier date than the first century B C. Mr Chandra and Dr Majumdar reject the pre-Mauryan date and the identification altogether. Mr O C Gangoly is convinced that the statues are but icons and apparently Mr Arun Sen has also changed his opinion. It is therefore high time for Mr Jayaswal to come forward to defend his reading and theory. Ancient Indian History is daily becoming more and more popular at Calcutta and I think every one interested in the subject is eagerly awaiting Mr Jayaswal's reply.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Science of Politics in the Matsya Purana

Mr Jnan Chandra Banerji, M.A., D.L., has contributed to the *Hindustan Review* six very learned and discriminating articles on 'Social Life in the Pauranic Age'. In the last of these he says that the science of politics has engaged the attention of some of the Puranas, and that in the Matsya Purana some chapters are devoted to the subject. He then summarises some of the teachings and maxims contained therein.

There are two paths of knowledge—the straight and the crooked. The crooked path should be learnt but should never be put in use except when it is resorted to by others when crookedness should be met by crookedness. One should not confide too much even in a trustworthy person. Tried servants should be disguised as Sannyasins for gathering secret information. Spies should assume the disguise of merchants, ministers, fortune tellers, physicians, and Sannyasins. After making a careful study of the acts which either please or offend the people a king should eschew such acts as are repugnant to them. Kings become prosperous through the affection of the people and hence virtuous kings should act in such a way as to enhance their popularity. A prince must be taught to tell pleasant lies instead of being a stickler for veracity. Even Indra cannot bear the brunt of a united attack unless there is division in the camp, hence politicians praise a policy of divide and rule. Even a king as powerful as Indra is ruined by internal dissensions. One should reside in a country where the king is powerful and virtuous and the citizens are united and walk in the path of justice. A king who exacts more than one-sixth as revenue from his subjects partakes of the character of a thief. A tribute of the sixth part of the produce has been fixed as the salary of the king for protecting his subjects. If the king after taking this tribute does not protect his subjects properly he is guilty of theft. The seven deadly sins of a king are—passion for hunting, gambling, excessive sexual indulgence, drinking, financial extravagance, habitual use of harsh language and fondness for severe punishments. A strict system of espionage should be maintained by the king even over his own sons, ministers, the harem and the kitchen. Agents provocateurs should be employed to betray unfaithful ladies in the zenana. The ministers should be learned Brahmins. The king should build six kinds of

fortification, i.e. fortresses guarded by water by earth by trees by forests by desert and by mountains.

Fatalism and Manly Endeavour

In the same article Mr J. C. Banerji writes—

Discussions on the relative merits of Daiva (fate, destiny) and Purushakṛta (human initiative and enterprise) occur here and there in the Puranas. Those who are devoid of manly enterprise look up only to destiny, with the result that in the fulness of time it is fate alone that triumphs in their case. Though rainfall depends upon destiny, there can be no cultivation without human effort, so man must put forth his energies in all cases. Not to make the attempt under the belief that achievement is beyond reach leads in itself to the greatest loss. Instead of allowing his energy to run to waste man should always take the initiative for success depends both upon fate and one's own efforts.

A New Plan of Scholarships

From *Indian Education* we learn that the City of Wakefield has lately introduced a new method of awarding scholarships to promising pupils.

Instead of holding a competitive examination every year and giving a limited number of scholarships to those who came out at the head of the list, the Education Committee has decided that the number of scholarships shall not be limited save by the number of pupils who are seen to be fit to receive further education. It has often happened that a pupil's chance of gaining a scholarship has depended unduly upon the chance of a strong field of competitors. The new scheme will remove this hazard and as the result of each examination those who have acquitted themselves well will have the opportunity of going on to a secondary school from the elementary school. At the age of 15 those who are showing continued promise will receive a maintenance grant to compensate their parents for the loss of their children's earnings and at the age of 18 those who are found to be fit to undertake a university course with profit will receive a further and larger grant enabling them to enter a university. This method of awarding scholarships is expected to cost the city at least

five hundred thousand a year when it is in full working order. The scheme is in strict accord with the desire so frequently expressed at meetings of working class organisations to the effect that our educational system shall provide a broad road for all children who show themselves to have ability. The only present drawback to the scheme is that it does not provide for cases of late development. It often happens that a boy who has reached the leaving age at an elementary school has not yet shown the power which is latent within him and it is to be hoped that all future schemes of scholarships will provide a means of ready access to the universities for able students from our new continuation schools. These institutions still linger but when they are established it will be of the greatest possible importance to prevent them from becoming so narrowly vocational that they afford no outlet for ability which is not strictly technical.

The spirit underlying this new method is opposite to that of the bureaucratic method prevalent in India. Here the officially approved idea is to raise the tuition fees higher and higher and then to pretend that poor boys of ability have been given sufficient opportunity and opening by the grant of a very small and limited number of scholarships.

America's Fight Against Venereal Disease

Young Men of India quotes an article from the *New Republic* of New York on 'The Fight Against Venereal Disease' which observes—

When the history of America's participation in the great war comes to be written no finer achievement will be recorded to her credit than the unending battle against sex indulgence and venereal disease in the Army. The success of the efforts to repress prostitution on this side of the Atlantic are already fairly well known. Now that peace has come some account can be given of the measures taken by General Pershing to protect the American Expeditionary Forces from this menace.

The Federal Government has pledged its word that as far as care and vigilance can accomplish the result the men committed to its charge will be returned to the homes and communities that so generously gave them with no scars except those won in honourable conflict. These were the words of President Wilson in April 1918. Through the Surgeon-general of the Army and the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities the Government has put a programme for combating prostitu-

tion and venereal diseases without parallel in any other country. It was founded on the proved principle that sexual continence was not only possible for soldiers but was also highly desirable from the standpoint of physical efficiency, morals and morale. Its chief features were education of the men, repression of disorderly resorts, provision of healthful interesting and constructive recreation, prophylaxis, or early treatment for men who had exposed themselves, punishment for those exposed who failed to take prophylaxis, and finally expert treatment for those who either came into the army already infected or broke through all the barriers set up by the military authorities.

Venereal Disease in India.

In India the subject of venereal disease has not yet received the attention which, from the physical and moral havoc caused by it, it deserves. But it has begun to receive attention. Prof K F Shah of Mysore contributes a very plain spoken article on the subject to the *Social Service Quarterly* of Bombay. He very rightly condemns the iniquitous practice of parents getting their profligate sons married to pure girls, in the hope that thereby the young men may be cured of their profligacy. What is even worse, the parents sometimes even educated parents of high character, of these girls agree to such marriages. Professor Shah suggests the passing of a law allowing of divorce on the ground of infection from venereal disease. The suggestion would certainly deserve the serious consideration of legislators as soon as a practical means were pointed out for the honourable support of the wife and her children if any.

Diminishing Number of Hindus

In the course of a well informed statistical article on 'Infant Mortality in India' contributed to the *Vedic Magazine* an Indian publicist shows by the following table how Hindus and Jains have decreased and Musalmans, Sikhs and Christians have increased in three decades—

NUMBER PER 10 000 OF POPULATION				
	1881	1891	1901	1911
Hindus	1881	1891	1901	1911
Sikhs	7432	7231	7034	6931
	73	67	75	96

Runs	18	43	43	40
Mohammedans	1974	1396	2122	2126
Christians	71	79	99	124

Franchise for Indian Women

The *Indian Review* prints the memorandum submitted to the joint parliamentary committee by Mrs Sirojini Naidu in support of franchise for Indian women. Therein she eloquently and rightly pleads

I do not exaggerate when I assert that there is no summit to which she might not aspire or attain in any sphere of our National energy or enterprise unhampered save by the limitation of her own personal ambition and ability.

Wherein has her sex disqualified the Indian woman or disinherited her from the rich honours she has earned in equal emulsi on and comradeship with her brother in every field of intellectual or patriotic endeavour.

In our universities she has won brilliant distinction in the arts and sciences, medicine, law and oriental learning. She holds office in the Courts and Senates of Universities like Bombay University, the Hindu University of Benares and the Women's University of Poona and the National University.

She has evinced her creative talent in literature and music, she has proved her consummate tact and resource in administering vast properties and intricate affairs and demonstrated beyond all question her marvellous capacity to organise and sustain great educational institutions and large philanthropic missions for social service. She has been pre-eminently associated with the political life of the country, uplifting the voice of her indignation against all measures of unjust and oppressive legislation like the Partition of Bengal, the Press Act, the Defence of India Bill and the Rowlatt Bill. She has accorded her cordial support to all beneficial social and economic measures like Gokhale's Bill for free and compulsory education, the Civil Marriage Bill of Mr Basu, the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill of Mr Patel and the Swadeshi Movement inaugurated by my friend and leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and all efforts to ameliorate the condition of the depressed and afflicted members of our Society.

Moreover not only has she participated in the programmes of our great periodic National Assemblies like the National Congress, the Muslim League, the Social Reform and Social Service Conferences but has not infrequently been called upon to guide their deliberations, direct their policies, harmonise their differences and unite their ideals towards a common goal of self-realisation.

She knows and says that 'it is the

purdah which constitutes the chief weapon in the armoury of opposition against franchise for Indian women. But she is ready with her own defensive weapons too.

I readily concede that it might in its initial stages seriously inconvenience and complicate the electoral system and perhaps even be attended with temporary danger of fraudulent votes.

Although it is no part of either my mandate or my reason to ask for any concession or preferential treatment for women, I am still constrained to say that I fail to understand when the interests of small political minorities of men are safeguarded with a scrupulous care why it might not be possible in course of time to extend a similar chivalrous consideration to the *Purdah* nashin in those local and limited areas where this custom is rigidly enforced for I am sure that her vote would usually be exercised with intelligence and discretion and prove a valuable acquisition to the country.

With out discussing the merits or demerits of this old social custom I am convinced that like the other all time honoured but already obsolete social observances and usages the *Purdah* system can no longer remain immutable but must readjust itself to the needs and demands of a widespread national re-awakening. And after all the terrors of the polling booth would scarcely daunt the *Purdah* nashin who in the course of her religious pilgrimages habitually encounters immense multitudes and becomes no more than a casual unit of a heterogeneous pilgrim democracy.

What however of the unquestered women of Malabar and Madras the Maharashtra and Gujarat and the Central Province? Of the enlightened women of the Parsi, Sikh and Christian Communities of the Arya Samaj of Punjab and the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal? Whether the franchise be one of literacy or of property their inclusion would in no wise disturb or deflect the normal electoral arrangements.

Indian Cottage Industries and London Stores

Mr H W Wolff, author of 'Co operation in India,' points out in the course of an article in the *Wealth of India* how the products of Indian cottage industries may have a market in England. He says that the great London stores now have as a standing feature a "Japanese Department in which goods of Japanese make, mostly hand made products of cottage industries are offered for sale and sell well. Mr Wolff asked the manager of

one of these London stores, why there should not be also a corresponding "Indian Department" in his giant establishment.

The British public are at present distinctly under the influence of a patriotic sentiment which makes them purchase zealously by preference articles made under the shadow of the Union Jack. And encouragement of Indian cottage industries so added would be a work of laudable patriotism. The manager's reply was this that in the first place Indian Cottage Industries are not organised as Japanese are. There appears to be no cohesion no co-ordination among them there are no offers—at any rate in a collective shape. In the second place the Japanese goods offered are goods of established utility which are in demand and are accordingly readily bought up. Indian Cottage made goods offered are not of the same useful description. But the gentleman offered to meet me to this extent. Supposing that an offer were made to him of useful Indian Cottage made goods not mere knickknacks on sale or return he would be ready as an experiment to make a good show of them to see how such business would answer. If it did answer it stands to reason that he would gladly make a standing feature of it. And if he were to do this quite evidently his competitors in the large store line would be compelled to follow suit. In this way a market in this country would come to be established. Now the question is in the first place whether Indian cottage industries can be so handled as to make them produce articles of the kind required offered through one agency in sufficient bulk and in the second whether persons capacitated by their means to stand the risk could be found to shoulder the risk of the venture. Seeing how great would be the benefit to India if the venture were to succeed one would think that there must be a sufficient number of such both in India and in this country to give their guarantee. It is for India to begin. If a good start is made there we shall be able to bestir ourselves here.

There is in Calcutta a society for the encouragement of home industries and probably there are similar societies in other cities. They should take up Mr Wolff's suggestion.

Captain D. L. Richardson on the Hindu's Receptiveness

Mr Gokulnath Daar quotes in his fourth article in the *Educational Review* (Madras) on "Some Indian Educationists Bengal" the following tribute which Captain D. I. Richardson paid to the "receptiveness of the Hindu in nd

A teacher of Hindu youth has a singularly easy task to perform. It is impossible to be extravagant in an estimate of the young Hindu intellect. He must be a dull teacher, indeed from whom a Hindu student would learn nothing. If I had had my own countrymen to teach instead of young Hindus I certainly never should have been half so successful an instructor as you are pleased to regard me. It was my extreme good fortune to have to deal with pupils whom almost any grown Englishman of ordinary education could teach the literature of the West—in fact they almost taught themselves. They are not like the waggoner in Aesop's Fables who implored Jupiter to help him to get his waggon out of the deep rut. Oh no my man said the god you must put your own shoulder to the wheel. The native student is always ready to put his own shoulder to the wheel and save his teacher all unnecessary labour.

A fair minded teacher would now admit that the Indian student has originality as well as receptiveness.

Hospitals in Medieval South India

In an article in *Everymans Review* on "Educational Foundations in Medieval South India" Rao Sahib Prof S. Krishna swamy Aiyangar, M.A., says that an inscription of Rajendra Chola of 11th century A.D., from a village in the South Arcot District called Ennuyiram, makes provision for an educational institution attached to the temple in the locality.

This record makes further provision for a free school (*Dharmapalli*). It also provides for three water sheds.

This gives us clearly to understand that institutions whose object was education—such as education was understood to be about eight hundred years from our date—did exist and something like even free schools were known in those days. It may be noted that Rajendra Chola's reign extended from A.D. 1011 to A.D. 1042 and possibly A.D. 1044.

A MEDIEVAL HOSPITAL

Another interesting record referring to the reign of another of the great Chola rulers of the eleventh century, Virra Rajendra Deva, gives the details of the provision made for a hospital, a school and a hostel from the funds assigned to a temple in the first instance.

Among the structures added to the temple by this Virra Madhava was the *Jagannath Mandapa* in which was located the school for the study of the Vedas, the Sastras, Grammar, Rupa-vatara &c. and a hostel for students and a hospital. The students were provided with

food, with oil for bathing on Saturdays and with oil for lamps. The hospital was named *Vira Solan* apparently in the name of the king and was provided with fifteen beds for sick people. Among the staff of the hospital provision is made for one Doctor in whose family the privilege of administering medicines was hereditary. One surgeon, two servants to fetch drugs, supply fuel and attend to other menial duties. Two maid servants for nursing the patients and a general servant, who attended the hospital school and hostel. Provision was also made for the supply of a regular quantity of rice and supply of medicine laid in stock for a year of which as many as eighteen items are given composed of drugs and prepared medicine under the ordinary Indian pharmacopoeia. A regular supply of cow ghee was assured and provision was made for burning one lamp throughout the night. The inmates of this hospital were to be supplied with water brought from *Parambalur* 'scented with cardamoms and *Khas khas* roots.

This eleventh century organisation for a hospital is illuminating as it gives us however imperfectly a little more of insight into the actual administration of the funds which were in the first instance ostensibly made over for the benefit of a temple. That educational institutions required to be provided with a hospital as well as an attached hostel would at first sight seem quite a modern idea. That the need was felt in the eleventh century and some kind of provision was made for it so early is to the credit of the organisers of these institutions in that comparatively early period.

In our own day, the rich Hindu temples in various parts of India ought to maintain free educational institutions, hostels and hospitals.

A Blind Leader of the Blind

Under the heading 'The Blind Leading the Blind' Mr. St. Nihal Singh gives in East and West an interesting and instructive account of what Sir Arthur Pearson has done for the blind. As Mr. Cyril Arthur Pearson he came to London about a quarter of a century ago with little money, and much ambition. 'When approaching blindness made him withdraw from Fleet Street about ten years ago he owned and edited several daily newspapers, weeklies and monthlies and had he not been handicapped by fate there is no telling what he may not have accomplished.'

When Sir Arthur Pearson lost his sight he

decided to devote what remained of his life and vigour to the cause of the blind. To do that to the best advantage and also in his own interest he decided to learn to be blind—as he facetiously but none the less significantly puts it. For years past he had a valet who helped him to dress and looked after him generally. He began to learn to be blind by dismissing him. He desired to show—to himself quite as much as to others—that he could dress without any aid and that he was not dependent for such a service upon others.

For years past Sir Arthur Pearson had written practically no letters himself but had kept many secretaries busy attending to his correspondence. He had dictated even the articles that he contributed to his own papers. After becoming blind he felt that he must learn to type write for himself. And he did. Therein lies the measure of the man and the secret of his ability to help the blind.

As soon as he had adjusted himself to a world of darkness Sir Arthur Pearson joined the National Institute of the Blind and with that business ability and vigour that had enabled him to become a dominating figure in the newspaper world of Britain in so short a time he found ways and means to increase the usefulness of that Institution. He began a campaign that resulted in bringing in a large sum of money (£200,000).

One of the improvements effected with this sum was that in a comparatively short time he made the library for the blind, printed in Braille the largest and the best library of its kind in the world.

Braille is an embossed alphabet which was invented in 1829 by Louis Braille, a blind Frenchman. The characters are formed by means of six dots arranged in an oblong three dots deep and two dots wide. All the signs and contractions are made by combining these dots in different designs. The blind man passes the finger tips over the lines of embossed characters and is thus able to read.

Sir Arthur founded a Home—"St. Dunstan's"—for blind soldiers where he was caring for over 1500 blinded fighters at the end of last year. He arranged that all the men who had lost their sight should go to a certain hospital.

When he visited the hospital Sir Arthur took with him watches specially made for the use of the blind with dots to indicate the places of the ordinary numerals and hands slightly raised and so strong that their position could be safely felt with the fingers. He gave one of these watches to each sightless fighter that he met. As the blind man let his fingers pass over the face of the watch and thereby saw the time his face

would light up with joy. The fact that he had been unable to tell the time had been one of the most depressing circumstances which sightlessness had forced upon him, and the timepiece that enabled him to check the fleeting hours made him feel more like the sighted persons about him. Usually the watch given a blinded soldier by Sir Arthur proved the means of making him realise that he could, to a large extent, make his fingertips take the place of his eyes.

At the Home the blind learn not only to read Braille but also a system of Braille shorthand and typing, and situations are secured for them in offices as

secretaries and typists. They also become telephone operators and masseurs. They learn and take to poultry farming, rabbit breeding and keeping, gardening, basket-making, mat-making, netting, boot repairing and joinery. Every man leaving St. Dunstan's is provided with a complete set of the tools and apparatus of his trade or profession. The blinded soldier's life is not all work and no play. He spends hours every day at swimming, rowing, engaging in tugs of war, wrestling, boxing or cycling.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Ideal of Bookselling.

Calcutta book-shops, whether owned and managed by Europeans or Indians, are unsatisfactory as regards their capacity to supply both the latest publications and books of permanent worth. Probably Bombay and Madras book-shops are better. In Calcutta European booksellers sometimes advertise books which they have not yet stocked, and if you ask them to send you any such book, they write to enquire whether they will order out a copy for you from London! It would appear that even in England and in the metropolis of the British Empire, booksellers are unable to wholly satisfy the enlightened book-buying public. *The Athenæum* has been writing on "Our Inaccessible Heritage," meaning good old books which are either difficult to obtain or are quite unobtainable. In its second article on the subject it exclaims:

How seldom can one find a bookseller who makes any continuous effort to stock or to sell books of permanent worth! It will be said that bookselling is a trade like any other. A similar thing has been said about journalism; and by virtue of much repetition it has come to be almost true. The emphasis needs to be slanted. The bookseller, like the journalist, should be told again and again that his trade is different from any other; that he has responsibilities and potentialities that are given to few, that in any journal town he has the opportunity to be the

centre of an influence equal to that of the schoolmaster or the parson. He has to resist the tendency that would make of him merely a clog in the machine for distributing a commodity.

From the experience of our own younger days we can testify that

After all, a good bookshop is a more thrilling place than any library, however admirable, can be. In it the man with but little spare cash makes his decision for better or worse. We do not envy the man who cannot look back to at least one moment, if only in boyhood, in a bookshop when he became as pure an idealist as any saint—when he gave all that he had, and sacrificed the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, for a book that should be a spiritual possession. No library can afford the occasion for struggles of soul so tense as these, and the book-seller is richer than the librarian by the nature of his opportunity.

Of course, like any other ideal, the ideal laid down for the bookseller is difficult of realisation, but that is no reason why he should not strive to aim high.

Doubtless, it is as hard for the bookseller to live up to his ideal as it is for any other man. He cannot interfere with the demand for the best-sellers; his business is to supply it. But the majority of people go to a bookshop as they do to a circulating library, not knowing what they want. That is the good bookseller's chance. He has to be something of a psychologist, something of a scholar, and wholly an enthusiast. He has to gauge the limits of his customers, and to persuade them to take the best that it is possible for them to take. If books are necessary, then he can urge them.

to the best of the best sellers after all probably half the good books will be found among them. This is his active part on the other side he is bound by the honour of his craft to stock all the classics that he can. If only this passive part were more generally performed we imagine from what they have told us that the publishers would not be backward in making the heritage accessible.

In India it is not only non official book sellers who are still far from the ideal the bookselling members of the bureau cracy would seem to be more inefficient than the former. The editor of the *Modern Review* sometime ago ordered a few back numbers of the *Agricultural Ledger* which he found catalogued in the latest Catalogue of official publications issued by the Superintendent of Government Printing through a bookselling firm which is one of the agents for the sale of Government publications. This firm wrote first to the Superintendent of Government Printing who after some delay vouchsafed the information that the publications required could be had of the *Economic Botanist*. A man was sent to the office of the latter resulting in getting the information that probably the publications could be had at Pusa. The firm then promised to write to Pusa but the editor has not got the back numbers of the *Agricultural Ledger* yet though months have passed since the date of the order!

Modern Indian Artists

There is an article in the *Arts Gazette* of London of 13th September 1919 on 'Modern Indian Artists' which begins by reminding its readers that

A few years before the war an intensely interesting exhibition of paintings and drawings by modern Indian artists was held in South Kensington. It was not very long ago really yet so much has happened since that many people may have forgotten it—though it made a considerable impression at the time—while others may have missed it altogether. Now however thanks to the enterprise of a Calcutta publisher lapses of memory may be repaired and missed opportunities to some extent recaptured by glancing through the pages of a series of albums* which reproduce the works of

these artists reproduce them in their original colours and do it very well.

The origin of this school of modern Indian artists is thus described

The art of the East has always had a fascination for Western eyes and the best of the contemporary artists in our great Dependency are essentially Eastern in their technique and outlook. There was a time when a mistaken policy of art education very nearly killed the indigenous art of India when teachers from South Kensington blind to the great past of Indian art did their very best to westernise the Hindu student and make his pictures as dull and uninspired as the academic art of Paris London Rome Vienna and New York.

Fortunately however nearly a generation ago a man of rare imagination and insight was appointed principal of the Calcutta School of Art whose students under the direction of Mr L. B. Havell were taught to look for inspiration not to Europe but to the monumental and historic art of their own country. From this teaching and from the personal encouragement given by Mr Havell to young men of undoubted genius arose the Calcutta School which is certainly one of the most interesting groups of artists working in any country to-day.

The work of this school is then briefly characterised

True to the best traditions of Indian art the work of these modern Calcutta artists approximates nearer to the illuminations of medieval craftsman than to the oil paintings of Western artists. Subjects are found in the legends, sacred history and literature of India and the general trend of the painting is romantic rather than realistic. Technically the charm and accomplishment of the Calcutta School is made up of its fine and delicate line, the studied design of its linear patterning and the glow of its rich but subdued and harmonious colour.

Brief appreciations of some of Mr Abanindranath Tagore's paintings follow.

These qualities are seen to the highest degree in the pictures of Mr Abanindranath Tagore, who is far and away the most important member of the group a painter who shares the deep spiritual feelings of his literary brethren and expresses himself with the clean precision of mastery. In the albums before me there are reproductions of his *End of the Journey*—an extraordinarily simple and impressive picture of a camel kneeling to rest with the sunset glow on the desert of his portrait of Abanindranath Tagore at the age of thirty-two of his bust figure study *Terr-drop on the Lotus Leaf*

4 and 6 2 Rupees each (Modern Review Office 210 31 Cornwallis Street Calcutta)

* Chatterjee's Picture Albums Nos 1, 2, 3

which has a certain kinship to a very good Ganga and many other of his pictures. These albums would be well worth getting if only for the reproductions of Mr. Tagore's pictures and each number contains one or two of his together with fourteen or fifteen other illustrations.

Mr. Jamini Prakash Gangooly comes in both for praise and criticism.

Mr. Jamini Prakash Gangooly is another well known member of this school but while we respect his un doubted accomplishment we feel his art is less indigenous than that of his comrades and for this reason fancy his pictures move me less. He has been touched by westernism and relies less on line and more on tone than Tagore. For example *The Homeless Mother* and *The Day's Reward*—a Hindu ploughman with his wife and child in the fields at sunset—almost J. F. Millet subjects and with a good deal of Millet's feeling—are typical examples of Mr. Gangooly's work charming, but only semi-Oriental Eastern in subject rather than in treatment. This artist by the way must not be confused with the late Surendranath Gangooly whose art was quite Eastern in tradition and execution.

The article concludes with mention of the names of some other members of the modern school of Bengal painters.

I can do no more than mention the names of one or two other distinguished members of the Calcutta School whose work is reproduced in these albums—Mr. Nandalal Bose, Mr. Asit Kumar Haldar, Mr. Saradacharan Ukil and Mr. Surendranath Dey, all of whom are represented in these albums by works of high quality. However I have put my readers in the way of making themselves better acquainted with the work of these artists and I think they will join me in thanking Mr. Chatterjee the publisher of these albums for making the beautiful art of modern India so easily accessible to its English admirers.

"Yoga" the Way to Save Civilization

Dr. Kumaji Yoshida points out in the *Japan Magazine* that the extravagance, luxury and deep moral corruption of the Romans in the Augustan age destroyed the Roman empire. 'Such is the fate of materialism without moral foundation and spiritual reality.' Thus leads the writer to advert to modern times and countries.

The present world before the outbreak of the European war was in very much the same condition as that which led to the downfall of Rome. Certainly there was all the magnificence

and self-satisfaction if not the corruption of the Roman days. Luxury and needless extravagance marked the general course of living in Europe and America. Mansions fit for princes with big families were built for people who a few years before were among the poor. Enormous sums were spent on food and clothes. Money and time were wasted scandalously. When I was a student in Europe I was constantly astonished at the luxury and extravagance of balls and evening parties. The dresses of the fair sex served to remind me, always of what I read of Roman ladies in the days of the empire's decline. It was only Europe's higher social morality that saved it from the fate of Rome. It is only as materialism is spiritualized that it can be wholesome enough to last. But is the foundation of good society materialistic or spiritual?

As an outcome of the war the wealth of Japan has increased enormously and the reign of extravagance and luxury has already begun among us. In consequence Japanese society is in great danger of disintegration. Have we the necessary spirituality to preserve our civilization from the disease of materialism?

In this connection Dr. Yoshida introduces and describes "a religious exercise of particular significance to an age like this, when civilization is threatened with decay from satiety. This exercise is known as *Yoga* or umbilical meditation." It is then described as practised at the *Ekhey* temple. It is here that *Yoga* is practised most sincerely.

To this place I came last March and stayed several days. My life among the monks and novices there was very interesting. Daily life was under a strict discipline far removed from anything to be found in civilization without. All was in complete aversion to modern materialism.

It is not unlike the monastic life of medieval Europe at its best. It seems to teach that the foundation of society and civilization must needs be spiritual. At this temple the monks rise each morning at 3 o'clock, no easy task for the average mortal. No matter how cold the atmosphere may be the monks take their places in the meditation hall as soon as they get up. The novices are seated in the center and the old monks around them. There is not much ceremony about turning out at that early hour, because the meditation hall is also the sleeping room. During meditation each sits on a mat or thin cushion. They read their *sutras* and eat what is given them all in the same hall around which are closets in which to put away the things not wanted for immediate use. Their bedding is of the simplest kind and can be put away in a moment. Naturally there is thicker covering in winter than in summer.

In any case the bedding is so scanty that even the common man cannot sleep comfortably on it.

On rising the monk washes his face, brushes his teeth and after these ablutions he must practise an hour of meditation in the accustomed manner of the temple. On finishing their meditation period they all appear before the altar of the temple and read their breviaries reverently. Then comes breakfast which consists only of rice gruel. They are abstemious of food as much from poverty as from principle. But frugality is one of their fundamental principles. Their idea is to check the physical and encourage the spiritual side of human nature. All their occupation is in the direction of greater spirituality. They engage in meditation as described and then they have to clean their rooms, attend to meals and do all that is necessary to keep things in good order. They do not eat pure rice; it is mixed with 60 per cent of wheat. Both supper and breakfast are nothing but rice-gruel. On this fare and with these religious devotions they must get on until nine years are past when they graduate from the temple.

Some of the writer's comments are worthy of consideration.

Our main interest in them now is to estimate the importance of their stress on spirituality as against materialism. They deny themselves all the material delights of human existence in order to develop their spiritual character. It is generally understood that the main aim of western civilization is to gratify human desire. If the aim of man is to satisfy all his human instincts and desires then the life of the monks at the Eiheiji temple is least of all calculated to meet human needs. These monks must be accounted the most demented and unfortunate creatures in the world. Some no doubt would regard them as examples of human beings driven to extremes by the unusual degree of social corruption around them. Such ideas are thought to be possible only in an undeveloped state of society when the passions of man have the ruling and repel the humble-minded and pure of heart driving them into seclusion from so wicked a civilization. But these monks appear to be quite happy indeed much happier than those who devote their time and money to self-gratification with the material things of life. The physical condition of these monks is better than that of the average citizen of the world. They look happy and they look well. Nowhere can more optimistic and good humoured persons be found. Their satisfaction and content is far greater than is the case with our war millionaires and men of wealth generally. In other words their method is a success while the method of society in general is a failure.

What strikes one at once is the vast contrast between the life presented by these monks and that of western civilization and even

of Japanese civilization for that matter. Here is a means by which pain and discomfort become a pleasure.

Of course the legitimate gratification of human desire is a great problem everywhere. Most rational persons admit that the mind and spirit cannot be satisfied by material things. So long as man gets enough to live on the difference in salary does not make much difference in the happiness of the individual. A man does not find that he is any the more satisfied because he happens to become a millionaire. Real satisfaction and happiness are within, they are of the spirit. Once the man attains to a character of true spirituality he is able to live on very simple necessities. Happiness is possible only to those who have gained independence of material things. The less one possesses the less one has to worry about.

It cannot be said that there is no spirituality in the West. But the men who are most powerful in the West are those whose dominant idea of civilization is material prosperity. Keeping this view of Western civilization in mind, the reader would find Dr. Yoshida's observations thereon provocative of thought.

If western civilization is based on pure materialism that is its main defect. If man seeks his main satisfaction in material things he can never be satisfied because material things are limited and desire knows no limitation. One may have at his disposal all the money he wants and he may indulge in all the luxury and extravagance he has a mind to but he will not only fail to find any true satisfaction and happiness, but he will bring dissolution on society and civilization as the ancient Romans did. It is only spirituality that can save civilization. In other words society and civilization have hopes of survival and further development only as they have the capacity to live as the monks of the Eiheiji temple live only as they are independent of materialism. The life of these monks may be too extremely simple for the common man of the world but it must be borne in mind that the monks can live and thrive where the pampered epicure would die. They are more fitted to survive than he and therefore more fitted to live. It is to them rather than to the pleasure-lover that man must go for spiritual guidance and direction. Of course man cannot live without material things such as food, clothes, houses and so on but after all it is the spirit that gives the life necessary to true existence. At a time when Japan is exposed to the evils of wealth and questionable pleasure the nation's mind should be directed to the necessary things, the things that count in the nation's future. If we allow ourselves to be charmed and captivated by the materialistic civilization of the west for the

neglect of the Spirit, a grave danger faces us. Rather let us imitate the frugal and simple spirit of the monks of Eihei-ji.

The editor of the *Japan Magazine*, Dr. J. Ingram Bryan, comments as follows on Dr. K. Yoshida's article:

It must be obvious to those familiar with western civilization that the above is a very inadequate view of it. The spirit of occidental civilization may best be inferred from the spirit that led the millions of young men in England, her colonies and America to die for the freedom of France and Belgium. Was this a materialistic or a spiritual motive? A spirit that can command the lives of six million young men is neither a selfish nor a sordid nor in any sense a materialistic spirit, and the civilization that produced these young men must have the spirit that can save it from ruin. It is the spirit of Christ, who taught that man liveth not by bread alone but by every word that cometh from the mouth of God. "Life is more than meat, and the body more than raiment." "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth!" Ed., J. M.

Without discussing the pacifist's possible plea that the best means of securing true freedom is not to kill others and make others suffer, but to undergo suffering and sacrifice ourselves, we may admit that a war waged really for freedom is the outcome of a non-materialistic motive. But do the terms of the peace treaty and the scramble for territory and "mandates" show that the war was fought solely or mainly for freedom? Even patriotism is not a spiritual motive, when patriotism means a desire to make one's country wealthy and powerful at the expense of others.

Japan's Increase of Wealth During the War.

Mr. Keisuke Miyazaki, Director of the Osaka Stock Exchange, writes in the *Japan Magazine*:

No city or center in Japan has been more influenced by the great war recently ended in Europe than has Osaka, the greatest commercial and manufacturing city in the empire. During the war Japan's gold holdings increased from 353,000,000 to over 1,680,000,000 yen; but in addition to this the wealth accruing to enterprise apart from the Government amounted to about 1,000,000,000 yen, of which at least 70 per cent was distributed between Osaka

and Kobe. This alone is sufficient to show what a degree of financial and general commercial prosperity Osaka has enjoyed during the war period.

The enterprises which gained the largest profits on account of the war were those engaged in shipping and transportation; and most of the big shipping companies and their directors are in Osaka, with the exception of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, the head office of which is in Tokyo.

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When will Indians have their own merchant fleets voyaging to all parts of the world?

England "Humbling Herself Before America!"

In an article on "American Influence" in the *Japan Magazine*, Mr. Zenjiro Horikoshi writes:—

Had the Germans been possessed of a few more submarines they might have been able completely to encircle Britain and isolate her. Even as it was, had America not come to the rescue the condition of England might have been deplorable. (There is no ground for such an opinion.—Ed., J. M.)

But the real interest of the article lies in the other things he says. For instance, with regard to America's consenting to England declaring Egypt a permanent protectorate of hers, he writes:—

Since 1883 that land has been under the protection of England, no ruler being able to ascend the throne without British sanction. Consequently Egypt has come to be regarded as a mere dependency of England, with a British official supervising its administration. At the Peace Conference America practically acknowledged the supremacy of Britain who must feel very grateful to Uncle Sam for all these favours. It is very evident from the British press that England was grateful to America for this assistance in the enhancement of British power in Africa. In fact some people out here regarded it much in the same light as the case of one of our ancient feudal lords obtaining recognition from a superior and feeling unduly elated over it. But it is not quite ridiculous that England, the mistress of the seas, and one of the first nations of the world, should be thus beholden to the United States and humbling herself before America as a vassal to a lord? (Here is a further misunderstanding due to ignorance of western civilization.—Ed., J. M.)

England's purchase of George Washington's ancestral home comes in for similar comment

Another thing that causes a smile in Japan is the action of England in purchasing the ancestral home of George Washington the enemy of John Bull in the war of independence and setting apart the place as a center of affection between England and America. It was Washington who declared war against England in 1773 and pushed it to a successful conclusion thus separating Britain from her American colonies. According to all the rules of the case England should regard Washington as a traitor. (What about General Saigo who led the Satsuma rebellion and whose monument is conspicuous in Tokyo?) But now it is that the British people have thus decided to preserve the old home of the Washington family at an outlay of some 84,000 yen and to collect there all the more interesting relics of the family and further to provide an endowment of 20,000 yen for the upkeep of the place. All this goes to show how anxious England is to behold the good will of the United States and to preserve the present amicable relations between the two countries.

The concluding comments of the writer do not give one the impression that he is quite unbiased and disinterested. He seems at heart to dislike the idea of England and America backing each other though his observations are certainly not without a substratum of truth. Says he—

It is thus apparent that the leaders of the right and government in England as well as the people generally are very anxious to please America and are doing everything to avert a clash of opinion even to eating humble pie. When we compare the present attitude of America toward England what a contrast it seems to the indignation evinced toward British despotism in the 19th century! America has thus not only increased her influence over England but over Europe as well and is now preparing to extend this influence even into the Far East. At present her aims in the Orient seem to be mainly financial and economic with little attention to political or administrative matters. So long as this policy continues there is little risk of clash with the policy of Japan in East Asia. For Japan can have no objection to America developing the resources of the East and thus enriching this part of the world. Such exploitation will hardly interfere with the development of Japan who can always make cheaper goods and command a more ready market in East Asia than can America. If America confines her operations to developing the great resources of China and Siberia Japan can have no objection as it will be to Japan's benefit equally with the other countries concerned. Japan should be very

careful not to give America the impression of being exposed to her exploitation of the natural undeveloped resources of China, as this might create complications.

Animal Spies

The Japan Magazine contains a very interesting article on 'Animal Spies' by K. Ishikawa. According to him the use of animals as spies has been a military art practised in Japan from remote times.

The animals so used were the dog fox and rat which were duly trained for the purpose. The animals mentioned were selected because for such a purpose as spying they are the most amenable to training and have proved the most successful in operation. They can be trained to understand human will and language to a marvellous degree. The fox can be trained even to imitate the human voice and the power of the animal in this direction is very effective especially when trained to utter low sounds. It is only common knowledge that dogs and cats can be trained to understand human speech. A well trained dog can easily grasp one's meaning when ordered to go away or to approach and so can a cat. If you order a dog to approach you when he knows very well you intend to punish him he again reveals to a wonderful degree an accurate knowledge of your mind. Dog killers are never successful in having dogs obey them and dogs will not be persuaded to come near them even for food. In order to win the confidence of animals and then train them one has to be kind and gentle towards them. Animals are most susceptible to affection and readily averse to the opposite even beasts of prey.

There are six kinds of foxes in Japan. The white fox and the black variety have disappeared from Japan though they still exist in China. Recently the Japanese Government has been importing black foxes for breeding purposes from Prince Edward Island in Canada. Is the breed to be employed as spies?

The way in which dogs and foxes, particularly foxes, were used for spying has been thus described—

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this purpose the ubiquitous fox was utilized. Human spies guarded the pathways over the mountains and across the plains but the fox guarded the hills and other pathless regions. The fox is small and not easily seen. He knows every foot of the country he traverses. Always on the trail the animal spy follows the human spy. When the fox or the spy dog perceives or detects the presence of a human being in the course of his patrol he utters a faint sound which his master behind understands and notes. The animal utters various sounds and these are signals for the master to follow up or retire as the case may require. The animal is trained to vary the cry whether the enemy is approaching or retreating. When the master finds he has lost the trail and cannot find his way out of the forest or mountain he imitates the cry of the fox and gets a reply that guides him the way he desires to go. If he continues to cry or bark in a special way the fox will come to him and lead him aright. Even today hunters adopt the same methods.

Some of these foxes have been trained to perform deeds almost incredible on behalf of their masters.

For example when the spy comes to a precipice or cliff he finds it impossible to ascend. He puts the end of a rope in the fox's mouth. The animal finds its way up the cliff as no human being could do and when it reaches the top it walks round and round a tree holding the rope in its mouth while the man at the other hand pulls himself up the cliff. The fox will hold on till the master arrives. In the same way the animal is used to discover a way down cliffs or precipices. He can also fasten his rope to a tree using a bow knot and after he descends the rope the fox will pull open the knot and the man recovers his rope. If the spy is obliged to pass the night in a mountain or some remote place where the air is very cold the fox will lie up against him all night and keep him warm. The animal has a keener sense of smell and a better instinct for situations than his master and is thus able to keep the latter informed about every step of the way.

There are frequent references to the use of animals in this capacity in Japanese literature.

For example in the famous novel *Lumiharizuki*, Tametomo is represented as being rescued by his dog Nokuze from a venomous serpent one day while he was out hunting. The fox can even make light for his master when the darkness is too extreme. All the master has to do is to give him a certain kind of bone to carry and as he breathes on it there is an emission of phosphorescence that the man can easily see and follow the animal. The bone can be picked up often in the mountains where skeletons of dead animals are found. If an enemy sees this light

he is more apt to be afraid of it than to approach it as he thinks it a will-o-the-wisp. Even spies placed in charge of barriers used to keep a dog or a fox always near them as this precaution allowed them to doze or even sleep on duty and also when a spy was surveying an enemy's position the fox enabled his master to know whether the sentinels were asleep or awake and how the situation was.

Rats too, were used as spies by the army officers of feudal Japan.

The spy carried his pet rat in his sleeve. On approaching the position to be spied upon he took the animal from his sleeve and let it go free. The rat was trained to pick up any bit of paper it could find and bring it to its master. Accordingly it would penetrate into the apartments of the officers of the enemy camp in a noiseless manner and steal off with any pieces of paper it saw which perchance might contain the enemy's plan of campaign or tactics for the ensuing battle. Sometimes the rat was trained to make a noise in the enemy camp and wake the sentinels so that after finding they had been disturbed only by a rat they would become more indifferent than ever and go soundly to sleep not to be awakened by the human spy close on the trail of the rat. In this way many a spy has been enabled to steal into a samurai camp and get away with valuable information.

Another dodge was to hide oneself under the floor of the enemy's house or camp and let out the rat to find out whether the occupants of the house were asleep or awake or if asleep whether they were sleeping soundly or not. For this reason the floors of daimyo houses were made double and in the case of greater daimyos including the shogun threefold. Now it is supposed to be done to keep out dampness but the original reason was to prevent the entrance of spying rats.

Sir J D Rees on Brahmins

In the course of an article on "The District (of Madura) in the October issue of *The Asiatic Review* Sir J D Rees says of the Brahmins

I find that the latest authority says what is said in every one of my papers namely that the influence of the Brahmins in social matters is slight. Indeed neither at weddings nor funerals is their presence required but various castes employ priests of their own communities and a Brahmin is no more a priest than Mr Taylor makes clothes Mr Mason builds houses and Mr Barber shaves chins in our own community.

As regards the silly apprehension really entertained or pretended to be entertained in some quarters that the proposed consti

tutional Reforms will lead to the establishment of a Brahmin oligarchy, Sir J D Rees observes

While on the subject of caste it is difficult to refrain from reference to the agitation now being conducted in Madras and Madras against the proposals of the Report on the ground that they will if carried out on lines suggested lead to the establishment or at least to the aggrandizement of a Brahmin oligarchy. The Maharajah of Mysore a non Brahmin ruling prince lately pointed out to an anti Brahmin deputation that it is impossible to penalize those who have made the best use of the opportunities afforded by the educational system we have given India and have rendered themselves more than competent to retain in the future the positions they have always held under all the Governors of India of an aristocracy of intellect no less than of birth and position. Would you rule out of Government appointments in England graduates of Oxford Cambridge London and other Universities? Would you deprecate the employment of boys educated at Eton Harrow the City of London and other public schools? True these birds of a feather may have a disposition to hang together but would you pass them over in favour of other less endowed classes? It would be impossible. Neither can you advance the cause of democracy in India by announcing as an inducement a *career ouverte aux vrais talents*. Moreover some class must predominate in the early days of any democracy as the Whigs magnates did here. As degrees however democracies become democratic and that will no doubt happen in India as elsewhere. Meanwhile if any class is to predominate at present the best endowed intellectually is the best fitted to lead and will on the whole be more readily accepted by the people—being also that which comes at the head of their social and religious system—than any other however loudly such may exclaim and however desirous they may try to turn the present political situation to their own advantage.

Sir J D Rees on the 'Kallans' of Madras

Madras possesses an interesting caste entitled the Kallans. Of them Sir J D Rees writes in the same article —

The Kallans are a most interesting class whose caste occupation is theft. They refused to pay tribute in the time of the Nayaks arguing that heaven sent them and their own cattle did the ploughing they themselves carried on the cultivation and they did not know for what they should make any payment. They are not ashamed of theft and here again they argue that every class causes the official taxes bribes, the lawyer counsel litigation for the sake of

fees the publican waters the liquor the grocer sands the sugar and why should not the Kallan commit the more manly so-called crimes of robbery and cattle theft? They thrive according to a regular system and carry on a regular or regularly irregular system of protection so that where any one of them is employed as a watchman no thefts occur. Of course some people call this by the ugly name of black mail but the Kallan is satisfied that there is no harm in it provided the fees are earned by the protection. There are castes of shepherds weavers carpenters blacksmiths goldsmiths merchants washermen potters and so on *ad infinitum* and very interesting it is to see the potter thumping his wet clay and turning out beautifully shaped utensils with his fingers and a flat board only for his assistance. There are also puliyars besides various other castes.

Relations of Upper and Lower Castes

In the same article Sir J D Rees has something to say on the relations of the upper and lower castes.

It is not true to say that pariahs and puliyars have no caste or indeed that the pariahs are the lowest caste nor have I observed in Madras nor on the other side of the hills in Travancore — said to be the most caste-ridden part of India — that the lower resent the attitude of the upper castes towards them or that it is true that the former are habitually or indeed at all ill treated.

Again

What is the social degradation in which the Indian is said to have been sunk for centuries? Is it really true that these civilized and humane people are under the thumb of the more advanced members of the community? Does the Brahmin for instance really dominate the agriculturist and the labourer? I assert that he does not. If the former do not flock to the poll they will be very like the voters in more advanced Western communities but to suppose that Brahmins are priests and that the Indian masses are priest ridden is really ludicrously remote from the actual facts though statements to this effect are made without contradiction at meetings of the Indo-British Association and its Indian analogue the Non-Brahmin Association of Madras.

Voting Capacity of Indians

Sir J D Rees believes in the capacity of both ordinary and educated Indians to vote intelligently. Says he in the same article

The ordinary cultivated or ordinary native is perfectly capable of voting.

a person to represent him on the Reformed Legislative or other Councils.

While on this subject I must protest that it is quite unnecessary for a cultivator to be literate in order to vote. He is usually an extremely sensible and practical person and it is to be hoped that the Commission now in India considering the creation of an electorate will not be led astray by analogies from other countries where the circumstances are totally different. The cultivator can I think exist as valuable a vote as any member of the Indian community.

I believe myself that the extension of the franchise will discover the existence of a sensible articulate and practical element in the agricultural community.

Village Life in Denmark

Writing on 'The Remaking of Village Life in the Cornhill Magazine, Edith Sellers says

Of the countries I know, Denmark is certainly the one that has solved the village life problem most satisfactorily. There the average villager is just as alert intellectually as keenly interested in what is going on at home and abroad as eager for the latest news as the average townsman. When cheap science primers were first published in Danish there was a greater demand for them in rural districts than in towns. It is in villages more often than not that Parliamentary candidates are asked the most searching questions and it is village constituents who keep the strictest watch over folketing doings and when things go wrong call Ministers to account most promptly. I was never in a Danish cottage where I did not find both newspapers and books and I never came across a Danish peasant who did not know more about England and her colonies than any English agricultural labourer. I have ever met Agria and again when in rural Denmark during the Boer War I was amazed at the questions I was asked as to its why and wherefore. I was amazed too on one occasion by being told by a poor old woman that Oliver Cromwell had been alive would never have allowed such a war to be waged. Nor is it only in science and politics that these peasants are interested; they are also keenly interested in history and literature especially in their own folklore more interested indeed than townspeople. And in this there is nothing extraordinary for practically they have the same opportunities as townspeople for reading learning studying and they have more leisure than the average townsman has to turn these opportunities to account.

To understand how Danish Villages have become what they are we must read the description of a Danish Village Meeting House quoted below

In almost every Danish village there is a meeting house built at the expense of the whole village and managed by a committee of the villagers for the use of the whole village. This house is the social centre of the village the place where men and women alike turn their steps instinctively when in quest of a change a rest something to read someone to talk to someone to listen while they talk. It varies according to the size and wealth of the village, in some places it is a fine building in others it is merely an old cottage or barn that has been turned into a house. No matter how poor it may be however it has always a hall a well lighted comfortable room large enough to hold seats for all the adult villagers. At one end of the hall there is generally a platform and at the other there is always a space reserved as a reading room and library unless indeed there be in the house a separate reading room. For in Denmark no self-respecting village community would ever dream of being without some place where not only daily papers but weekly and monthly reviews as well as books may be read. Not that the villagers are dependent on libraries for their reading. Even the very poor among them often combine to subscribe for a journal or buy a book which they each read in turn.

What more do the Villagers do in their meeting house?

In a well mixed village the meeting house is always a busy place. There one night at least every week in winter the young men meet together for physical culture. They have their unpaid Sunday and go through a regular course of training. There also one night a week old and young alike meet together to hear a lecture. About twice a month a grand debate is held the debaters being the villagers themselves helped out by University students perhaps. Twice a month too there is a concert while from time to time there are private theatrical social evenings and even dances.

Sometimes the lecturers are paid but very rarely for they are as a rule either professors students or politicians and they make it part of their regular work to lecture in villages gratis. In some districts there is a committee the duty of which is to see that all the villages are well supplied with lectures.

It is no unusual thing to find in quite a little village a political club solemnly watching over the government and sending them messages of praise or warning a rifle club too the members of which spend their leisure practising shooting that they may the better defend their country. Then almost everywhere there is an agricultural society and its members meet together to talk over the different ways of working land and discuss new methods. Attached to the agricultural society there is often a co-operative society through which the villages buy their supplies and sell their produce. All these soci-

ries and then the battle was won. All that was needed was time for life in Danish villages to become what it is and Danish peasants to become as they are.

We do hope there will be bands of well informed steady and enthusiastic workers in every district of India to remake village life in our country.

The Shantung Question

Mr Liang Chi Chao is a distinguished Chinese scholar and statesman who has served as Minister of Finance in the government of China. An article on 'China and the Shantung Settlement' which he has contributed to the *Manchester Guardian* concludes as follows —

Now the Shantung question is not one of *amour propre* for China. To her it is a matter of life and death. To allow Japan to remain in that province means to give away China's political and economic independence. Can anyone blame her if she becomes desperate in the agony of her soul? After all it is better to die heroically than to drag on in ignominious existence. China is very weak and almost defenseless but she is not without a soul. Her people are afraid of neither death nor invasion of which none has yet succeeded in destroying her nationality or her civilization. If she must submit to a foreign yoke she will not do so without a struggle. Her only crime has been her weakness and her belief in international justice after the war. If driven to desperation she attempts something hopeless those who have helped to decide her fate cannot escape a part of the responsibility.

Research in Pure Science and Applied Science

Men and women in India cannot become what they ought to be spiritually, intellectually and physically unless the crushing and grinding poverty of the country be removed. And we can cease to be poor only if the mineral, vegetable and animal resources of the land are exploited by us with the help of applied science. But pure science lies at the foundation of applied science. We need to bear in mind what the *New Statesman* says about research in Science pure and applied.

It is often put forward as an excuse for starving science and its devotees that since such men as Faraday will be impelled to carry

out their labors however unfavourable conditions may be it is a waste of money to reward them. Quite apart from the meanness of this attitude and the somewhat humiliating thoughts aroused by the fact that the only material reward an English scientist is likely to receive for any great achievement is a small prize from the French Academy or a large prize from the Swedish Nobel Fund it cannot be too often insisted that science is not advanced by the unaided efforts of a Faraday appearing once a century. Such men crystallize the scientific thought of their time and put the labors of many into an ordered scheme they look for support of their theories not only to their own work but also to the experiments of many other comparatively undistinguished men who fasten upon particular points for proof or disproof. It should be recognized that apart from the fact that to a great nation a certain encouragement of intellectual activity should be a source of pride pure science is at the basis of all industrial research and furnishes its motive power. It is as short sighted a policy to encourage applied science and to neglect pure science as to devote every care to providing a ship with powerful engines and to forget to furnish her with fuel.

Chinese Laborers in Flanders

Some time ago the *Manchester Guardian* published an interesting article on Chinese Labourers in Flanders. The writer notes their easy familiarity, their curiosity to know the age of the English soldiers and laborers they came across and the question they often asked 'How many mada?' meaning 'How many wives [madams] have you got?' We of course had either one or none at all while they sometimes had three to their obvious pride and satisfaction. The writer also says that their solidarity was astonishing.

For several months our company and a Chinese labor company worked together at a wood yard and a saw mill on the Belgian frontier. We called them 'Chinks' and they called us 'Ingaleesha'. Friendly relations were soon established although there was on our side a small hostile element consisting of men who harbored an unreasonable prejudice against the yellow people and considered it degrading to work with a so called inferior race. Those who took this attitude lost much of the little fun and interest that relieved the dreary monotony of our own army life.

As regards physical strength and endurance the Chinese were not inferior to

the English, as the following lines will show —

Sometimes when we were working with the Chinks the spirit of rivalry manifested itself. Once we were unloading a train of short thick wooden planks and stacking them in the yard. We carried them in on our shoulders two at a time. Suddenly one of our men appeared with three planks on his shoulder shouting 'Chinese no gooda'. The challenge was accepted with alacrity for a Chink appeared with four planks and shouted 'Chineesha gooda Ingaleesha no gooda'. He was followed by one of us with five planks on his shoulder and it was 'Chinese no gooda' once again. Then came a Chink with six planks but immediately afterwards a soldier came along with seven looking very hot and uncomfortable beneath such a heavy

load. We all shouted derisively, 'Chinese no gooda' and there was a long pause and we thought the victory was ours. But suddenly the Chinks burst into gleeful laughter and clapped their hands in mad excitement. We did not know what had happened until we saw a Chink staggering under a kind of pagoda which his comrades had erected on his stalwart shoulders. It was built up of sixteen planks. Perspiring, breathing hard and taking short rapid steps the pagoda on the verge of toppling over every instant he reeled the stack and then allowed the structure to collapse amid wild shouts of 'Chineesha gooda Ingaleesha no gooda'.

It was a warm day and none of us felt inclined to dispute the final verdict at this meeting of East and West.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF PANDIT SHIVNATH SHASTRI

By SIR NARAYAN CHANDARKAR

I HAVE already given some of my reminiscences of the late Pandit Shrivnath

Shastri in the columns of the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay. They related to the year 1878-79 when I first became acquainted with him. They went to represent mainly what appeared to me the ruling trait of his life as the leading missionary of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. In short it was his homeliness meaning the charm of that simple sincerity, which enabled him to enter into the hearts of those brought in contact with him and with a quiet emphasis to influence them to be good husbands good wives good neighbours as to be sound patriots. A missionary wedded to the cause of God runs the risk of dogmatism and 'sanctimonious ways, which weaken his influence. He ought to be a man who captures the person he wishes to draw to God by loving not driving him. He should present to laymen his own vital experience of God as if it was their vital experience as well. Lord Morley in his *Recollections* defines true leadership as 'the hearth at which the soul is kindled and kept alive'.

Pandit Shrivnath Shastri was in more than the metaphorical sense the hearth of the Samaj which he and that dear soul he loved—Ananda Mohan Bose—founded together and led. Both were the hearths of the Samaj because by their actual lives they preached and practised the soundest principle of national life which is that religion must spring from home life—a people's hearths—and extend its influence from there to their social and political environment so as to make their country one home.

Pandit Shrivnath Shastri's homeliness, illustrated by the reminiscences I have given in the *Indian Social Reformer*—the way he sought to win over all he influenced to make heaven of their homes by his own homely ways of precept and practice—was the secret of the fact that he was a missionary who lived and influenced others to live a life of wholeness. To him all reform whether social political economic or educational was religious—the flow of the same spirit from the fount of love of God and man. Ardent in the cause of religion by vocation a missionary whose

duty, one would think, is that cause exclusively, unmixed with other causes, he nevertheless had the universal soul which discerned that cause—its principles and aims—working under Divine dispensation with men as instruments in political and the like secular causes as well. For instance, when in the years 1884 to 1886 the late Mr. Behramji M. Malabari had raised his agitation of social reform, and the question whether religious and social reform ought to precede the political came to be holly discussed, I took some part in it and wrote and made speeches in Bombay. Three expressive phrases were the outcome of the agitation: (1) that religious and social reform ought to precede political reform; (2) that reform generally takes the line of least resistance; and (3) that we ought to become *men* first before we aspire to be *statesmen*. The first and the third phrase reflected the spirit of religious and social reformers; the second that of political workers. Happening soon after, in the year 1886 to be at Calcutta for attendance at the National Congress presided over by Mr. Dadabhai Naoraji as a delegate, I moved, under Pandit Shivanath Shastri's friendly guidance, a good deal in the local Brahmo community. At a gathering of Brahmo ladies and gentlemen held in the Hall of the City College, I was one of the speakers and in my speech I pressed my point that religious reform was more important than political. I capped it all with the aphorism that we should be *men* first before we aspire to be *statesmen*. My remarks were received cordially: at the close of the gathering, both Pandit Shivanath and Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose complimented me upon the coining of the phrase as to *men* first and *statesmen* afterwards. "How much I love the phrase—you have put the problem of Indian reform in a nutshell; I will now pass it on and propagate it vigorously," said the Pandit, half seriously, half in well-meant humour. That was his kind nature—to give a word of praise to others who, he thought, were workers in the Vineyard of God and deserved encouragement. But his compliment to me was undeserved.

"What!"—I replied—"You think I have coined the phrase? What a bad memory you have got, Mahashoy! Please don't father the phrase on me. You gave it to me when you were in Bombay in 1881. You have forgotten that in that year when, as *Editor* of a newspaper, I was writing in advocacy of religious reform, we had long chats on the subject and you used the phrase and I caught it from you, and your article which had appeared in the newspaper organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj." "I never thought I could be so good as that at coining catching phrases," said the Pandit. "However you have given it life." So saying, he took me to his home; we discussed the *pros* and *cons* of the phrase and the value, possibilities, and prospects of the Indian National Congress. "It is good," he told me, "to emphasize the prime value of religion and religious reform, but let us not commit the mistake, which has for centuries retarded India's progress, of confounding religion with theology and treating it as if it was something different in nature from politics. Politics is religion too." "But"—I asked him—"politics relates to secularity and must be spiritualised to be healthy." "Yes," he said, "that is so; but man's individual life and a people's national life are not cut by God into different compartments. It is we who for convenience of work on the principle of division of labour treat them as distinct spheres, but political activity is fitted to evoke the life religious. We Brahmos are politicians because we think that life being religious at the root covers all spheres of national activity. And Ananda Mohan Bose is a living example of that." "What, then, becomes of your phrase, Mahashoy, that we must become *men* first before we aspire to be *statesmen*? You fathered that phrase on me, whereas it is yours gifted to me in Bombay five years ago. And how do you get over it?" Here the Pandit's loud laughter, so characteristic of his ever-cheerful heart, rang through me; he put his hand in mine, said what a bad memory he had and continued: "Yes, we must be *men* first to be *statesmen*; but mind you, we cannot become *men* unless we complete the circle by

developing the sense of *statesmanship*. A man is no man unless he takes interest religiously, in the politics of his country for politics is service too and religion is service. India wants that view and practice of religion. Let us not forget that Our *Samy* principle. The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man and the *Upanishad* text we have adopted as our sheet anchor—*एतन्मया* 'One God without a second' are voices from the depths of Indian ancient heart just and only because they are challenges to us Indians for the concrete in life all round—we have to realise them in all our relations of life and God points their way through the State and its politics as through the Church and its worship. There he stopped for a while as if some idea had crossed his mind and then he asked me whether I had called on Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar who was then living. I said 'No'. You must go and see him—it will do you good. He remarked I asked him whether he too would go with me. Do you should go alone and see that lion of a Bengalee now resting and leading a lonely life. Then let me know what you have seen of him and learnt from him. And I will tell you how his life points a moral to us all as to the phrase we have been discussing. You will learn best by seeing and talking to him. And see him by yourself.

So I called on Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. He received me with all the affection of a father though I had never met him before. I had a long and instructive interview which I subsequently published in the columns of the paper I then edited. The interview showed that Pandit Ishwar Chandra had become some thing of a misanthrope. Had more or less lost faith in his countrymen and in India's future regarded India's public workers as mere 'talkers' with little strength of work and sense of courage and sacrifice. After the interview I saw Pandit Shivanath Shastri and told him all about the interview. I had with Vidyasagar and his despair of India's future. There it is—said Shivanath Shastri—That is why I asked you to go and see him. Vidya-

gar is one of the bravest of the brave. He has learned the annals of modern Bengal by his learning his feeling heart and during his active in the cause of the poor and the suffering. But alas! his one great defect is he expected more from the world than it gave to his call in his time, whereas God's World is a sowing and a weeding with many a long and tedious waiting for the harvest. Learn from our great Bengali—he is a light with a warning. We must work like him but never abandon hope and faith in our people. However things seem to go wrong. But said I Vidyasagar is now old and old age is apt to get into misanthropy. To that Shivanath Shastri replied. There it is. The religious life is needed and that is the Mission of our *Samy*—to work in all spheres welcome all activities for India's good and be always buoyant with faith and hope. Let us learn that and be warned from Vidyasagar's life. He has somehow become stubborn in his feeling that his life has been a failure. It is not—but the feeling that a good life of courage and well-doing has failed because it has not won popular support is not healthy. It unnerves people and the great need of the day is to put heart into the people and say they are bound for great things under God.

After that I met Shivanath Shastri in the years 1916, 1917 and 1918. It was a long long interval, enough to effect a change in him if he had been an ordinary character. He had become old, his health was failing, his memory weak. A new generation with new ideas had come into being. Yet I found that his was the same spirit—youthful and fitting into the changed times as glad with the music of God in his soul as the birds with the songs of their voices in the air. Once in 1916 happening to speak to him in a depressing mood about the future of India by the light of contemporary events I told him that that future did not seem promising. He brightened his eyes, took me by his hand led me to the terrace of his house and beginning with the loud laughter that always preceded the sparks of his social talk he said—Vidyasagar

also talked like that in his later years. But that is not good for us, not good for India." And he was proceeding to tell me all about Vidyasagar, when I interrupted him by reminding him of my interview of 1886 and of the counsel he (Shivnath Shastri) had then given to me as a warning from Vidyasagar's otherwise heroic career. "So you know it. Why, then, despond? Cheer up—India's golden age is coming—try to be golden yourself."

That was Pandit Shivnath Shastri—a golden man because a child of God with God's love and hope. Broken in body, felled down by disease during these twenty years, he to the last lived a life of hope for India, saw God working in all movements—and I never returned from my visits to

him the last three years without being heartened by his words, and his spiritual and social *bonhomie*. The fire of youth was there—"the hearth" of the Sadharan Samaj still was kindled and alive and seemed to me to feed and nourish all that sought its warmth and food. He never whined; never wailed; did his part and asked others to do theirs. That is religion; that is politics. "To do good, without seeing it" is the best and most practical of creeds, said the late Canon Barnett. Lord Morley has been fond of preaching that to get some good out of mankind we must not expect much from our fellows. Pandit Shivnath Shastri, was of that divine company. Therefore, his life ought to be an inspiration to us all.

INDIA IN THE YEARS 1917-1918

THE above is the title of a book compiled for the Government of India by L. F. Rushbrook Williams, Fellow of All Souls, and Officer on Special Duty in the Home Department of the Government of India. It gives an outline of some of the more important problems, political, social, and economic, which confront the administration of India, and contains some valuable charts and maps. The book is written in a sympathetic spirit, and can be had at the modest price of Re. 1-0-0.

INDIA AND THE WAR

The first chapter is devoted to "India and the War." When the war broke out, "every effort was made to meet the increasing demands of the War Office in the way of materials; and in Lord Hardinge's phrase, India was bled 'absolutely white'." There were troubles with the border tribes which India has successfully surmounted, "and despite them, has rendered valuable services to the empire at large." The book proceeds to consider India's war-services under the general headings of men, of money, and of munitions. "The

efforts made by India in the war of manpower have greatly surpassed all expectations." It may fitly be recalled in this place that on April 2, 1918, the Prime Minister called upon India to "add to the laurels it had already won," and "to be the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder which it is the object of the enemy to achieve." That the people of the Punjab, who, according to the author himself, responded most largely to this call to save Asia from oppression should themselves have become the victims of the horrors of martial law before the war was fairly over, is one of the tragic ironies of the Fate which presides over the destinies of subject nations. The King-Emperor, as we are reminded in this book, exhorted us to contribute the full measure of India's resources and strength on the ground that "the need of the Empire is India's opportunity." The book, under review fully acknowledges the fact that India's contribution has in every way been ample and generous, and exceeded all expectations. India now waits anxiously to see how far

the hopes held out by His Majesty that in the liberality of her contribution her opportunity, are fulfilled by her rulers.

As for the financial assistance rendered by India, "in view of her poverty, her financial contributions have been very considerable." India made a free gift of £100 millions. "It adds over 30 per cent to India's national debt, it is rather more than her entire income for a whole year, and it entails an extra annual burden of 6 per cent of that income for its maintenance." In 1916, again, further taxation was found possible, and nearly £10 millions have been raised in this way during the last two years—a very substantial contribution from so poor a country as India. In September 1918, India undertook to make a further war contribution of £15 millions, by taking over the normal cost of the additional military forces raised in India, owing to the armistice the actual extra cost to India under this head in 1918-19 amounted to £12.7 millions. Extra taxation, even on salt, was necessary to meet the enormous war expenditure. "India undertook to finance many war services, and to arrange for the export of enormous quantities of foodstuffs and munitions of various kinds. The Our Day' fund amounted to the magnificent sum' of over £8 millions. The princes 'have played a worthy part' and the total value of their gifts can hardly be less than £5 millions—"gifts to fire the enthusiasm of anyone conscious of the foundations of loyalty upon which the Indian empire is based."

India's part in providing munitions has certainly not been inferior in extent to that of any portion of the Empire. Up to the end of September 1918 the equipment and stores supplied by India to the various fronts amounted to some £80 millions. Nor was this India's only service in the way of munitions. She performed work of inestimable value in supplying raw materials and partly manufactured articles for the munitions manufacturing of other lands. Not the least important war-service which India has rendered has been her help in provisioning Great Britain. As Mr. Lloyd George said some months ago the people of Great Britain may have suffered some deprivation but they have not known the pangs of real privation. This immunity must be ascribed in part at least to the

assistance rendered by Indian shipments in supplying home production."

Now that India is in the grip of widespread and acute economic distress (a fact everywhere recognised in the book under notice), India wants to see what England, which was saved from 'the pangs of real privation by Indian assistance, does to save her from a similar predicament.

In textiles also India has rendered great services. The importance in the last four years of India's monopoly of jute can hardly be exaggerated. The great cotton industry also has been an important aid to the Allies: the cotton textiles required for army purposes were for sometime entirely manufactured by 'the Indian mills. Some £8 millions worth of wool has been shipped to England and altogether more than 1.2 million articles of troops' clothing have been manufactured. The leather industry also boasts of some very remarkable figures. Britain has relied very largely on Indian tanned hides which have provided leather for nearly two-thirds of the army boots manufactured. She has also been the most important source of supplies of oleaginous produce (oil-seeds and oils) required for food, for lubricants, and for industrial purposes. Various measures have been taken to stimulate production and to increase, as far as possible, the surplus available for export. Iron and steel also India has performed important services. The Tata Iron and Steel Works has been the chief source of supply of rails for Mesopotamia, East Africa and Palestine. India has also supplied to Mesopotamia the whole of the railway transport as well as the telegraphic and telephonic equipment employed in the country. The Kushki Extension Railway, a line 300 miles long through Belochistan up to the Persian boundary near Mirjawa was built. This line runs through a most inhospitable country, where there is scarcely any drinkable water. Labour materials stores and supplies of every kind had to be carried along with railhead. But it was a strategic railway and neither cost nor difficulties of any kind were allowed to stand in the way of the completion of the project.

The moral effect of the war upon India has been most remarkable. The ideal of responsible government within the empire came to the front in political discussions as never before and afforded a marked stimulus to constructive constitutional activities. At no time was there any symptom of a desire for the severance of the ties which bound India to the mother-country. There was on the contrary a demand for the strengthening of those ties, combined with a fixed resolve that India's position within the Empire should not fall short of that which was deemed rightfully her due. The acceptance by the Dominions representatives of the principle of reciprocity of treatment the grant of King's

Commissions to Indians, and other like developments have served at once to stimulate India's devotion to the Empire and to awaken her pride in her own growing national spirit."

"The material effect of the war has been hardly less marked. There has been a notable stimulus to commerce and industry.... Great public interest has been aroused in the industrial development of the country, and it is noticed in the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission that there has been a definite demand for the adoption of the policy of State participation in industrial development, and of State assistance to industrial undertakings, which is likely to produce results stretching far into the future. As a consequence of this interest in industrial matters, there has been a growing desire on the part of the politically-minded classes that Government assistance should be directed towards the aim of making India more economically self-sufficing than has been the case hitherto." The Report of the Indian Industrial Commission points out the grave danger to which India and the Empire are alike exposed, owing to the fact that the principal industries in India depend very largely upon certain key industries, which are not adequately developed in the country. Hence any marked interruption of communications between India and the Empire, such as nearly resulted from the campaign of unrestricted submarine warfare, threatens to bring the industries of India to a standstill. There is every reason to hope that it will be found possible to take measures for the avoidance of any future danger upon this score."

The difficulty experienced in prosecuting the war owing to the absence of certain "Key" industries in India, has turned the attention of the authorities to the necessity of developing Indian industries, and the dearth of a surplus of qualified Englishmen to take part in that development may lead to the employment of Indians in industrial enterprise aided by the State. In this way the war may have an important influence on the material regeneration of India.

Summarising the effects of the war on India, the author concludes the chapter as follows:

"On the whole, then, it may be said that both in the moral and in the material sphere, the war has acted as a great stimulus to India. It has broadened her outlook, it has deepened her interest in the Empire. It has aroused hundreds of people to a realisation of the problems lying outside their immediate environment. In short, it may well prove to be the beginning of a new era, not merely in the relations of India to the Empire, but also in the internal life of India herself."

THE POLITICAL RECORDS.

Chapter 'II' is headed 'the Political Record.' It is, in the main, a record of the contest between 'the left wing of the Nationalist party, commonly called the Extremists', and 'the centre-party of the Nationalists, commonly called the moderates.' The 'cleavage of the ranks of the Nationalist party, according to the book under notice, commenced with the announcement of August 20, the moderates frankly welcoming the declaration as the Magna Charta of India. The author writes as if this cleavage was indeed to be expected, "since, if Western analogies may be trusted, the emergence of distinct parties is one of the earliest symptoms of constitutional development towards the institutions of democracy."

"While the moderates were throwing the best of their energies into work designed to assist Government in the prosecution of the war, the Home Rulers were conducting a campaign directed towards obtaining political concessions rather than towards the achievement of victory." "In short, it became plain that the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report had served to reveal the differences of aims and methods which distinguished the moderates from the extremists. It thus represents an important stage in the development of clear-cut political parties in India."

When the end of the war came,

"The gloom of war-time was dispelled and all India sincerely rejoiced. Among the political classes the reception of the news was enthusiastic. The moderates were unfeignedly delighted, for they found their position of general friendliness to Government greatly strengthened. On the other hand, those members of the left wing of the nationalists who had at one time attempted to bargain with Government by offering their support in the prosecution of the war at the price of the concessions they desired, saw that the time for such a policy had gone for ever. Their attitude, which at first was characterised by a little hesitation, seems to have been influenced in large measure by a fear lest the victory of the Allies should weaken the determination of Great Britain to proceed with Indian reforms.....despite attacks by the extremist press, they [the moderates at the special conference in Bombay] maintained their support of the general principles of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms scheme. Important sections of the press, both Indian and English edited, pointed out that the moderates, as a centre party between the old fashioned conservatives and the newly-evolved

extremists, had a great part to play in the future development of Indian politics.

Next came the Delhi Congress, where the extremists demanded full provincial autonomy at once

"This resolution showed the uncompromising spirit and frank flouting of all dictates of prudence and expediency which marked the new party. Other resolutions were in harmony with the spirit."

Few Indians will be disposed to agree with the author as to the existence of a sharply-defined line of demarcation between the moderates and extremists, or to trace their gradual evolution on the lines assumed by him, but all will agree with the following conclusion

"As to the 'reality' of the political developments outlined in this chapter, there can be no question. The time has gone by when the topic of constitutional reform in India could be dismissed summarily with the remark that those who demand it form but a fraction of the population."

It does not appear however that in spite of all the praise bestowed on the moderates they have been able to make much of an impression on the author by their practical suggestions or to influence the policy of the Government in any way, for the author comments as follows on the recommendations of the Committee of non-official members of the Imperial Council appointed, on Mr Surendranath Banerjea's motion, to consider the Montagu Chelmsford Report

"When this committee came to hand in its report, it was found that most of its detailed recommendations were not of very far-reaching character. There was a demand for the introduction of the principle of responsibility into the Government of India, but which of the Central Government's functions could be safely entrusted to ministers was nowhere determined."

The Congress League scheme is also criticised in that while it gives the executive no power to carry the measures opposed by the elected members, it makes no provision for responsible government, for it gives no power to the legislature to replace the executive by one in harmony with its own ideas

'By the early summer of 1917 that portion of the public of India which was interested in political matters had become unsettled in its

ideas. The mere fact that the Allies were avowedly fighting in defence of the rights of small and weak nations against large and strong ones the frequent references by Allied statesmen to such terms as democracy and self-determination, the strong world movement towards government by popular opinion—all these combined to raise vague hopes and to stimulate discontent with the existing polity in India. The Report of the Public Services Commission published early in 1917 was regarded as a disappointing document on the whole it failed to appreciate the new spirit of India, which was reluctant to admit that a strong European element was necessary among the officers of any department

As against the Hindu Muslim compact of 1915, secured "by the concession of very heavy Muhammadan representation upon certain of the proposed councils," and admitted to be a considerable triumph for the Nationalist party, the Bakr Id riots of Bihar in which about one thousand individuals were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and the Katarpur riots, in which also hundreds of men were similarly punished, are referred to, and the following comment is made:

It was remarked at the time that certain sections of that [the Hindu] press appeared to feel less sorrow for the sufferings of the Muhammadans than chagrin at the break down of the political compact arranged between Hindu and Muhammadan leaders

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

The Economic Background' forms the topic of the third chapter. The utter inadequacy of banking facilities in India, and its effect on the development of investment and all that such development implies, is pointed out. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission "shows how little the march of modern industry has affected the great bulk of the Indian population, which remains engrossed in agriculture, winning bare subsistence from the soil by antiquated methods of cultivation"

"Previous to the war too much reliance was placed on imports from overseas their habitual use being fostered by the Government practice of purchasing stores in England. While India produces nearly all the raw materials necessary for the requirements of a modern community she is unable to manufacture many of the articles and materials essential alike in peace and war. For instance her great textile industries are dependent upon supplies of impor

ted machinery and would have to shut down if the command of the seas were lost India in short is a country rich in raw materials and in industrial possibilities but poor in manufacturing accomplishments.

The two factors which dominate the whole economic life of India during the period under review consist in the restriction of imports due to the shortage of freight and the enormous demand from allies and from neutrals for India's own products.

Opportunities for manufacturing locally articles formerly imported were eagerly embraced and money was forthcoming in abundance for financing such projects. Whether these schemes will continue to be successful when imports once more freely enter the country is a question which is agitating the minds of many persons at present but the consensus of expert opinion seems to be that in the majority of cases the indigenous articles will be able to meet competition successfully.

Of the exports, jute and tea have derived the largest profit but of course the capitalists in Great Britain and not the growers of the crops in India have shared in this phenomenal prosperity. Japan and America have between them captured nearly the whole of the export trade of Germany and Austria.

The progress in trade with Japan showed a phenomenal development. In 1917-18 the total value was more than £30 millions, an increase of 100 per cent in imports and 103 per cent in exports over the pre-war average. At present the total trade with Japan exceeds that with all other countries except the United Kingdom but there are strong probabilities that the figures for the next year will show a substantial decline. From many quarters come reports of a growing dissatisfaction with Japanese goods on the part of the Indian consumer. On the other hand trade with the United States now double that of the pre-war period and second only to that of Japan shows signs of increasing very considerably.

Owing to the high price of raw cotton throughout the world the high cost of manufacture of imported cloth and the reduction in the volume of British manufacture available for the general public the dearth of cotton cloth began to press very heavily on the masses in 1918.

The Government assumed powers for the manufacture and distribution of standard cloth but it is said that it was not found necessary to put these powers

into active operation as state interference helped to produce a fall in the price of the commodity—a statement which seems to be wide of the truth, for there has been no appreciable fall in the price of cloth to this day.

Prices of foodstuffs rose to 31 per cent above pre-war level.

'This was sufficient to cause deep distress in India where the margin of income over bare subsistence is extremely small for the bulk of the population. The prices of all the ordinary commodities such as spices, oil, cloth, kerosene and salt were raised to abnormally high figures by shortage of supplies and the profiteering of the large dealers who controlled the market.'

There were a few instances of market looting, labour unrest, and strikes, but 'on the whole, there were few disturbances, and conditions of exceptional hardships were borne with extraordinary resignation.' It is doubtful if this spirit of resignation among the Indian masses has stood them in good stead at any period of India's tragic history.

The failure of the monsoon of 1918 led to the occurrence of local shortage in food crops and famine was declared in certain parts of India. From observations made here and there in the book it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the failure of a single monsoon would hardly have created so serious a situation but for the wholesale exportation of foodstuffs in the period immediately preceding for provisioning England and the Allies. Some of these observations have been quoted in connection with the war services rendered by India. During the years under review, in food grains [wheat, etc.] there was a noticeable increase in the traffic from up-country to the seaports on account of the increased demand for shipment abroad. Towards the end of 1917, arrangements were made

to buy the Allies' requirements of rice estimated at one hundred thousand tons monthly, from Burma. 'It was indeed supremely fortunate at this time [towards the end of 1918] that the necessity for the exportation of large quantities of foodstuffs to the Allies began to diminish owing to the approach of armistice conditions. By and by the Secretary of State was in

formed that India could no longer continue to purchase and export wheat and other foodstuffs except those which were urgently required for Mesopotamia. The export of food-grains from India was prohibited except in very small quantities for exceptionally strong reasons.*

EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, ETC

Chapter IV deals with education agriculture and kindred subjects. It begins by recounting the present position of education in India. Just three per cent of the population is under instruction—a percentage which includes five per cent of the males and one per cent of the females of British India.

"As might have been conjectured from figures so low as these, it was found at the last census (1911) that under six per cent of the population could read and write. From the purely educational point of view this state of affairs is sufficiently serious. But in the light of present political exigencies it becomes a source of acute uneasiness. India is about to advance upon the road leading to the progressive realisation of responsible Government. Electorates are to be brought suddenly into being. Indians of all classes will have to take a greater and greater share of public duties and public responsibilities—yet only six in every hundred could in 1911 achieve the very modest census standard of literacy. It must be plain that until the proportion of literates can be raised the immense mass of the peoples of India will remain poor, ignorant and helpless far beyond the standards of Europe. Until education can be more generally diffused it is idle to expect India to realise her immense industrial potentialities.

If the primary education of boys is to be placed upon a satisfactory footing all boys from the completion of the fifth to the completion of the eleventh or twelfth year should be under instruction. Taking this at 1½ per cent of the

male population more than 18½ million boys ought to be undergoing elementary education as opposed to the six million boys actually at school now. The cost of educating the rest is estimated to be at least £5 millions a year to say nothing of the sums required for training inspection the erection of schools and so forth.

'The seriousness of the present position and the urgent necessity for embarking upon a largely planned constructive policy for which money must be found in some way or other' is thus manifest.

The problem of finding the money for the requisite expansion of Indian education is one that will tax the combined efforts of British and Indian administrators severely for the next few years. The matter is one of vital urgency for if the money be not found and the expansion does not take place it will be impossible for India to assume the position due to her in the commonwealth of nations.

Before we consider the financial solution proposed by the author, let us glance at the share of educational expenditure borne by the State. No Indian nationalist could betray a livelier concern for the extension of primary education than the author of this Government publication, and from this one might be led to suppose that the Government bore an adequate share of the public burden in educational matters. But we find from the book itself that this is far from being the case.

'The crux of the whole present position of Indian education is financial. As is suggested by the fact that the total expenditure is 7½d per head such education as exists tends to be cheap and inferior in quality.

Of this total, the 'expenditure from provincial, including central [i.e., State] funds' works out to 2½d per head of population, as compared with 7s 9d in England and Wales.

The amount contributed by fees which is 28 per cent of the total expenditure seems at first sight very large. But its magnitude arises from the paucity of funds derived from other sources [e.g., state or municipal grants] than from the rate of fees charged.

It is next admitted that in native states like Cochin and Mysore the percentage of pupils under instruction to the total population of schoolgoing age is much higher than in British India. The author gives a striking explanation for the small amount spent upon education in India,

* The following extract refers to the normal and not to the war time export of food grains—

'No one who has not been to India and has seen nothing of the working of the system from the great granaries at Karachi to the agencies in every little village which has a surplus of anything that can be sent away can grasp the colossal nature of this export organisation. One firm alone sucks the sap of Indian life like a tropical sun leaving dust and barrenness behind. A week or two after harvest India's surplus wheat and rice have passed into the hands of dealers and when the next monsoon fails she starves.—*The Awakening of India* by J. R. MacDonald.

and trots out the familiar plea that the safety of the State must come first, and the military expenditure (Defence) is India's greatest burden. But England which spends 7 s. 9 d. as against 2½ d. per head in India upon education has also her military expenditure to attend to, and it will not be contended that her defensive position is less secure than that of India. The plea of lack of funds never greets our ears when the pay and prospects of the Imperial civil and European military services come up for consideration. It is raised only when Indian education, sanitation, the improvement of agriculture, and similar subjects in which Indians are vitally interested, are under discussion. Is it because in England the civil and military services are run on more economical and less wasteful lines that money is easily found for educational expenditure? "Important as is education to the life of a nation," says the author of the book under review, "the safety of the state and of the individual from the menace of external aggression or internal disorder naturally comes first." But we are reminded of the words of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt who says in his *India Under Ripon* :

"We have given the raiyat security from death by violence, but we have probably increased the danger of death by starvation."

"There is surely no country in the world," elsewhere says Mr. Blunt, "where in the midst of such starvation there is so much waste....."

"I wonder whether anyone has calculated the number of miles of macadamised roads in the various Anglo-Indian cantonments, not a yard of which has ever served any purpose beyond that of enabling the officers' wives to pay each other visits in their carriages."

"Leaving out of account such large questions as that of military expenditure," says Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his *Awakening of India*, "nobody who has seen India and the conditions of Indian Government will deny that there is great extravagance. The European service is extravagant, the conditions under which it rules are extravagant, the cost of Simla, Ootacamund and other hill stations is extravagant, the expenditure on official residences and other paraphernalia is extravagant." It is only

when the pay of the subordinate officials of the Government comes under consideration that the authorities betray a lively sense of economy. As a matter of fact no public service in the world is so overpaid in the higher and underpaid in the lower grades as the entire public service of India. When the Government has made an honest attempt at retrenchment in wasteful expenditure in connection with the higher civil and military services, it will have earned a right of hearing as to its plea of lack of funds in regard to the expansion of mass education, but not before.

The urgent need of mass education being admitted, the author solves 'the problem of finding the money' in the following way: "The success of this plan," he says, "depends upon the willingness of local bodies to avail themselves of the permission to adopt compulsory measures, and to tax themselves with a view to making these measures effective." Justification for such local taxation is found in the late Mr. J. C. Jack's *Economic Life of a Bengal District*, where he says: "The truth is that in Bengal not only is all taxation, exceptionally light, but local taxation in particular, is an insignificant burden upon the resources of the people." The fallacy of Mr. Jack's special pleading was proved in the pages of the *Modern Review* by an Indian civilian when his book was first published. But the conclusions he arrived at are dear to the official apologist, and are still quoted in official publications as authoritative. The Montagu-Chelmsford report admits (para 332) that the peasant classes have no great margin of taxable capacity, and the author of the book under notice himself says in another place :

"There are rigid limits to the taxable capacity of India, leaving out of consideration the fact that three quarters of the population depends upon agriculture, and hence upon the incidence of the monsoon, for its means of livelihood."

Elsewhere it is admitted that "the margin of subsistence of the mass of the population of India is so small that any substantial rise [in prices] must affect them with disproportionate severity." The truth of the matter is, that the Government of India knows that in the words of

Lord Bryce, the cultivator is taxed to the full measure of his capacity and hence does not consider it expedient to impose further taxation itself and as it nevertheless feels that mass education can no longer be neglected in the way it has hitherto been, it has recommended the transfer of primary education to the ministers in the hope that they will be able to meet the cost by further taxation quoting the words of a Committee appointed in 1917 that an elected council 'will be able to raise money for education from sources that can never be tapped by a Government of the existing official type' (para 103 of the Fifth Despatch). The despatch also says

The view has been suggested to us that inasmuch as it will be from the vernacular schools that we shall draw the mass of intelligent voters of the future it is our duty to concentrate upon vernacular education and to leave English education as a subject in which they will be more interested to ministers.

As we shall presently see there is a strong additional reason for this course for it is popular elementary education which requires development in India secondary and higher education being already as fully developed as in other civilised countries. But the fear of courting unpopularity by additional taxation probably deterred the Government from accepting this suggestion. The Calcutta University Commission also exhorts the State to take courage in both hands and boldly launch into a policy of educational taxation. But this is what Sir Sankaran Nair, late Education Minister wrote in his minute of dissent appended to the Fifth Despatch.

At the [Delhi] Darbar it was announced that the Government have resolved to acknowledge the predominant claims of educational advancement on the resources of the Empire. As a matter of fact that acknowledgment has not been translated into action. In almost all the local councils attempts are being made to introduce private bills for optional compulsory education. These bills are allowed to be introduced only on condition that no financial responsibility is thereby imposed on Government. Local resources are inadequate and such education as is imparted will not be efficient. Without Government financial assistance the scheme will not succeed or even cannot be put into operation.

Coming now to secondary and higher

education the contrast is most remarkable and disposes, once for all of the contemptuous remark that such education is confined to a microscopic minority of the Indian population.

In secondary schools 5 per cent of the population are enrolled as compared with 6 per cent in England and Wales. Considering the backwardness of female education this figure is startling if the male population of India alone is reckoned no less than 9 per cent are found in secondary schools a proportion far greater than that of England and Wales and approximately equal to that of Germany before the war. Very significant too are the figures for University education India has about 0.25 per cent of her population undergoing instruction of a University type as against 0.54 in England and Wales. But here again the female population of India has to be almost eliminated so that India's proportion is really very high indeed. When single tracts such as Bengal for instance are considered this percentage heavy as it is sometimes rises in a marked degree. In this province the proportion of those undergoing University instruction to the population is equal to the proportion in the United Kingdom and if the female population of Bengal be left out of reckoning the figure rises to the remarkable height of 1 per cent. Thus while the lower classes in India are largely illiterate the middle class which is the class that mainly patronises the higher institutions is numerically speaking educated to a pitch equal to that attained in countries whose social and economic conditions are more highly developed.

The defect of Indian education is that it is conducted along extremely narrow lines.

It is of a predominantly literary type. Only 5 (2) per cent of the population are undergoing instruction in institutions which provide technical training. But it is admitted that "were industrial employment assured it is believed that students would readily come forward and that technical institutions would multiply." Education in India suffers from three other principal defects. There is a serious lack of properly trained teachers, the teaching profession is seriously underpaid, and education is entirely dominated by the examination system.

As far as quantity is concerned secondary education in India may be considered fairly satisfactory. It is quality which leaves so much to be desired. Instruction and discipline are generally reported as poor. Worse still, since the most necessary ingredients of education

such as discipline, social life, good physical condition and a reasonable standard of class work are not demanded they are not supplied.

Political agitation often occupies the minds of boys to a most undesirable extent. The defects peculiar to the Indian University system are lack of organisation, wide inequality of efficiency among affiliated colleges and an inferior standard of instruction. Any attempt to raise the standard is regarded with hostility by certain sections of the press which tend to turn every topic of educational controversy into a racial question and profess to discover in every proposal to improve the quality of instruction evidence of a desire to thwart by stunting educational development India's legitimate political demand.

That there is some justification for this attitude of the press will appear from Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent appended to the Fifth Despatch, where he says that secondary and higher education was purposely confined to the well-to-do classes for political reasons, as it was believed that they would give no trouble to the Government, and rules were framed with a view to restrict the diffusion of education generally and among the poorer boys in particular. That the political aspect of education is always present in the official mind is shown by the following extract from the book under review:

'The sum which Government would have to find after allowing for the levelling up of fees [though it is elsewhere admitted that the income from fees is already relatively very large] in addition to the sums at present spent upon secondary education [in order to put it on a sound footing] would amount to £13 millions annually. Large as is this sum it is of vital urgency to find it. In the case of mass education the situation is sufficiently serious but the problems are largely in the future. In the case of secondary education however we are dealing with a state of affairs constituting a political and social danger. Secondary education is the pivot on which depends the whole character of educational and other forms of advance.

The observations of the author on female education are thoroughly justified.

Social reasons such as the institution of Parda, early marriage and so forth form a stumbling block. Still more formidable however is the hindrance constituted by the lack of effective demand. While female education is enthusiastically advocated on the platform and in the public press the number of those who will pay for it or even allow the female members of their own families to enjoy its advantages is

comparatively small. Among purely educational difficulties are the provision of a sufficiently large and well-qualified staff of lady teachers and inspectresses. It is obvious that female illiteracy acts as a serious bar to educational progress. If half the population grows up practically illiterate, incentive to education in the other half must be sensibly lowered, and when home education is almost unknown, education in general appears as something extraneous to the real life of the people. An artificial state of affairs is indeed created by imparting it. The youth does not find in his home the environments and thoughts which surround him in the class room."

Referring to the educational facilities granted to the domiciled [Eurasian] community, the book says:

Great opportunities for employment in India whether in the public services or private concerns have resulted from the practical cessation of recruitment from England during the war.

The dissenting notes of Messrs (now Sirs) Chaulai and Abdur Rahim in the Report of the Public Services Commission show how ample the facilities for appointment enjoyed by the Eurasian community already were before the war broke out. They have now been enormously increased. It is no wonder therefore that in their Seventh Despatch the Government of India say that they can confidently rely on the elected European and Anglo-Indian members on the Grand Committees to a greater degree even than Indian nominated members. But has the Government ever made a similar attempt to co-ordinate the higher education of Indians with a suitable public career afterwards? Had this been done, as has been done in the case of the inferior-educated Eurasians, the cry of discontent should not have been so loud.

Regarding technical education, the author says:

'It is encouraging to find that there is a growing popular demand for scientific industrial, commercial and agricultural training. Circumstances arising out of the war have combined to provide a great stimulus to Indian industry and industrial research. With the growth of industry in different parts of India the most crippling disadvantage under which scientific and technical education at present labours, namely the difficulty of placing its products in positions for which their training has fitted them, will gradually disappear."

attitude in the case of the police. What they protest against is the undue liberality sometimes shown to this department as compared with other public services which stand in more urgent need of amelioration. Speaking of anarchy, the writer observes—

'In coping with this danger the heroism which has been displayed by police officers particularly in Bengal has been beyond all praise. But for their courage and devotion to duty it is not too much to say that the efforts of a minute body of anarchists might have plunged India into most serious disorder at a time when the safety of the Empire itself was gravely threatened.

This is high praise and no doubt quite well-deserved and very flattering to the Bengalee race. But the time has gone by when either the Bengalee police officers concerned or the general public of Bengal could rest satisfied with such empty praise uttered by way of set off against the attacks of the politicians on the methods of the Indian police. The question is everywhere asked what has an appreciative Government done to promote these deserving officers to positions of command and direction? Those positions from that of District Superintendent of Police upwards still remains a monopoly of the ruling race.

The work of the Salvation Army among the criminal section of the population deserves more than a passing mention and is worthy of more general imitation.

'More than 7000 members of criminal tribes and released prisoners are now being supervised by the Salvation Army alone and instead of preying upon society are earning an honest living by means of agriculture and various industries. The supervision of released prisoners and their encouragement to maintain the habits of an honest livelihood constitute a sphere in which the Salvation Army has done most admirable work up and down India.

LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT

A large part of the last chapter deals with local self government. We are glad to note that no attempt is here made as was made by some provincial Governments in discussing the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms to set up the false theory that self-governing institutions were unknown in ancient and medieval India.

It should be remembered that self-governing institutions as they are worked in India to day

(tales ours) are largely a creation of British rule and do not constitute a continuation of such indigenous institutions as were to be found in the pre-British period.

It follows as a corollary to this proposition that the development of self-governing institutions in India must follow the lines of their growth in the democratic countries of the West. The author summarises the Government of India resolution of April 1915 containing detailed proposals in the direction of giving greater scope and freedom to local self government. The resolution laid down that authority entrusted to the local bodies must be real and should be freed from unnecessary control, that there should be a substantive elective majority; that if a municipal or rural board had to pay for any service it should control it, that it should have real control over the funds and was not to be harassed by constant dictation of government departments in matters of detail. It also suggested the general replacement of nominated official chairmen by elected non-official chairmen and the constitution of a central body to co-ordinate the experience of the local bodies, and maintain an expert inspecting establishment.

As a symptom of the vitality of the institutions of local self government in India, it may be mentioned that they rendered excellent service in securing the efforts of the Central and Provincial Governments in grappling with two of the most important administrative problems which occurred during the period under review, namely the menace of epidemics and the high prices of commodities. The provincial administrations and the local bodies to whom is mainly entrusted the maintenance of sanitation and public health made whole-hearted endeavours to ameliorate the sickness and suffering occasioned by the outbreak. In the matter of popular distress arising from high prices the institutions of local self government have done excellent work during the period under review.

In many provinces shops were opened by municipalities and district boards which supplied gram and kerosene oil to the people at rates considerably below those obtaining in the local market.

The book closes with a passage which India on the way to self government should lay to heart for it must be admitted that the principle of non-interference in detail combined with a close

general supervision is in spite of all defects in its application to Indians and Indian institutions, better understood by English men in authority acting among themselves, than by average Indians in the same position.

Hitherto the control which Government has exercised over municipalities and district boards while unquestionably preventing the commission of serious errors arising from inexperience has done much to prevent the growth of a real feeling of civic responsibility. With a relaxation of this control to a degree hitherto generally untried it is to be expected that an increasing degree of popular interest in the institutions of local self-government will manifest itself. But we should note that if local self-government is to achieve in India the success which it has attained in other countries and is to prove itself here as elsewhere a genuine road towards the realisation of responsible government it will not be sufficient merely that the local bodies should be freed from excessive interference on the part of external authority; they must themselves adopt a similar policy of decentralisation by refraining from excessive interference with their own servants in routine matters by confining themselves to the laying down of broad lines of policy and to the supervision of the process by which those broad lines may be followed and by avoiding meticulous interference in detail which leads not only to inefficiency in the executive services but also to forgetfulness of the broader aims which it is the part of those undertaking the responsibilities of local self-government constantly to envisage.

PUBLIC HEALTH

We shall close this elaborate review by a reference to the author's observations on public health during the period under review.

The monsoon of 1917, as we have seen was exceptionally abundant and partly perhaps in consequence of this plague made its appearance in a serious degree during the year. Between July 1917 and June 1918 the total number of deaths from plague was over 800,000. Although fortunately there is reason to believe that the incidence of the disease in India is on the wane, nonetheless the distress and dislocation caused by this mortality was very great. In addition to the influence of the plague epidemic the year as a whole was very unhealthy and a high death rate occurred both from cholera and malaria. Bad as were the general conditions of public health in India during the year 1917, those of 1918 were infinitely worse. In the month of June 1918 came the first intimation that influenza in a virulent form was attacking India. During the last quarter of 1918 India seemed to have suffered more severely than any other country

in the world and influenza was responsible in British India alone for a death roll of approximately five millions. Detailed information with regard to the incidence of the disease in the Indian states is not available, but it is unlikely that the influenza mortality therein fell short of one million. Within the space of four or five months influenza was thus responsible for the death of 2 per cent of the total population of British India. In some places the Central Provinces, for example, two months of influenza caused twice as many deaths as 22 years of plague. In Bombay, between September 10th and November 10th the total average mortality was 326 deaths a day. The Punjab also suffered very severely. The epidemic struck India at a time when she was least prepared to cope with a calamity of such magnitude. War demands had depleted her sanitary and medical personnel which at best is inadequate when considered in relation to the size of her population and the tenacity with which that population clings to domestic customs injurious to public health. The overworked staff that remained was struck down in large numbers. Still more serious were the effects of the almost total failure of the monsoon which exercised a disastrous influence practically throughout the country. The staple food grains were at famine prices and the scarcity of fodder reduced the quantity of milk available. Although there is no reason to suppose [but is there not?] that the epidemic originated in malnutrition it was particularly unfortunate that the price of nourishing food and also of such comforts as blankets and warm clothing was extremely high [large quantities of army blankets were manufactured and the exportable surplus of Indian wool was reserved for the War Office at controlled prices. Some £8 million worth of wool had been shipped to England].

The magnitude of the task which the administration was called upon to face may be gauged from the fact that it has been estimated that from 50 to 80 per cent of the total population of India has recently suffered from influenza. It is undeniable that the catastrophe was rendered more complete by the generally insanitary conditions under which the major portion of the population of India live their lives.

Elsewhere again

Famine was declared in certain parts of Bombay and scarcity in certain parts of the United Provinces and the Central Provinces [and famine was also declared in parts of Bengal in the present year]. Further the great epidemic of influenza which ravaged India in the autumn causing a mortality of some six millions weakened the capacity of the rural population to cope with their ordinary work. It has exercised the most depressing results on industrial efficiency and has besides complicated the task of famine relief.

This lurid picture will we hope open the eyes of those among us who blinded by their prejudices are apt to think that the materialistic civilisation of Europe has turned it into a vast charnel house and that the ravages of the war among the Western peoples have proved the intrinsic superiority of the Indian outlook on life. But we learn from this book that according to Mr Lloyd George the people of Great Britain may have suffered some deprivation but they have not known the pangs of real privation during the war thanks to the shipments of foodstuffs from India and elsewhere. That is also the experience of the present writer's Indian friends who have returned from England after the conclusion of peace. It is India which has suffered from the pangs of famine and starvation it is here that influenza has taken the largest toll of human lives in addition to the usual heavy mortality from plague cholera and malaria. In Europe they fought for their respective countries and died on the field of battle like men. Here too some of us had to die on foreign battlefields but the great majority of us who died died like vermin an inglorious and ignominious death and the pity of it all is that this appalling death rate is hardly an isolated phenomenon with us for war or no war year in and year out we die in far larger numbers than they do in Europe. Does this shocking mortality from preventable causes really prove the superiority of the Indian point of view with regard to things mundane and of his mode of life or does it not rather prove that his mental attitude requires a thorough revision? India's immunity from such visitations in the future and therefore her very existence as a nation depends on her ability to develop those mental and physical qualities which have given Europe her command over Nature and hostile environments. Otherwise if the mortality in India progresses at this rate there is every chance of our being wiped off the face of the earth within calculable time or of our wholesale reduction to a human cattle farm where life does not count for much.

POLITICS

NOTES

Pandit Sivanath Sastri

Pandit Sivanath Sastri was a master builder who worked deep at the foundations of the social structure. He was one of the makers of modern Bengal and of modern India too. For the last few years of his life he was in feeble health which incapacitated him both physically and mentally. Still his enthusiasm and hopefulness never waned and to the end of his days he was ever ready to work for and support all religious social and educational movements which appealed to his reason and conscience.



Pandit Sivanath Sastri

Photograph taken at Allahabad about 20 years ago by Ramnanda Chatterjee

In the south of India Sastri is a hereditary family name of many Brahmans. It is not so in Bengal. Pandit Sivanath Bhattacharya got his title of Sastri by passing the M.A. examination of the Calcutta University with distinction. At lower examinations too he distinguished himself greatly standing first in order of merit in some subjects and winning



Pandit Sivranath Sastri

scholarships though throughout his boyhood and youth he had to struggle against chill penury. His great intellect and learning, his amazing capacity for hard and unremitting labour, his dutifulness and sense of responsibility, his sociability, and his literary powers and eloquence could have led to success and worldly prosperity in more walls of life than one. But he did not care for worldly success and prosperity. He gave him-

self up wholly to work for the good of his countrymen and humanity. In politics, he was, with Messrs Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee, a founder of the Indian Association and one of its earliest and most enthusiastic workers. When the Swadeshi agitation was at its height, he spoke from many a platform. When the deportation of Babus Aswini Kumar Dutt, Krishnakumar Mitra and others made it necessary for Bengal to protest against this act of official high handedness, the organisers of the protest meeting could not get any political leader of the front rank to preside. So Pandit Sastri, a minister of religion whose all engrossing religious, social and educational activities had long made it impossible for him to devote any time to politics, agreed to preside and read out a dignified and fearless speech. He was one of the founders of the City School, which later expanded and grew up to be the City College of Calcutta. He also founded the Brahma Balika Sikshalay (Brahmo Girls' School) the Bankipur Ram Mohun Roy Seminary, and other educational institutions. He was a keen temperance and social purity worker. Of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of which he was one of the founders he was the most cultured, powerful and eloquent minister and missionary. His sermons coming straight from the heart, moved many to tears and roused the spiritually languid from their torpor. Of most of the institutions of the Samaj, he was either the sole or joint founder. He was an energetic organiser, and had a creative mind. This creativeness he had to exercise not only as regards the institutions of the Samaj, but also as regards means and methods of preaching, social and domestic ceremonies, festivals and occasions of rejoicing, &c. He started and was the first to edit its two Bengali and English

organs. He was the first editor of a love magazine called *Mukul* and contributed to it many humorous stories and poems which were highly enjoyed and prized by children. The Students' Weekly Service started and organised by him helped to draw many young men (including the present writer) to the Brahmo Samaj. He was the most cultured, attractive and powerful orator in his vernacular in his generation. There is no one equal to him among younger speakers in Bengali. In English too he could speak well but his English speeches did not approach his Bengali orations in excellence and moving power. He was one of the foremost poets, novelists and essayists of Bengal. His first considerable poem *Arbasiter Bilap* (the Exile's Lament) was written when he was in his teens. Sincere earnestness, incident and graphic power marked all he wrote.

But the man was greater than anything or all that he did. He was no dry theologian or gloomy preacher. Those who have been privileged to know Pandit Sivanath Sastri through all his activities cannot but think of him as pre-eminently a MAN. He was not a mere preacher; he was not a mere minister; he was not a mere teacher; he was not a mere social reformer; he was not a mere orator; he was not a mere poet, novelist and essayist. Over and above all these roles which he so worthily filled stood out his broad and deep and high manhood, his unique personality. His door was ever open to helpless widows and orphans. His wife Prasannamayee Devi was heart and soul with him and was a worthy helpmate in what he did for the helpless or, rather, it would be truer to say, that but for her it would not have been possible for him in this respect to live what he preached. He remained childlike and full of fun to the end of his days. He had the living grace of humour in abundant measure. We do not know of any one superior to him in powers of conversation and story telling.

Though so highly gifted, he was always haunted by a sense of his own utter unworthiness. We have not met another man of such genuine humility.

The Panjab Enquiry Committee

Though we never wanted a committee of enquiry into the affairs of the Panjab and have all along expressed grave doubts regarding the probability of its helpfulness to the cause of the People, we should indeed be glad if our anticipations as regards its results should prove false.

It has been notified that persons who desire to be called as witnesses should apply in writing to the Secretary, Disorders Inquiry Committee, C/o Home Department, Government of India, Simla, giving their full names and addresses together with a brief memorandum stating the points in regard to which they desire to give evidence. It will of course rest with the Committee to decide what evidence they will hear. For this reason we would advise intending witnesses to keep copies of their brief memorandum so that in case they are not called they may be able to publish what they wanted to place before the Committee as evidence. For much that the people consider telling evidence may not be considered such by the Committee. Moreover it would not at all be surprising considering the power and traditions of the C. I. D. and allied officials if some brief memoranda did not at all reach the Committee. Lord Brassey's Opium Commission, which was a royal commission, visited India well nigh a quarter of a century ago. It was one of the official contentions in favour of opium that it was a preventive of malaria and that the people used it as such. The present writer, then a Professor in the Calcutta City College, wanted to appear as a witness to show from official publications among other things that though the people of certain areas in Chota Nagpur were notoriously addicted to opium there was no malaria there worth speaking of and also that in certain other places which were very malarious opium was not much used. He sent his application with a brief note of what he wanted to say. But he was not called.

Though the Lieutenant Governor of the Panjab has publicly declared and ordered that intending witnesses would not and should not be interfered with or intimidated

out their minds regarding any excesses and atrocities which they may find any civil and military servants of the Government guilty of in the Panjab. For, it was almost certain even before the passing of the Indemnity Bill that no such person would be punished in any way, the Indemnity Act has made assurance doubly sure that no punishment awaits any such man.

It is to be noted that the Committee has formed the Disorders Enquiry Com. could speak. "Open Rebellion Enquiry Com. did not approve. Government now fight shy excellence and caption that there was open of the foremost

ists of Bengal. Various suspicions and beliefs. *Urbariser Dilap* (1) of which only a part has written when he was. The most important earnestness, lucidity, Committee to ascertain marked all he wrote to find answers to

But the man was great. Why so soon or all that he did. He was its late ruler was gnan or gloomy preaching? Did Sir Michael have been privileged. ish, and to humiliate Swanath Sastri through classes in the cannot but think of him? Were any men in MAN. He was not with the idea that the not a mere minister or the Satyagraha teacher, he was no essence a movement of he was not a more dangerous to British mere poet, novel reason it must be treated and above all resistance movement and worthy filled. Such? Was violence on the and high man mob, wherever it occurred. His door way or under provocation and orphans a proof of the existence of an was heart's movement and as afford was a opportunity to crush it? did for this

be truer than The Indemnity Act not have. What our the Indemnity Bill makes. spect to live though very painful reading child. It possible in these Notes, nor do days attend to give a summary of the in able. We shall make only a few of a remarks. In the course of the couch which Sir William Vincent, the me Member, made in moving for leave to introduce the Bill, he observed "If it is not passed now, if it is not brought into effect now, then our officers, officers who,

ex hypothesis, have behaved fairly and properly, will be left liable to suits at the instigation of any malicious person." So, the Home Member thinks that "our officers" are one and all such angels that he cannot even imagine that suits can be brought against any of them except at the instigation of malicious persons. But the reading of only what some of the official members themselves said, apart from what most of the non official members said leaves a different impression on the readers mind. Our impression from these official speeches is that hundreds of persons have been killed in the Panjab in a manner and in circumstances which but for the Indemnity Act could be correctly spoken of in legal phraseology only as murder. Lesser crimes were far more numerous. Words like 'this butchery,' 'these atrocities,' used by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his speech, in speaking of the Jallian wala Bagh tragedy do not appear unjustifiable. To the peculiar glory of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his satellites and also to the glory of Lord Chelmsford, the Panjab has been so cowed down, that there was little likelihood even without the Indemnity Act, of any aggrieved persons there trying to bring their oppressors to book. But after the enactment of the Indemnity Act it may be said that any officials, civil or military, or any other persons acting under their orders who may have acted even in the most foolish, the most inhuman, the most vindictive and revengeful, or the most wantonly insulting manner, would feel quite safe. It is not every civil or military officer who acted in a reprehensible manner. But many did. There would be no fear of punishment for them. We do not encourage in ourselves the vindictive and revengeful mind. We are not at all eager that any officers, or other persons acting under their orders, should be hanged or punished in any other exemplary manner, according to the requirements of the law, however wickedly they may have acted. We could only wish that they could be convicted and convinced of their wickedness, they might then be pardoned by the proper authority, guilty officials being only dismissed.

Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda of Assam tried by moving an amendment to postpone the consideration of the Bill till after the submission of the report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Panjab affairs. His speech was argumentative and suited to the occasion. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made a very powerful speech in support of Mr. Chanda's amendment in the midst of occasional interruptions by the President and some official members. He laid bare many extremely harrowing details of the Panjab tragedy. The official contradictions were only as regards minor details. The substantial accuracy of his formidable indictment could not be impugned. He was followed by Mr. J. P. Thompson, Sir Michael O' Dwyer's henchman. He began by characterising Mr. Malaviya's speech as "amazing", but properly speaking that epithet was more applicable to his performance than to any other speech, except perhaps his own concluding speech in which, quoting Milton, he suggested that Mr. Malaviya was an incarnation of Satan! He was rude and insolent to the Pandit, and would have the public believe that the Pandit, Swami Shradhananda, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and others mistook an earthen pot and some clothes in a well in Amritsar for a decomposed corpse! And the story was gratuitously brought in to make Mr. Malaviya look ridiculous. But Mr. Thompson succeeded only in making himself the laughing-stock and worse of all but Anglo-Indian extremists. Then followed the Hon'ble Major Mahk Sir Umar Hayat Khan Sahib Bahadur. His speeches almost invariably show that gallant fighters *may* be unintelligent, unpatriotic and ridiculous flunkeys. But he had better be left to the good-humoured handling of his very kind friend Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha. Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi, whose questions on vital and important though non-sensational subjects we fully appreciate, made a very brief speech giving expression to his opinion that the inquiry should be expedited as much as possible and the bill suspended for the time being. That he did express such an opinion is to

his credit. He rightly observed: "I would not be true to the traditions of my house, if I were not to view with the profoundest regret and abhorrence the loss of European lives and the other outrages committed by the mob." He had, however, nothing to say regarding outrages on the people and the far more numerous Indian lives lost.

Mr. W. E. Crum was the pink of charity, courtesy and sweet reasonableness when he said: "I can conceive of no more dishonest, no more ridiculous, no more piteous attitude for any one to take up than to suggest that, when Government had told its officers that they would be protected, they should not be protected; and to my mind it is upon this point, and this point alone, that the discussion to-day should continue." Mr. Crum forgot that the whole trouble in India (and a great anomaly too) is that the executive Government is practically also the legislating authority, and very often the law-maker, law-breaker and judge combined, which is not the case in free countries. Not even the Prime Minister of England would dare to call a critical speech on an indemnity bill in the House of Commons dishonest. Government should no doubt try to redeem its promise. But is it impossible for the Crums of Anglo-India to perceive that the non-official Indian members of Council made no promise when Government gave its word of protection, that they have reasons and consciences of their own which they must satisfy, and that if all opposition to official views and intentions must be considered dishonest and ridiculous, it is best to abolish the farcical things called legislative councils and rule by ukases.

Mr. Sita Nath Ray made a brief and mild speech supporting Mr. Chanda's amendment. That the two Bengal members supported the amendment has saved Bengal from utter disgrace. Still it must be said that our province made a poor show in the debate.

Mr. W. M. Hailey made an able and skilful speech presenting the official version of facts and arguments. He was neither ill-tempered nor insolent or rude.

Mr Sachchidananda Sinha whose speeches are characterised by good temper, humour and polish made an able and well reasoned speech. He was able to persuade the Home Member to propose and carry an important amendment to the preamble and also to accept an amendment of his own. Mr Sinha gallantly and successfully stood up for Pandit Malaviya against Mr Thompson's rude personalities.

Mr Sinha was followed by the egregious Mr H. McPherson who claimed to speak for my own province Bihar and Orissa. He would have people believe that it was not the non-official members in opposition but official members like himself who are in close touch with all shades of opinion in the country and can give voice to the true sentiments of the public. But unfortunately it was also argued from the official benches that some of the speeches of the non-official members were really addressed to the outside public as parts of the next electioneering campaign—which was an unintended admission that these speeches coincided with and gave expression to the prevalent Indian public opinion. Evidently the *Searchlight* and the Bihar Provincial Conference are thorns on the sides of Mr McPherson and his fellow bureaucrats of Bihar.

Lieutenant General Sir Havelock Hudson's defence of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and of the crawling order in Amritsar were the greatest unconscious admissions of official misdeeds made by themselves.

As usual Mr B. N. Sarma made an able and well reasoned speech. Among other things he tried to clearly bring out the fact that Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government made it a point to humiliate educated Indians. He too, took up the cudgels on behalf of Mr Malaviya against Mr Thompson.

Sir George Lowndes the law member, dwelt mainly on legal points and aspects. He succeeded in giving pin pricks to Pandit Malaviya and in convincing Sir D. N. Shaw-Wacha that the Indemnity Bill was all right. In recent years Sir D. N. Shaw has shown too great a readiness to fall in with official views and has developed an

eagerness to lecture to his Indian colleagues as if they were schoolboys. He seems to have outlived his usefulness as a councillor.

Mr K. V. Ranganaswami Ayyangar is usually brief but always fearless and outspoken.

After the Home Member had replied to the debate Mr Chanda's motion for postponement of the bill was put and of course negatived. The motion that leave be given to introduce the bill was put and agreed to as a matter of course. That the non-official opposition members should put themselves to so much trouble for the sake of what is called moral effect or moral victory may well excite the risibility of gods and cynics alike.

After the Home Member had moved that the bill be taken into consideration numerous amendments moved by the non-official members were put and negatived only one of Mr Sinha's amending motions being agreed to. When the amendments had been disposed of the Home Member moved that the Bill as amended by the council be passed. Mr Malaviya opposed the motion in a powerful speech in the course of which he replied to the speeches of some official members particularly to those of General Hudson and Mr Thompson. More official and non-official speeches followed with the inevitable conclusion that the Bill was passed.

Congress Presidentship

Various names have been proposed for the Congress Presidentship. The gentlemen named are with one exception all Indians. As there are so many quite competent Indians available Mr B. G. Horniman's claims need not be considered particularly as he is not worthier than any of the Indians named.

We have said in a previous issue that Sir C. Sankaran Nair should be elected this year, fully bearing in mind what we had said in connection with his voting for the Rowlatt Bill. He is an ex-president of the Congress and his ability and patriotism are beyond question. The claims of most of the nominees are being discussed with reference to what they have done in

relation to Panjab affairs. It is necessary to mention in this connection only Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation of his seat in the Viceroy's executive council because of his disagreement with his colleagues on the subject of the enforcement and duration of martial law in the Panjab. His very able minutes of dissent, forming part of the *Government of India despatches*, are the most fearless, able and conspicuous examples of bearding the lions of the I.C.S. in their own dens. As one acquainted with the inner workings and motives of Indian administration, he would be best able to advise as to how we should devise means to gain our object. It is also probable that he (alone among Indians) knows to some extent why Government have dealt with the Panjab in the way they have done. Should it not be impossible for Sir Sankaran Nair to return to India in time, we think he should be elected.

Mr. B. G. Tilak's great ability and unquestionable patriotism require no extolling. But having been absent in England, he has not been able to acquire any first hand knowledge of Panjab affairs.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has fearlessly and with great acumen exposed in *Young India* many of the most glaring instances of travesty of justice in the Panjab, and is now in that province to advise and help the people there. His views on the Indemnity Bill and the Panjab Enquiry committee have not, however, been generally accepted by the public. His services to the country and his unique personality and high character need not be described. Moreover, he is revered by Hindu and Moslem alike.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya spoke as follows in the course of one of his speeches in the Indian Legislative Council:—

'Ditcher,' writing in *Capital*, has done me the honour of suggesting that I should be placed on the Committee [of Inquiry into Panjab affairs]. My Lord, I suggest a better name. I know many facts about the occurrences in the Panjab. I venture to think that I know more facts about these distressing events than probably any member of the Government, either the Government of India or the Government of the Panjab, does; but there is one gentleman who knows more about them, and that is my

esteemed friend the Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Advocate of the Allahabad High Court. He has, my Lord, at the sacrifice of a fee of a thousand rupees a day, laboured for many days in the Panjab sifting out facts, and gathering evidence. He is in possession of a volume of facts which will be of great help to the Committee.

Which of the two Pandits knows more of Panjab affairs, we cannot say. But evidently Pandit Moti Lal Nehru knows at least as much as Pandit Malaviya. Mr. Nehru's organ, the *Independent*, has all along been very fearless and outspoken on Panjab affairs. His sacrifices are also undoubted. His legal talents have also been strenuously employed for obtaining justice for many of the victims of martial law. Moreover, he has not yet had the honour of being elected president of the Congress.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's past services to the country need no recounting. Recently he has worked hard for the Panjab both in the Viceroyal Council and outside. In addition to trying to know and to make known all available particulars regarding the Panjab tragedy, he has laboured in Bombay and elsewhere to obtain relief to those in the Panjab who have been rendered helpless by recent doings and happenings. *The Leader*, the organ of the party led by Mr. Malaviya, has worked for the Panjab with a courage, judgment and wealth of information which have won the respect and admiration of competent persons. Against Pandit Malaviya's election it may be urged by some that he has already presided more than once.

It has not been our object to appraise the worth or claims of all the gentlemen nominated. We do not possess sufficient knowledge of their careers and characters to do so, nor perhaps entire freedom from conscious and unconscious bias. We have only jotted down a few points as impartially as we could.

The Khilafat Day.

Hindu-Moslem unanimity regarding the way in which the Turkish Empire and Moslem holy places should be dealt with may or may not succeed in securing justice

and self-determination for Turkey, but it cannot be denied that the welfare of India depends more on cordial relations and co-operation between Hindus and Musalman than on any other socio political factor. Therefore, the good understanding between these communities has given the greatest general satisfaction.

The Cyclone in Bengal

The cyclone in Bengal has been a greater disaster than any within living memory. The Calcutta Meteorological Office did not anticipate such a disaster, and so did not give any adequate previous warning to the public. It stands in need of severe handling. The Simla Office did anticipate the storm.

It is very encouraging to find that the leaders of the people have responded very quickly to the cry of distress, and that Government have also responded though after some delay. The beginning was good. It is to be hoped that the present lull in the activity of the relief organisations remarked upon in some papers, is only a seeming lull. In any case larger amounts than have yet been subscribed by the public or sanctioned by Government and better planned and more strenuous activity, appear to be required to deal adequately with the situation. Incidentally may it be hoped, without offence that Bengal would be quick to respond to cries of distress from outside Bengal as it is to cries from within the province.

In this connection, we have pleasure to draw attention to the appeal of the Social Service League, as a reliable agency printed among our advertisements.

Indentured Labour in Fiji

We are glad to read the last paragraph of the following telegram—

Simla Oct. 29
Intimation has been received from the Secretary of State for India that the Government of Fiji has been instructed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Indian labourers in Fiji are to be released from indenture on 1st January 1920 on all estates on which the following reforms suggested by Mr C. T. Andrews have not been carried out by that date.

(1) That at the mill centres the coolie lines be reconstructed so as to give privacy and separateness to married labourers.

(2) That the mill centres hospitals be placed under the supervision of a resident matron.

(3) That no young unmarried overseer be placed in charge of field gangs of Indian women.

(4) That no young unmarried hospital assistant be placed in charge of an Indian hospital where there is no matron.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies does not consider that the demand for cancellation on the estates where these reforms have been carried out is justifiable unless compensation is offered to the planters at the expense of India.

The Government of India have now agreed by telegram what would be the cost of freeing every Indian labourer in Fiji from indenture on or before the 1st January next.

"A British Persia"

[From the London "Nation"]

The Persian Mission more lucky than some others did indeed reach Paris. But never did it see before it the faintest prospect of an audience with the dictators of civilisation. They bowed to the inevitable and they concluded with the British Government the treaty which it had all along intended to impose. The treaty as we read it places Persia in the same position towards this Empire that Egypt occupied before 1914. We do indeed pledge ourselves to recognise its independence much as we had pledged ourselves to evacuate Egypt. It is independence qualified by the fact that we alone are to appoint the advisers who will control its policy and we alone are to appoint the officers who command the forces which will execute the advice.

Persia is tied to us fatally and completely. If in a moment of desperation she were to bethink herself of turning to some other Power for aid she would find herself in a hopeless cul-de-sac. This treaty is primarily an advertisement to all other Powers great and small that Persia is our sphere. We have a lien on the customs. We acquire by this treaty the right of railway building and control, the alternative means of transport also. [Besides the network of railways built in Mesopotamia with men and materials supplied by India, the Kushki extension Railway has carried the Indian railway system through 300 miles of arid tract in Baluchistan right up to the Persian border at Mirjawa]. We already had the oil fields. Persia in short has placed all her assets in our hands. We can perceive only one respect in which this regime differs from an avowed protectorate. The disguise (such as it is) will enable the Foreign Office to escape the inquisition (such as it is) of the House of Commons.

Two consequences follow from this over smart performance. The French are exceedingly

annoyed. It may be of course that the French are somewhat perturbed by the possible consequences of so many wounds dealt to Moslem pride. They have taken Morocco and Tunis and they want to take Syria. We have made the Sultan of Turkey our prisoner and the King of the Hedjaz the prospective Caliph is our creature. And now as a climax we extinguish what was left of the independence of the last Muhammadan State. On the whole however we imagine that the French press is retaliating against us for our supposed reluctance to carry out the secret treaty which makes over Syria to France. Our experts while taking Mesopotamia and Egypt (for ourselves) talk of Arab nationalism when the French press the r claims. This quarrel we imagine will be settled on the usual diplomatic principle that two wrongs make a right. It is known technically as the doctrine of compensations. The French will grow callous about Persia when we cease to deplore the hard fate of Syria.

The other consequence of this transaction will be more enduring. It has exposed the vanity of the hopes or shall we say of some of the hopes that were reposed in the League of Nations. If we can without consulting the rest of the civilised world assign this great region with its high though fatally impractical civilisation if we can escape in Persia even the few limitations implied in a formal mandate if we can shut the door of the World's Court to any weak suitor whose case runs counter to our interests we have succeeded in demonstrating that the critics are deplorably right who say that the League of Nations means nothing but the consecrated hegemony of three or four great Powers. We by self-interest the Americans by weakness and incapacity are destroying the ideal for which both profess to have fought. From crisis to crisis the idealists repeat the warning yet hopeful phrase. The League of Nations is passing through a test. It takes a series of tests to extinguish so great a hope. There will come a moment when men will no longer indulge it.

Multiplicity of Religious Denominations and Self rule

According to the *New York Evening World* of April 22nd, 1919

There are 168 religious denominations in the United States. There are fifteen kinds of Baptists, twenty one kinds of Lutherans, twelve kinds of Presbyterians and fifteen kinds of Methodists.

And yet the people of the United States are independent and self ruling, which according to our Anglo Indian official and non official opponents no people, like the Indians, comprising various sects and denominations can be.

Local Autonomy the Only Means of Saving Large Empires

Dr C J L Bates writes in the *Japan Magazine*

The only nations left to day with a population of over one hundred millions recognizing the authority of a Central Government are the British Empire, the Empire Republic of China and the United States of America. In addition to these France, Italy and Japan rule millions other than their own people. It is clear that only in so far as these great empires are able to organize themselves on a basis of local autonomy and the freedom of the social groups of which they are composed to enjoy the use of their own languages, religions and traditional customs can they continue.

In this new day empires can justify their existence only in so far as they are leagues of nations.

The Awakening of Eastern Asia

The same writer observes with reference to the awakening of Eastern Asia —

One of the most significant by products of the war indeed is the enhancement of Japan's position as a world Power. Henceforth nothing that affects the continent of Asia eastward of India can be decided without the concurrence of Japan. Moreover it seems to me beyond question that for the generation in which we live the leadership of Japan in East Asia is assured. The fact that Japan is the only nation in Asia that has a settled and effective government that it is the only nation in Asia with an army and navy that it is the only nation in Asia with a public school system that it is educating practically all the children and that it is the only nation in Asia that is trained and equipped for industrial expansion all this makes Japan's leadership inevitable for the next twenty five years at least.

With this awakening of eastern Asia comes a knowledge of the fact that the distribution of the earth's surface is very disproportionate to the populations of the different races. The fact that 900 000 000 of Asiatics are compelled to be content with a territory one sixth the size of that owned though most sparsely occupied by 600 000 000 Europeans and that these 900 000 000 Orientals are denied freedom of emigration to most of the most desirable parts of this largely unoccupied territory has led a recent Japanese writer Mr. Kawakami to say that either the policy of freedom of migration must be adopted or those European nations that possess large tracts of the earth's surface that they do not occupy must share up with the land hungry over crowded nations.

'Western Nations are Hypocrites

Pursuing obviously Mr Kawakami's line of thought, a Japanese gentleman of high official position said to Dr Bates some time ago

'Mr Bates if I may speak quite frankly I must say that we Japanese feel that western nations are hypocrites They keep saying peace peace to us but at the same time they are going on with their plans for expansion and selfaggrandisement all around us If you do not want our people in Canada well and good we have no desire to force ourselves upon you And so also as far as the United States is concerned In fact it is my opinion that it would be better for all the Japanese in America to be brought back to Japan We are not negroes to be lynched and treated like lower animals We have a country and we can retire to it But there is something still harder to bear and that is that if say 2 000 Japanese go to Mexico or South America where they are welcomed the day after their arrival the American newspapers come out with big headlines Yellow Peril Japanese Invasion of Mexico Monroe Doctrine in Danger and so on This is intolerable And not satisfied with keeping us out of the continent of America the western people are jealous of every advance we make in Asia We feel that western nations are trying to put a ring around us to prevent our development in any direction We Japanese demand the right to live'

In other words Japan claims the right to play the robber in Eastern Asia as Western nations have done in Asia Africa and America

The Intense Nationalism of the Japanese

To illustrate the intense nationalism of the Japanese, Dr Bates writes that in Hawaii Japanese Schools are maintained to prevent the Japanese children being too completely Americanized In Vancouver a fully organized and equipped primary school is maintained by the Japanese for their children, evidently to prevent them being Canadianised He remarks that this is good policy for Japan from the nationalist point of view, but not from the international standpoint True but do Europeans and Americans (who ought in practice to recognise the importance and necessity of internationalism not less than any eastern people) who settle or sojourn in any eastern land send their children to the schools attended by native children?

Polished and Unpolished Rice As Food

Like the people of Bengal and some other tracts of India, the Japanese are mainly a rice-eating people They are also at present among the most powerful nations of the earth It should be useful, therefore to know what kind of rice they find most nourishing Dr Takao Okabe, president of the Soen Hospital writes in the *Japan Magazine*

Owing to the high price of rice in Japan there has been a search for substitutes and some of this speculation in new foods is likely to prove injurious to the national health Some are advocating the cultivation of potatoes instead of rice as a substitute but rice is better food than potatoes and they can never become a satisfactory substitute for rice the main food of the people The present rice deficiency of the empire is about 20,000 000 bushels annually but this amount could be easily made up by more extensive cultivation Moreover much of the rice crop is wasted by polishing the rice taking off the most nourishing part of the cereal Thus the nation is losing much food by this bad habit of demanding polished rice. It is not too much to say that at least ten per cent of the total yield of rice is lost by the present method of preparation by polishing Unpolished rice is far more nourishing to the human body than that now consumed by the Japanese and yet very few eat unpolished rice either not caring for it or thinking it derogatory to their dignity to do so

If the annual output of rice in Japan be taken at 200 000 000 bushels and the annual loss through polishing be put at 25 000 000 bushels it is easy to see the great loss to the nation physically as well as economically If the people of Japan would but make up their minds to eat even half polished rice the saving would be immense and the result to public health very beneficial It is obviously very foolish to throw away the best part of the grain but most people do not follow reason they follow habit One would think they would adopt the wiser course even for the sake of health if not for their pockets but here also habit is more powerful than reason Men do not stop smoking or taking alcohol because it is bad for the health, and so they do not stop eating polished rice because it is bad for the health to say nothing of the saving thereby

Another objection which the Japanese Doctor brings forward against the use of polished rice is that in polishing it the cleaners have to use fine sand, and all of this is never quite taken out of the rice thus rendering it in another way injurious to the health of the

body. The method of cleaning, however, should be prohibited by law. It is a mystery why the authorities have so long remained inactive in regard to this menace to the nation's health." In India also polished rice ought not to be used.

In the writer's opinion potatoes cannot be a substitute for rice.

If Japan takes to eating potatoes, as advised by the Government, the health of the nation will be appreciably affected. Japanese physique will deteriorate and a sickness known as English-sickness which prevailed in Iwate Ken last year, will be induced. Too much potato food causes a softening of the bones, frequently seen among the poor in England, who eat too many potatoes. A reasonable amount of potato food is all right, and sweet potatoes and yams should be included, but too much of this food will, as has been stated, lead to bone deterioration, which is as bad as deterioration of character. If a certain amount of fish be taken with the potatoes it will prevent bone deterioration. But the best food is rice mixed with other cereals, and avoid potatoes as much as possible.

Dr. Takao Okabe believes that the food consumed by the ancestors of the Japanese, consisting of rice mixed with barley, millet or Deccan grass, would prove sufficient for modern needs. "The people who live on such food are as healthy as any other, and live longer than those who subsist on polished rice."

Rice mixed with Deccan grass is not palatable to people at first, but a diet of 70 per cent Deccan grass and 30 per cent rice will prove sufficient to keep the body in good health, other things being equal, and by persisting in the diet it soon becomes palatable to any one. Those resorting to this diet, however, have to take more salt, which is done by the poor mostly by eating herring, or miso soup.

The people in the mountain regions of Japan who live on this diet of grass and rice are quite healthy.

What is Deccan grass?

What Korea Needs.

Professor S. Suchiro, writing in the *Taiyo* of Japan, presents to his people the only just and effective solution of the Korean problem. He says that the solution can be reached in no other way than autonomy.

When we trace the cause of the Irish revolt, we can easily see that it is due to the fact that England ignored the Irish claim for autonomy. As to the time and the extent of autonomy, there is still room for consideration. What the Government has to do is to adopt this principle first, and then gradually proceed to educate the Koreans or take other measures in conformity to it. This will surely satisfy

the people, and the unity of Japan and Korea will be realized. Some theorists oppose this opinion on the ground that if once self-government be acknowledged, it will sooner or later lead them to complete independence. My view is that if the Koreans as a result of their autonomy and through their political training, can stand by themselves and claim their independence, Japan will have no right to reject their demand. In such a case their independence will profit Japan. When the Koreans ask for independence and have ability enough to stand by themselves the Government should comply with the request rather than prevent it and thus strive for the full concord of Japan and Korea for the maintenance of peace in the Far East. This is the best way to secure the safety of the Japanese Empire. Nothing does more harm to our country than the continuance of the wrong policy which our Government has been pursuing up to the present day and the treatment of the Korean people as an inferior race. Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to say that our national destiny depends on the solution of the Korean problem.

Autonomy, though it is bound ultimately to lead to independence in reality if not also in name, is the only just and effective solution of India's political problem, too.

The Cure for Bolshevism.

As most of the powerful governments of the world are opposed to the Bolsheviks, they have been probably painted blacker than they are, and the five year long censorship has also prevented us from knowing what Bolshevism really stands for. However, taking it for granted that the Bolsheviks are the worst possible set of men on earth, abusing and cursing them again and again cannot prevent the appearance and spread of the Bolshevik infection in our country. The way to fight it lies in the removal of all sorts of social, economic and political injustice. There is no other way.

Japan favours German goods and German skill.

The *Osaka Mainichi*, a Japanese daily, expresses the opinion that German goods should never be despised, and that still more important is the German technical skill displayed in their manufacture. It says that there may be no need to import German capital, "but it is absolutely necessary to import German technical skill. In all the new industries developed during the war, what is most needed is

German skill. If this is so in England and America, how much more must it be so here in Japan."

Shantung and U. S. Senate.

In our "Foreign Periodicals" section will be found an expression of Chinese feeling and opinion on the question of Shantung. In the U. S. Senate, Senator Lodge attacked the Shantung award on two different kinds of grounds which are not intrinsically connected with one another, as the telegrams quoted below will show.

Washington, Oct. 14.

Senator Lodge, the Republican leader, to-day vehemently denounced the Shantung provision of the Peace Treaty on the ground that Japan was building a Far Eastern Empire which would threaten the safety of the entire world. Mr. Lodge urged the maintenance of a superior navy in the Pacific, as the day would come when the United States would be involved in another great war to preserve civilisation.—"Reuter."

Washington, Oct. 15.

In the Senate, Senator Lodge charged Japan with breaking her pledges regarding China and Korea and violating the policy of open door and destroying foreign commerce in Manchuria and Korea. He asserted that all Japan's promises to return Shantung were marked by a vital omission, namely, a definite date of withdrawal. He declared that Japan was steeped in German ideas and would ultimately use the man power of China militarily and threaten Europe. He declared that the Shantung award was morally indefensible and urged the adoption of amendments to the Peace Treaty, returning German rights in Shantung to China instead of to Japan.—"Reuter."

We oppose the Shantung award on the ground of its moral indefensibility. Japan's building a Far Eastern Empire is a different matter. The ever-expanding British Empire in the East is far more powerful than the Japanese empire in the near future can be. Why is the British Empire not considered a menace to the safety of the entire world? And what is the meaning of the word "world"? The fact is, there is rivalry between Japan and the U. S. A. in China and the Pacific ocean, and therefore Japan's growing strength is looked upon with alarm by the Americans. Hence

some of them are apt to jumble up moral considerations and considerations of self-interest. Not that we consider it good for the world that Japan should have an empire in the continent of Asia. But as regards the ethical aspect of empire-building, the subjection and exploitation of one people by another is morally unjustifiable, whoever the imperializing nation may be. White empire-building nations are no whit better or more desirable people than a yellow empire-building nation.

However, on whatever grounds Senator Lodge may have opposed the Shantung award, we should have been glad, if he had succeeded. We were, therefore, sorry to read the following telegram, and hope the other motions referred to therein will have a different fate:—

Washington, Oct. 17.

The Senate to-day defeated the Shantung amendment. Senator Lodge announced that he will move an amendment to the Peace Treaty to delete entirely the sections awarding German rights in Shantung to Japan. Several Republican Senators have also notified their intention to propose reservations as regards the Shantung award.—"Reuter."

Grand Committees.

The Seventh Despatch on Indian Constitutional Reforms dated the 28th May last, was devoted to the subject of Grand Committees. The mechanism of the Grand Committee, the Despatch points out, "was devised by the authors of the Report (para 252) as a means of obtaining legislation which the Governor considers essential."; the Governor, it further says, must resolutely use his powers to prevent the standards of administration from deteriorating. But according to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Grand Committee was to be so constituted as to comprise 40 to 50 per cent. of the Council and the Governor was to have power to nominate a bare majority exclusive of himself. The Government of India however "felt strongly that the Grand Committee procedure had been made too difficult, and that the majority offered to Government was too uncertain for practical purposes." The Government of India proceed to refer to "the strong probability that

the type of old fashioned Indian gentlemen, conservative by disposition and anxious within reason to side with the Government, will not be found—at any rate at the outset—among the elected members of the new Councils. The despatch recognises 'that the great extension of the franchise ought to ensure the return to the new councils of some representatives of the more conservative elements in the community. By a curious twist of language and perversion of the right point of view the old type *Jo-Hukums* who won the approbation of the officials by surrendering their private judgment at their bidding at every available opportunity, are characterised as independent thinkers, and the despatch expresses regret that the habit of independent political thought however has still to develop and we doubt whether at first many elected members of the councils will be able to withstand whatever may be their own convictions the temporary vehemence of an agitation against a Government measure which their elected leaders are determined to oppose. The Government of India note that nomination has been confined by the Franchise Committee for the most part to the classes who carry least weight in politics this makes it undesirable to carry contentious measures by the votes of nominated persons. The Governor can it is suggested rely at least on the European and Anglo Indian members but the government of India have to discard the idea as it would import racial feeling into the work of the Grand Committee. From this dilemma as the despatch puts it the Government of India find a way out by (1) reducing the size of the Grand Committee from 40 to 50 per cent as proposed in the Joint Report to 33 per cent in Bengal and to an even smaller proportion in some other provinces (2) increasing the official element (3) maintaining the relative voting power of the officials and the non officials on the same footing as in the present legislative Councils. Finally the despatch says that though its authors are fully alive to the disadvantages of the official bloc the Governor should find in his Grand Com-

mittee a sure staff, and not an unstable reed."

We quote the following extracts from Sir Srinaran Nair's Minute of Dissent appended to the Seventh Despatch

So far as I can see we cannot secure the due representation of the special and communal interests and of the interests represented by the general electorates in the Grand Committee as they will be constituted by my Colleagues

The Grand Committee according to my Colleagues will consist of a smaller number than the existing Legislative Councils with the result that the measures relating to the reserved subjects which consist of the more important subjects will be passed by a Council which would not carry the same weight as even the existing Legislative Councils

There are further certain other assumptions underlying the proposals of my Colleagues which I am unable to accept. It is assumed that the effect of the growing influence or the control of the legislature over the Provincial Government would be a deterioration of the standards of administration. I see no reason for making any such assumption. On the other hand the past work of the elected members of Legislative Councils would justify the contrary assumption. If we are not prepared to assume that Legislative Councils will bring a sense of responsibility to bear upon their public work if on the contrary we must assume that their tendency will always be in the direction of the lowering of the standards of administration and that it becomes the constant duty of the Governor to keep a vigilant watch over such a tendency in the Council and to act on his individual responsibility as if he alone was concerned for good government the logical conclusion could not be resisted that it would be far better in the interests of the country to abolish the Councils altogether and frankly to invest the Governor with undivided power and responsibility

Almost invariably a number of nominated as well as elected non official members is found in every Council who do not go with the majority of the elected members. This will be so much more frequently in the Councils of the future. Rid of the official bloc and with parties among themselves there will be much more of division of opinion among elected members and there will be no combination among them and the nominated members solidly to vote against official measures. My colleagues have made a pointed reference to our most recent experience* in the Indian Legislative Council

Which shows to their eye that no non-official members can be relied upon invariably to support a Government measure. A Government measure which evokes such a unanimous and

* In connection with the debate on the Rowlatt Bill

concentrated opposition must be an exceptionally controversial measure and the odds are at least even that the combined opinion of all non-officials is as sound as that of the Government which seeks to force down such a measure on an unwilling people. In this connection I may recall the words addressed by Lord Morley to the Government of India. In his Despatch of November 1908 in which he conveyed his decision to do away with official majorities in the Provincial Councils he pointed out that when all the non-officials are unanimously opposed to a measure it is very likely desirable that that measure should not be proceeded with for the time being at any rate. The wisdom of this advice will still more be apparent in future with the growing power of public opinion and the increasing necessity of Government's relying upon the support of opinion.

... If a legislation removed from the purview of the Council cannot be carried through a Grand Committee with the support of a very few elected members in addition to that of the officials it must be a bad measure and I would unhesitatingly conclude that such a measure which has not a single friend among non-officials even if they have been elected to the Council had better not be enacted into law at all.

Holding these views I am sorry I am unable to join my colleagues in proposing the variations from the Report Scheme which they urge in the Despatch.

Redistribution of Provincial Areas

The last constructive proposal which we shall mention is of a different type from any of the preceding. You are aware that a certain section of the inhabitants of Assam have expressed a desire for re-union with Bengal. Some of our advisers would go further on these lines they suggest that all the plains districts of the province should be transferred to Bengal and the remainder of the province should continue to be administered on the present lines. So far as we are aware however such a desire for union with Bengal is confined to certain of the inhabitants of the Sylhet district who presented an address to yourself and His Excellency in December 1917 and to other persons in the Goalpara district regarding whose request we enclose two letters Nos 356 W dated March 12 1919 and 700 W dated May 20 1919 from the Chief Commissioner. We have therefore no evidence that there is any general desire for a transfer to Bengal and we agree with the authors of the Report (para 246) and with the Chief Commissioner that redistributions of provincial areas should not be imposed by official action and should follow rather than either precede or accompany reform. For these reasons we do not propose to seek a solution of the problem in any territorial readjustments—Para 13 of the Ninth Despatch of the Government of India dated June 9 1919.

Assam and the Backward Tracts

This is the subject of the ninth despatch dated 5th June last. The Government of India propose that the head of the province of Assam should continue to retain his present title of Chief Commissioner in order to 'mark the difference between Assam and the other provinces in the matters of size wealth development and general importance. There should be one Member of Council and one Minister. Though this would lead to increased cost the Government of India hold that 'Indian opinion is strongly in favour of Council Government and may be expected to acquiesce in the increased cost.' The province should be divided into two distinct portions one composed of the plains and the other of the hill districts. The hill districts are to be administered on the lines of Chota Nagpur, which is to be one of the 'partially excluded' tracts that is to say the Governor is to have power to exclude the whole or any part of the area from the operation of any act passed by the local legislature and though the ministers are to have jurisdiction throughout the whole area the Governor would have a wider discretion in varying the orders of the ministers in these areas than he has elsewhere.' The following lists show the partially excluded and 'wholly excluded tracts at a glance.

Angul the Chittagong Hill Tracts the Laccadive and Amanadive Islands Spiti and Lahaul should be wholly excluded from the reforms scheme.

(ii) Chota Nagpur the Santhal Parganas Sambalpur the Agency Tracts in Madras and the Darjeeling district should be partially excluded.

The Champaran Case

The note of Sir Sankaran Nair on the Champaran and Kaira cases in his Minute of Dissent appended to the First Despatch of the 5th March was too remarkable a document to be passed over in silence, and accordingly the Government of India addressed a tenth Despatch to the Secretary of State entirely on those two cases. In Appendix III of this despatch we find that the Committee appointed by

aware, the other despatches have not been placed on the market and are not yet available to the public. Whence the public going to have access to them?

The Indian and Provincial Educational Services

The Government education services have been the objects of much criticism, many of our correspondents have written about them with acrimony and wherever we have gone in Bengal even in places far from any Government college we have heard the same complaints. The reason for this dissatisfaction is resentment at the way in which the services are classified, and in particular at what is regarded as the invidious distinction between the two higher services known respectively as the Indian and the Provincial. The members of these two services are called upon to do work of the same type and in theory they are equal but the Indian Educational Service is paid at a substantially higher rate and because of this difference of pay, the Indian Educational Service man is regarded and is apt to regard himself as ranking above his colleague in the Provincial Educational Service though the latter may be and not infrequently is a man of longer service and possibly of greater distinction in scholarship.

The original theory of the distinction between the two services was that the more highly paid service was to be recruited in England and the higher pay was not to represent higher status but was to form a compensation for exile for the expense of sending children home to be educated and for other burdens that increase the cost of living to the Englishman in India. But this logical and defensible theory was in fact made untenable when some Indians educated in England began to be admitted to the Indian Educational Service while other Indians not less highly qualified and often themselves educated in England had to be content with places in the Provincial Service. In these cases the distinction

had obviously come to be a distinction between a higher and a lower service. And in fact it has been so regarded. Government itself admits this when it pays an extra allowance of Rs 100 *per mensem* to a man in the Provincial Education Service for 'acting' for a man in the Indian Educational Service. In practice, therefore whatever the original theory may have been the one service is treated as superior to the other and not unnaturally, the impression has been created that the distinction is a device for ensuring higher salaries and status to the Englishmen and for keeping Indian scholars in an inferior position. It is true that the number of men affected is small there were, as we have already noted only twelve English teachers in the colleges of Bengal in 1917. But it is not the number that matters. No more unhappy impression could be created than the impression that a distinction is drawn between scholars in the service of a University, even partially, along racial lines.

of recent years they [European members of the Indian Educational Service] even find that they are regarded by their students with a sort of suspicion not as their intellectual leaders but as Government agents set to watch over them.

But though we recognise that much of this criticism [against European members of the Indian Educational Service and the method of recruitment for the Indian and Provincial Services] is unfair it has a real basis of fact. The distinction drawn between the two services is invidious [italics ours] and sometimes tempts even very junior members of the Indian Educational Service to regard themselves as the superiors of the most senior and distinguished members of the Provincial Education Service. This makes friendly co-operation between colleagues in the two services often very difficult and in a college of all places friendly co-operation is indispensable. Report of the Calcutta University Commission Vol 1 Part 1 chapter XIII

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THE HOPE OF IMMORTALITY

By HIRAMBACHANDRA MAITRA

SIMPLE men, wrote Bacon admire studies, "and wise men use them For they teach not their own use but that is a wisdom without them and above them, won by observation" Applying these words to the attitude of some of the leaders of modern thought towards the scientific movement of our times, we may say that those who have ignored the spiritual needs of men, or viewing them from without, have failed to realise how large a place must be assigned to them in a rational scheme of life, have, in admiring the achievements of science, overlooked its limitations like "simple men" "Led by science," says Spencer, "mankind have progressed from boomerangs to 100 ton guns, from dug out canoes to Atlantic liners, from picture writing on skins to morning journals printed twenty thousand per hour, and that over the developed arts of life science now presides scarcely needs saying" But the arts of life do not carry us very far They return no answer to the questionings by which the soul is perplexed to-day as it was in the dawn of human thought The response to them comes from within, and not from without Spiritual vision is more than knowledge "Thou shalt open thy eyes O Son of Adam", exclaims Carlyle, "thou shalt look, and not for ever jargon about the laws of Optics and the making of spectacles" We pay dearly for the worship of science It blinds us to the need of that higher culture on which Socrates laid such stress in the precept—Know thyself

Dogmas and creeds indeed change and pass But the foundations of faith are too deep to be shaken by their fate When St Francis of Sales says, "Love is stronger than death" we forget his church and creed We recognise in him a seer whose words shine as a light on our path With a faith like his, one would perhaps find the dug out canoe tolerable

But if some have exalted science to a higher place than it can rightfully claim, others blessed with a wisdom which is without science and above it, have stood forth as its true interpreters, reading in its teachings a confirmation of moral and spiritual laws The highest value of physical science is felt," says Emerson, "when it goes beyond its special objects and translates their rules into a universal cipher, in which we read the rules of the intellect and the rules of moral practice" Again "I think that the naturalist works not for himself, but for the believing mind, which turns his discoveries to revelations, receives them as private tokens of the grand good will of the Creator"

Rightly interpreted, science has great truths to teach us It establishes by incontestable evidence the reign of law, and thus helps us to believe in the presence of law and order where we fail to trace them And we are also indebted to it for a progressive confirmation of man's faith in the One in the many, the Eternal in the fleeting a faith uttered by wise men long before science came forth as a witness on its side It reveals more and more

wanting in culture and moral refinement cling most fondly to life and they are the least disposed to engage in enquiries about the destiny of man. This brooding over the mystery of death cannot be accounted for by a hankering after life. It seems as if the human spirit were impelled to engage in such enquiries by a dim sense of its own great destiny—a latent consciousness which appearances cannot subdue. The idea of immortality says Matthew Arnold as this idea rises in its generality before the human spirit is something grander truer and more satisfying than it is in the particular forms by which St Paul in the famous fifteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians and Plato in the Phædo endeavour to develop and establish it.

Above and beyond the inadequate solutions which Hebraism and Hellenism here attempt extends the immense and august problem itself and the human spirit which gave birth to it. Does not the greatness of the idea lie in this that it appeals to a hidden faith of the human soul in a great Hereafter awaiting it? If the wish to live cannot explain man's seeking a solution of the mystery of death still less can it account for the faith before which that mystery stands solved. As Wilfrid Ward has shown in his essay on

The Wish to Believe the very intensity of a wish makes it difficult for us to hope for its fulfilment. The faith of Socrates and Jesus had its source not in a hankering after life but in clearness of spiritual vision. When faith in immortality is professed by a worldly minded man who does not believe in duty or in the need of self sacrifice we may very well suspect that what he calls faith is but imagination voked to the service of selfish desires. But the faith that brings with it a pure life and the power of renunciation must spring from other sources than the wish to live.

A physical demonstration of immortality such as has been attempted by writers on spiritualism and occult phenomena lies beyond the scope of this essay. While investigations of this kind are not to be disparaged the constitution of the human mind and the nature of our relationship to God ought to satisfy a thoughtful en-

quirer that the career of man cannot end with his earthly life. What the seekers of God have to say on this great question may be fitly summed up in these words of the *Svetasvatara Upanishad* तदेव विदित्वा

अविद्यते—A man who knows Him truly passes over death.* The strongest will to live cannot give us the assurance of a life hereafter. The more intense our earthly desires the thicker the veil drawn over the unknown. The power to believe that the soul is too sacred to perish can only be won by unflinching loyalty to our moral and spiritual aspirations. Not by literature or theology says Emerson but only by rare integrity can we attain clearness of vision. Yes only by rare integrity! It is not conventional morality or outward propriety of conduct that can lead to spiritual enlightenment. We cannot expect to be assured of another life unless we make the best possible use of our present life. What right has the idler to ask for another life to idle away? What right has the covaricious man to hope that death will not end his career of self seeking? How can the sensualist expect to be permitted to live a corrupt life for ever? It is only the spiritual side of our nature that has the right to live and grow. To realise that we are not of the earth earthy we must acknowledge the Divine in us as our Master and be ruled by it. Life is the talent given us by our Master and it must be used aright in order that we may have abundance. To know that life is too sacred to come to nought we must use it as a sacred gift. I can hardly understand says Tennyson how any great imaginative man who has deeply lived suffered thought and wrought can doubt of the soul's continued progress in the after life.

The aspirations of the human intellect create a presumption in favour of immortality. Not many among those who are filled with admiration by the masterpieces of art and literature are able to realise how infinitely greater is the mind than its

the infinitude as well as the unity of the universe. We gratefully welcome these aids to faith which are of far greater value than what is commonly imagined to be the highest service of science to human life—the power to subdue the material world more and more to our service. The thoughtful explorer of nature, contemplating with wonder the vastness of the universe and the unity of purpose which runs through it, almost uses the language of worship in giving utterance to his emotions. And when we yearn to know if there be a life after physical death, the study of natural phenomena gives us some very useful hints. It clears away a preliminary difficulty by demonstrating how widely appearance and reality differ. Death is absolutely certain, we commonly hear people say. But we know how untrustworthy such certainties are. "I saw it with my own eyes," we take to be indisputable evidence. That evidence, however, has to be sifted with great care. Neither sun, nor moon, nor planet really is where it is seen to be. Stars that have vanished from the heavens may yet be seen shining. Countless creatures fill earth and sky about us without our suspecting their existence. If only the number of vibrations rises or falls below our capacity, we neither see nor hear. The music of the spheres, it was said, could not be heard because it was too loud. Not an absurd theory after all. The things that we see and know may have properties which we have absolutely no means of knowing. Our experience is limited to a few short links of an infinite series. We need not therefore be greatly troubled by the apparent certainty of death. May it not, after all, be only an appearance? Who knows what a wondrous world lies beyond the ken of mortal vision? Science proves that not a particle of matter or physical energy can perish. Absolute destruction is against the order of the universe on the physical side. Can it be permitted in the moral world? If an atom cannot be annihilated, can a mind endowed with the priceless right of thought, a moral nature chastened by suffering and emerging by painful

struggles from follies and sins into a noble manhood, be left to perish? Can utter waste be permitted in a region infinitely grander than the outer world with all its beauty and glory?

Is it not a striking fact that, though man seems to perish utterly with the extinction of physical life, death is regarded as a mystery, as a veil drawn over another world? The enquiry, if there be a life after death, has a strange fascination for the human mind in spite of its utter hopelessness. Though to the eye of flesh the days of man "are as grass," yet, strangely enough, humanity declines to accept death as a settled fact. It keeps knocking from age to age at the gate of the unknown. It gazes wistfully into the darkness beyond the grave. In the legend of the *Kathopanishad*, Nachiketas, offered a boon by Yama, prefers a solution of the mystery of death to the most coveted earthly gifts. And at the royal court of Northumbria, "Man's life," says a sage,

Man's life is like a sparrow, mighty king!
That—while at banquet with your chiefs you sit
Housed near a blazing fire—is seen to flit
Safe from the winter tempest. Fluttering,
Here did it enter, there, on hasty wing,
It lies out and presses on from cold to cold,
But whence it came we know not, nor behold
Whither it goes. Even such that transient Thing,
The human soul, not utterly unknown
While in the Body lodged, her warm abode,
But from what world she came, what woe or weal
On her departure waits, no tongue hath shown."

Questionings like these in the face of the grim certainty of death are a very suggestive fact in the spiritual history of humanity. Why cannot we rest content with the thought that there is an end of everything with death, accepting it as a decree of fate against which there is no appeal? Why cannot we help brooding over the thought of a Whence and a Whither? The sceptic's explanation of this as well as of the belief in a life after death is *the wish to live*. But is there any necessary relation between the one and the other? The wish to live is common to us all. But this sort of inquisitiveness is not met with in an equal degree among all men. Perhaps those who are most

wanting in culture and moral refinement cling most fondly to life and they are the least disposed to engage in enquiries about the destiny of man. This brooding over the mystery of death cannot be accounted for by a hankering after life. It seems as if the human spirit were impelled to engage in such enquiries by a dim sense of its own great destiny—a latent consciousness which appearances cannot subdue. The idea of immortality says Matthew Arnold as this idea rises in its generality before the human spirit is something grander truer and more satisfying than it is in the particular forms by which St Paul in the famous fifteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians and Plato in the Phædo endeavour to develop and establish it.

Above and beyond the inadequate solutions which Hebraism and Hellenism here attempt extends the immense and urgent problem itself and the human spirit which gave birth to it. Does not the greatness of the idea lie in this that it appeals to a hidden faith of the human soul in a great Hereafter awaiting it? If the wish to live cannot explain man's seeking a solution of the mystery of death still less can it account for the faith before which that mystery stands solved. As Wilfrid Ward has shown in his essay on

The Wish to Believe the very intensity of a wish makes it difficult for us to hope for its fulfilment. The faith of Socrates and Jesus had its source not in a hankering after life but in clearness of spiritual vision. When faith in immortality is professed by a worldly minded man who does not believe in duty or in the need of self sacrifice we may very well suspect that what he calls faith is but imagination voked to the service of selfish desires. But the faith that brings with it a pure life and the power of renunciation must spring from other sources than the wish to live.

A physical demonstration of immortality such as has been attempted by writers on spiritualism and occult phenomena lies beyond the scope of this essay. While investigations of this kind are not to be disparaged the constitution of the human mind and the nature of our relationship to God ought to satisfy a thoughtful en-

quirer that the career of man cannot end with his earthly life. What the seekers of God have to say on this great question may be fitly summed up in these words of the *Svetasvatara Upanishad* तदेव विदित्वा

यतिष्वनेति—A man who knows Him truly passes over death.* The strongest will to live cannot give us the assurance of a life hereafter. The more intense our earthly desires the thicker the veil drawn over the unknown. The power to believe that the soul is too sacred to perish can only be won by unflinching loyalty to our moral and spiritual aspirations. Not by literature or theology says Emerson but only by rare integrity can we attain clearness of vision. Yes only by rare integrity! It is not conventional morality or outward propriety of conduct that can lead to spiritual enlightenment. We cannot expect to be assured of another life unless we make the best possible use of our present life. What right has the idler to ask for another life to idle away? What right has the avaricious man to hope that death will not end his career of self seeking? How can the sensualist expect to be permitted to live a corrupt life for ever? It is only the spiritual side of our nature that has the right to live and grow. To realise that we are not of the earth earthly we must acknowledge the Divine in us as our Master and be ruled by it. Life is the talent given us by our Master and it must be used aright in order that we may have abundance. To know that life is too sacred to come to nought we must use it as a sacred gift. I can hardly understand says Tennyson how any great imaginative man who has deeply lived suffered thought and wrought can doubt of the soul's continued progress in the after life.

The aspirations of the human intellect create a presumption in favour of immortality. Not many among those who are filled with admiration by the masterpieces of art and literature are able to realise how infinitely greater is the mind than its

achievements. Plato himself far surpasses his contributions to human thought. *Macbeth* is but a faint echo of the mind of Shakespeare. Most people lack the power to view things in relation to their source. This feebleness of mind, when displayed with regard to the universe, we call atheism. But we have no word for this tendency to stop short of the sources of things when displayed in relation to the creations of the human mind. The person to whom a great book or a great work of art does not suggest the mind which produced it, is also an unbeliever in a certain sense. "In man there is nothing great but mind." How are we awakened to a sense of its greatness by a flow of thoughts into us! What a sense of wealth does the dawning of a great truth on the mind bring with it! What a power, what an inherent dignity, do we become conscious of when a beautiful thought is born in us! Genius, it has been said, seeks no other reward than its own divine companionship. "Genius is a promontory stretching into the Infinite." But the power, the greatness, that manifests itself in genius, does not belong to genius alone. If the sublime intellectual passion of Archimedes or the sombre creations of Shakespeare fill us with wonder, we, too, in a way participate in their intellectual power. Mind cannot admire mind without inner affinity and kinship. We, ordinary people, too, have moments of lofty thought or glimpses of great truths; and then we feel how precious is our birthright of thought. And the greatness of the human mind lies most in this, that in seeking after truth it communes with and is sustained by the Divine Mind. Not the prophets alone, but the great thinkers, the great scientists, the great men of letters also, are inspired by God. There is nothing truer in Milton's utterances than his prayer for Divine aid in his greatest undertaking. We cannot command a flow of inspiration into us at our will. We can but wait and try to be worthy of it by moral and intellectual discipline. We think best and we know most when we are in the most receptive

attitude. Can this communion of the human mind with the Divine cease with the death of the body? The intellectual culture of man but begins here. Newton did not exaggerate when he said he was only gathering pebbles on the sea-shore. Even the most gifted mind can but learn one or two simple lessons, even the most versatile genius can but cultivate a few of the faculties it is endowed with, within the brief space of man's earthly life. Can such gifts come to nothing? Shakespeare, who was not blessed with contemporary fame, felt that his works could not perish. When Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* was published, the Pope said there were things in it which would make it immortal. May we not foretell the destiny of man from the aspirations and the promises of his intellectual powers? Expert critics of statues and paintings are in great request among the lovers of art. Have we not greater need of expert critics of the human mind able to judge of its future from the faculties with which it is equipped?

But the intellect of man with all its promise sinks into insignificance by the side of the moral sense. It has an authority which the intellectual powers in their most commanding forms do not possess. There can be no comparison of the intellect with the moral faculty, said Dr. Arnold. The humility of Newton brought him much nearer to the ideal of true manhood and was of far greater value in the sight of God than his discovery of the law of gravitation. What is *Paradise Lost* to Milton the man? Wordsworth has, I believe, the moral feelings specially in view when he writes,—

Not Chaos, not
The darkest pit of lowest Erebus,
Nor aught of blinder vacancy scooped out
By help of dreams, can breed such fear and awe
As fall upon us often when we look
Into our Minds, into the Mind of Man "

It is in the moral side of our nature that we have a distinct view of the deeps out of which we emerge and the ties by which we are bound to the universe. Can a Utilitarian system of ethics account for the agony of remorse? Carlyle speaks of

'the Infinite Nature of Duty. Duty indeed springs from an infinite source and is in its nature unending. The more we obey the more exacting does it become. As in the life of a nation after the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill' comes the higher injunction, 'Pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you' so in the life of every dutiful man there is an ever progressive revelation of the moral law. The path of righteousness is like the ascent of a mountain with a succession of peaks rising higher and higher. And the clearest exposition of the moral law is that given in the precept of Jesus. Be ye perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect. It does not require many words to express great truths. The cynical contempt for moral principles which is so common about us indeed makes it difficult for us to believe that all human beings are subject to the authority of the moral law. It seems as if that supreme ordinance Be ye perfect were meant only for a chosen few the elect of God. But those in whom the moral sentiments are most highly developed only represent a stage of growth which all must attain sooner or later. In spite of the lack of moral sensibility which prevails so widely in society we are compelled by the irresistible authority of conscience in ourselves to believe that it is bound to assert itself in the life of every human being. Hypocrisy itself is an acknowledgment of the power of the moral law. And by admiration as well as by shame men bear witness to the appeal which goodness makes to their hearts. Every man is bound to outgrow what he is ashamed of. A noble aspiration is itself the warrant of its fulfilment. Whence does the precept Repent ye derive its power? Men who have lived unrighteously have often sacrificed their lives to atone for their sinful life. The most terrible thing in Shakespeare is the sleep-walking scene in *Macbeth*—the agony of remorse by which the womanhood of Lady Macbeth is finally vindicated in a most tragic manner. One moment of repentance teaches us more than all the sages. In it we have a direct revelation of the inexorable authority of the moral law, an im-

mediate proof of the fact that notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, every individual is required to strive after perfection.

Our moral experiences teach us that the individual is sacred in the sight of God. Every human being has an inalienable right to grow more and more like unto God, and every human being is required to exercise this right for his own sake more than for the sake of others. As I reflect upon the course of my inner life I see how through failures and struggles I am being led onward to perfection. And I infer from my own destiny the destiny of every man. It cannot be that in the constitution of the universe no provision is made for the moral well being of others. The end to which the struggles of my inner life clearly point is not the attainment of certain social advantages but my own highest well being. If I cherish an unholy thought I do a grievous wrong to myself. There is a conceivable limit to my obligations to others there is no conceivable limit to my obligations to myself. It is a golden sentence of Montesquieu. What we owe to others may be defined but not what we owe to ourselves. Our true life is that which we live alone watched over by God alone. While there are many to keep us company in the trivial occupations of life every momentous experience recalls us to solitude. We are isolated by sorrow and we have to isolate ourselves frequently in order to realise the nearness of God. The life that we live with others is but a preparation for the higher life in which God alone is with us. From Pythagoras to Wordsworth every great spiritual teacher has recognised the need of frequent withdrawals from society as an essential condition of spiritual culture. Society exists for ministering to the spiritual needs of the individual.

Self-sacrifice it must be apparent to every spiritually minded man is ordained for us as a necessary discipline quite apart from our obligations to society. The recognition of this truth is essential to a rational view of the events of life—the view namely that they are parts of an ordered whole with a definite moral

purpose, and not a succession of meaningless accidents. When we say that society has been instituted for the well being of man, we utter a far deeper truth than is commonly realised. Society is indeed "a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection." It has been instituted, because without it "man could not by any possibility arrive at the perfection of which his nature is capable." And one of the ways in which this great purpose is served is that society teaches every man the lesson of self sacrifice. Sacrifice, it is often said, is needful in order that we may live in society. It would be truer to say that society is needful in order that man may learn to deny himself for the sake of others. Self denial is not a means to any earthly end. It is absolutely necessary for the fulfilment of our deepest needs. The self restraints imposed on us by the conditions of social life, and even those enforced by the moral obligations which are generally recognised, are but the first feeble hints of this spiritual law and of "the high meaning of Renunciation, by which alone," as Goethe says, "the first real entrance into life is conceivable. Much apparent waste, much that is seemingly meaningless is explained by the need of sacrifice. Even the child dying in infancy has not lived in vain. It has imposed much self-denial on its parents, and it leaves a parting message of sorrow which brings them nearer to God. This at least partially answers the question,

"Why human buds should fall

More brief than fly ephemeral

That has his day."

There comes a time in our spiritual life when the truth flashes upon us, that every step we take in self-denial is but a preparation for another step. Sacrifice indeed brings with it the reward of a clearer vision and a widened horizon. But the reward is often hidden from us until we have submitted to the renunciation required of us. It is often hidden from us long afterwards. And yet we have to accept it as an imperative duty. There is something in it which appeals to our inmost nature. And hence it invests even meaningless rites and obsolete creeds with sanctity. The self

denial of Roman Catholic monks fills even a sombre pessimist like Schopenhauer with passionate admiration. The Hindu gymnosophist has sometimes inspired men of other races and creeds with deep reverence. This ideal of perfection, ever resisted by our selfish impulses and ever subduing us by its power, this ideal, the authority of which is attested by every pang of remorse and every act of self denial, is a promise of continued spiritual progress. The power to rely on that promise depends on our yielding ourselves without reserve to the guidance of our best instincts.

Renunciation is an essential condition of spiritual growth. And as we have seldom the strength to give up of our own accord what we dearly prize sacrifices are exacted from us in the form of disappointments and afflictions to satisfy this deep need of our moral nature. Suffering is the austerity of the voluptuary. It is the self denial of the worldly-minded. It is the obedience of the rebellious. The awful ordinance of sorrow is not without a high purpose. None but a charlatan could be ready with a solution for every perplexing problem of life. We are required to pass through ordeals which absolutely stagger and bewilder us. But there do come blessed moods in which the burden of despondency is lightened. There are moments when we receive the sweet assurance that we are not made to suffer in vain when we have a glimpse of the peace that is to be ours hereafter. A revelation of the beneficent ends of suffering does not however, always come in the form of comfort to the stricken heart. Sometimes there flashes upon us the painful truth that a great sorrow which has befallen us is needed to curb our earthly desires. Our moral life is built up by suffering. It subdues stubborn passions and evolves order out of chaos. The discipline of sorrow is not imposed on the ungodly alone. Even the most saintly are required to pass through fiery ordeals. "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth" thus faith finds expression in numerous legends in the scriptures of every great race. This baptism of fire, this initiation through

suffering into the mysteries of the Temple of Life must be a preparation for rites of sacred joy to be made known hereafter. Can such a process of education be designed for a perishable being? Can a fabric built up with such infinite pains be intended to crumble into dust?

Dust as we are the immortal spirit grows
Like harmony in music there is a dark
Inscrutable workmanship that reconciles
Discordant elements makes them cling together
In one society How strange that all
The terrors past and early miseries
Regrets vexations last tides interfuse
Within my mind should ever have borne a part
and that a needful part in making up
The calm existence that is mine when I
Am worthy of myself

Has the sacredness of sorrow for our departed dear ones no lesson to teach us. Sorrow for those who have passed away is the only sorrow we long to cherish. If we pine for riches or power we are conscious of waste of moral vitality. When we give way to a base impulse we feel that we revolt against the Divine will and we cannot stand unabashed in the presence of God. But we have no sense of waste in mourning for those who have been taken away from us no sense of idleness in longing for reunion with them. Do we not fail in fidelity to them if we cease to cherish their memory? Cowper wrote nothing nobler than his lines *On the Receipt of My Mother's Picture*. Love is perfected by suffering. It cannot have a nobler aspiration than to be faithful beyond death. I have often thought says Mazzini that the arrangement by which loved and loving beings are to pass through death is nothing but the last experiment appointed by God to human love, and often I have felt that a moment of soul communing with my dear friend was opening a source of strength for me unhopd for here down. If we may at all take the sacredness of a yearning as giving us a hint of our destiny the sanctity of sorrow is an aid to the belief that we do not mourn in vain. Theology the science of man's relation to God and the universe would be barren speculation if it failed to take note of the suggestions of the spirit. That the human soul finds

rest in the thought of God is of no mean import as an evidence of Theism. The great English champion of Agnosticism, it is worthy of note relies for moral guidance upon beliefs produced in him by the Unknown Cause. Buckle regards the universality of the affections the yearning of every mind to care for some thing out of itself as 'the safest and most impregnable ground of faith in immortality.' It is in the need of loving and being loved he says that the highest instincts of our nature are first revealed. Of all the moral sentiments which adorn and elevate the human character, the instinct of affection is surely the most lovely the most powerful and the most general. It is then he adds to the sense of immortality with which the affections inspire us that I would appeal for the best proof of the reality of a future life.

The crowning evidence of immortality is the intimate nature of our relationship to God as revealed in spiritual experience. When we are conscious of the nearness of God we do not need the aid of prophet or scripture to shake off our doubts and fears. The seeker of God is impelled to take counsel with Him in distress and perplexity and one accent of the Divine voice is enough to fill him with courage and hope. When Wordsworth says in an hour of deep dejection

The Comforter hath found me here
Upon this lonely road

he expresses a fact of common religious experience. This distinctively human element in Wordsworth's note of an intimate personal relationship with God is perhaps of greater value to the afflicted struggling spirit than the meditative calm the illumination and tranquillity reflected in the *Lines* written above *Tintern Abbey*. But if in worship there is balm for the hurt mind and rest for the heavy laden there is in it also a power to curb and chastise. True communion is attested by its absolute intolerance of evil and its power to awaken bitter self reproach. Spiritual culture is an illusion when it does not impose a severe disci-

tition either between the tillers of the soil or between the pursuers of crafts. The gulf between the rich and the poor was not so marked as it is to-day in the West.

Under the British rule and since its introduction, however, things have considerably changed. Without adopting the best features of modern life, we have been forced by circumstances, political and economic, to give up the best of our own. Village communities have been destroyed; joint and corporate bargaining has given place to individual transactions; every bit of land has been separately measured, marked and taxed; common lands divided; the price of land has enormously risen and rents have gone up abnormally. The money-lender, who before the advent of British rule, had a comparatively subordinate position in the village community, has suddenly come to occupy the first place. He owns the best lands and the best houses and holds the bodies and souls of the agriculturists in mortgage. The villages which used to be generally homogeneous in population, bound to each other by ties of race, blood and religion, have become heterogeneous, with non-descript people of all kinds, all races and all religions who have acquired land by purchase. Competition has taken the place of co-operation. A country where social co-operation and social solidarity reigned at least within castes, within villages and within urban areas has been entirely disrupted and disintegrated by unlimited and uncontrolled competition.

India never knew any poor laws; she never needed any, nor orphan asylums, nor old age pensions, nor widow homes. She had no use for organized charity. Rarely did any man die for want of food or clothing, except in famines. Hospitality was open and was dispensed under a sense of duty and obligation and not by way of charity or kindness. The survival of the fittest had no hold on our minds. We had no factories or workshops. People worked in their own homes or shops either with their own money or with money borrowed from the money-lender. The artisans were the masters of the goods they produced and unless otherwise agreed

with the money-lender, sold them in the open market. The necessities of life, being cheap and easily procurable, the artisan cared more for quality than quantity. Their work was a source of pleasure and pride as well as of profit to them. Now everything has gone, pleasure, pride, as well as profit. Where profit has remained, pleasure and pride are gone.

We are on the high road to a 'distinctly industrial civilization'. In fact the principal complaint of our political reformers and free trade economists is that the British Government has not let us proceed on that road, at a sufficiently rapid pace and that in doing so they have been 'dominated by their own national interests, more than by our own good'. We saw that other nations were progressing by following the laws of industrial development, and quite naturally, we also wanted to prosper by the same method. This War has opened our eyes as it has opened those of the rest of the world and we have begun to feel that the goal that we were seeking so far led to perdition and not salvation. This makes it necessary for the Indian politicians and economists to review their ideas of political progress. What are we aiming at? Do we want to rise, in order to fall? Do we want to copy and emulate Europe even in its mistakes and blunders? Does the road to heaven lie through hell? Must we make a wreck of our ship and then try salvage? The civilization of Europe, as it was so far known, is dying. It may take decades or perhaps a century or more to die. But die it must. This War has prepared a death-bed for it from which, it will never rise. Upon its ruins is rising or will rise another civilization, which will reproduce, much of what was 'valuable and precious in our own with much of what we never had. The question that we want to put to our compatriots is, Shall we prepare ourselves for the coming era, or shall we bury ourselves in the debris of the expiring one? We have no right to answer it for others, but our answer is 'clear and unequivocal. We will not be a party to any scheme which shall add to the powers of the capitalist and the landlord and will

introduce and accentuate the evils of the expiring industrial civilization into our beleaguered country.

We are not unaware that according to the judgment of some thinkers, amongst them Carl Marx a country must pass through the capitalist mill before the proletariat comes to its own. We don't believe in the truth of this theory, but even if it be true we will not consciously help in proving it to be true. The existing social order of Europe is vicious and immoral. It is worm-eaten. It has the germs of plague, disease, death and destitution in it. It is in a state of decomposition. It is based on injustice, tyranny, oppression and class rule. Certain phases of it are inherent in our own system. Certain others we are borrowing from our masters in order to make a complete mess. Wisdom and foresight require that we be forewarned. What we want and what we need is not the power to implant in full force and in full vigour the expiring European system, but, power to keep out its further development with opportunities of undoing the evil that has already been done, gradually and slowly, though assuredly and certainly.

The Government of India as at present constituted is a Government of capitalists and landlords of both England and India. Under the proposed Reform scheme the power of the former will be reduced and that of the latter increased. The Indo-British Association does not like it, not because it loves the masses of India for which it hypocritically and insincerely professes solicitude, but because in their judgment it reduces the profits of the British governing classes. We doubt if the scheme really does effect even that. But if it does, it is good so far.

The ugly feature of the scheme is not its potentiality in transferring the power into the hands of the Brahmans (the power of the Brahmans is such, is gone for good), but in the possibility of its giving too much power to the 'profiteering' class. The scheme protects the European merchants, it confers special privileges on the small European Community, it provides special representation for the

landlords, the Chambers of Commerce, the Muhammadans and the Sikhs. What is left for the general tax-paying public is precious little. The authors of the scheme say it is in the interest of the general masses, the poor unarticulate riot and the workman that they would not give complete Home Rule at once. We wish we could believe in it. We wish it were true. Perhaps they mean it but our past experience does not justify our accepting it at its face value.

There is however, one thing we can do. We can ask them for proofs by insisting on and agitating for the immediate legislative relief of the riot and the middle classes. We should adopt the aims of the British Labour Party as our own, start educating our people on those lines and formulate measures which will secure for them real freedom and not the counterfeit coin which passes for it. It will require years of education and agitation but it has to be done, no matter whether we are ruled by the British or by our own property holders. We are not opposed to Home Rule. Nay, we press for it. In our judgment the objections urged for not giving it at once are flimsy and intangible. The chief obstacles are such as have been created or perpetuated by the British themselves. Caste does not prevent us from having as much home rule as is enjoyed by the people of Italy, Hungary, the Balkan States and some of the South American Republics. But if we cannot have it at once and if the British must retain the power of final decision in their hands, we must insist upon something being immediately done not only to educate the riot but to give him economic relief. So long as the British continue to refuse to do that, we must hold them responsible for all the misery that Indian humanity is suffering from.

We want political power in order to raise the intellectual and political status of our masses. We do not want to bolster up the classes. Our goal is real liberty, equality and opportunity for all. We want to avoid, if possible, the evils of the class struggle. We will pass through the mill if we have to but we should like to

try to avoid it, and it is for that purpose that we want freedom to legislate and freedom to determine our fiscal arrangements. That is our main purpose in our demand for home rule.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT.

We have so far discussed the Indian question from the internal or national point of view. But it has an international aspect also. It is said, and we hope it is true, that the world is entering into an era of new internationalism and that the old exclusive chauvinistic nationalism is in its last gasps. This war was the greatest social mix-up known to history. It has brought about the downfall of four monarchs and the destruction of four empires. The armies of the belligerents on both sides contained the greatest assortment of races and nations, of religions and languages that were ever brought together for mutual destruction. Primarily, a fight between the European Christians, it drew forth into its arena Hindus, Mohammedans, Buddhists, Shintos, Jews and Negroes of Africa and America.

The war has produced a revolution in Russia, the like of which was never known before. It is now being openly said that the Russian revolution had as much influence on the final *debacle* of the Central Powers as the strength of the Allies and the resources of America. The Revolution has spread to Germany and Austria and threatens to engulf the whole of Europe. It has given birth to a new order of society aglow with the spirit of a new and elevated kind of internationalism. This internationalism must have for its foundation justice and self-determination for all peoples, regardless of race or religion, creed or color. The new international link between different nations must be supplied by co-operation, as against competition, and by mutual trust and helpfulness, in place of distrust and exploitation of the weaker by the stronger. The only other alternatives are reaction, with the certainty of even greater wars in the near future, and Bolshevism.

Now, nobody knows what Bolshevism represents. The Socialists themselves are

divided over it. The advanced wing is enthusiastic; the moderates are denouncing it. The Liberals and Radicals are free to recognise that it has brought about a new spirit into the affairs of men, which is going to stay and substantially influence the future of the world. The stand-patters denounce it in the strongest possible terms. They represent and calumniate it to their heart's content, call it by all sorts of names and are moving heaven and earth to exterminate it. But we feel that only radical changes in the existing order will stem its tide. The Socialists and Radicals want to make the most of it, while the Imperialist Liberals and Conservatives want to give as little as is compatible with the safety of the existing order in which they are supreme. The struggle will take some time to end, but that it shall end in favour of the new spirit no one doubts.

The only way to meet Bolshevism is to concede to the different peoples of the earth, now being bled and exploited, their rights. Otherwise the discontented and exploited countries of the earth will be the best breeding centers for it. India must come into its own soon or else not even the Himalayas can effectually bar the entry of Bolshevism into India. A contented, self-governed India may be proof against it; a discontented, dissatisfied, oppressed India would perhaps offer the most fertile field. We hope the British statesmen are alive to the situation.

But that is not the only way to look at the international importance of India. By its geographical situation, it is the connecting link between the Near East and the Far East, and the clearing house for the trade of the world. Racially, it holds the balance between the European Aryans and the yellow races. In any military conflict between the white and the yellow races, the people of India will be a decisive factor. In a conflict of peace they will be a harmonising element.

Racially, they are the kin of the Europeans. By religion and culture they are nearer the Chinese and Japanese.

With 70 million Moslems, India is the most important center of Mohammedan sentiment. With Christians as their present

rulers the Hindus and Mohammedans of India are coming to realise that their best interests require a closing up of their ranks. There is no doubt that, come what may, their relations in future will be much more cordial friendly and mutually sympathetic than they have been in the past. The Hindus will stand by their Mohammedan countrymen in all their efforts to revive the glory of Islam and to regain for it political independence. There is no fear of a Pan Islamic movement if the new spirit of internationalism prevails. If, however, it does not, the Pan Islamic movement might find a sympathetic soul in India. Islam is not dead. It cannot and will not die. The only way to make it a force of harmony and peace is to recognise its potentialities and to respect its susceptibilities. The political independence of Islamic countries is the basic foundation for such a state. We hope that the statesmen of the world will give their most earnest thought to the question and sincerely put into practice the principles they have been enunciating during the war. The case of India will be an acid test.

A happy India will make a valuable contribution to the evolution of a better and more improved humanity. An unhappy India will be a clog in the wheels of progress. It will not be easy for the masters of India to rule it on the old lines. If not reconciled, it might prove the pivot of the next war. A happy India will be one of the brightest spots in the British Commonwealth. A discontented India will be a cause of standing shame and a source of never-ending trouble.

With a republican China in the north east a constitutional Persia in the north west and a Bolshevik Russia in the not remote north it will be extremely foolish to attempt to rule India despotically. Not even the gods can do it. It is not possible even if the legislature devotes all its sittings to the drafting and passing of one hundred coercion acts. The peace of the world international harmony, and good will the good name of the British Commonwealth the safety of the Empire as such demand the peaceful introduction and development of democracy in India.

The following remark of the *New York Tribune* deserves the best consideration of the British statesmen.

It is an impressive and we might say a somewhat startling reflection that two of the greatest members of the freest and most enlightened empire of the world are practically the only two countries in the world still governed by irresponsible autocracy. Even Russia and China have become at least theoretical democracies. Germany is at this moment organizing a republic and Persia and Turkey profess to be constitutional monarchies while India and Egypt alone remain under administrations not accountable to the people. That is of course not to say that they are not governed for the benefit of the people. We believe that they are to a much greater extent than some countries which have nominally democratic governments. But that is not sufficient. Your benevolent despotism may be the best possible government so long as your despot remains benevolent. But you have no assurance of any such perseverance of the saints.

Supreme wisdom was expressed in Lincoln's formula. The people were to be governed not merely for the people but also by the people and not merely by the people but also for the people.

LALPAT RAI

HOW TO SERVE OUR VILLAGE

It is often said that owing to want of funds the condition of our villages cannot be improved. It may be partly true. But the root cause is to be sought in the want of true and earnest desire for improvement rather than that of money or some other similar things. Should anybody really want to serve his village let him take first his residence in

a corner of the village and then the lesson from the account of a true and ideal worker given below which will speak for itself.

The account forms one of the birth stories of Buddha and it briefly runs as follows (Jataka No 31 Fausboll Vol I P 199) —

Once upon a time there was a householder named Magha manava who regular

ly kept the five commandments of the Buddhists. In the village in which Magha-manava lived there were just thirty families. One day the men of these families standing in the middle of the village were transacting the affairs of their village. The place on which Magha-manava was standing had been made comfortable by himself by removing the dust from it. But there came up another and took his stand there. Magha-manava made another place comfortable for himself, but it was also taken by another. Again and again he began afresh until he had made comfortable standing places for every man there. Another time he built a hall with seats and jars of water inside for the public or the strangers who might come to the village. Thus, as time went on, he won the hearts of the villagers who began to follow him always. Magha-manava inculcated in them the five Buddhist Commandments* and used to go about with them doing various good works. Now it came to pass that the villagers always in the company of Magha-manava getting up early and taking there different tools in their hands used to remove all stones out of the way that lay in the four highways and other roads of the village; they cut down the trees that stood in the way of the vehicles; then made rough places smooth, built causeways, and dug water-tanks; they built also a hall for the public, gave gifts to deserving persons, and kept their Commandments perfectly.

Before this when the villagers used to drink wine and commit murder and so forth, the village headman was very fortunate to make a lot of money not only by the dues paid by them for their jars of liquor, but also by the fines imposed upon them. He now naturally thought that it was Magha-manava that had put a stop to murder and other crimes by persuading the villagers to keep the Commandments and thus stopped his earnings also. So he went and reported falsely to the king that there was a gang of robbers committing destruction of the whole village, and in

accordance with the order from the king he brought before him all the men arrested as prisoners. The king without any inquiry into the matter sentenced the poor folks to be trampled to death by an elephant. The officers made them lie down in the royal courtyard and an elephant was brought accordingly. It goes without saying that Magha-manava was one of these accused and sentenced persons. He said to them exhorting: "Bear in your mind, brothers; the five Commandments. Love the slanderer, the king and the elephant equally, as you love your own body; love them all as you love your own friends!" They did so.

Now the elephant though led by the royal officers to the best of their might would not approach the men, but turned away trumpeting loudly. Elephants after elephants were brought up, but with no better result. It was then thought that the men might have had some drug in their persons and that was the reason why the elephants could not trample them. So a thorough search was made but nothing of the kind was found. It was then suggested again that there must have been some sort of *mantra* or spell that they were muttering, and it must be known. Accordingly they were all summoned before the king and it was put to them if they had any spell. Magha-manava replied in the affirmative. "Tell, then, what it is," said the king, and Magha-manava answered: "Sire, we have no other spell than this, that we are thirty men in all, we never kill any living being, we never take what is not given to us, we do not commit adultery, we do not tell a lie, nor do we drink any strong liquor; on the other hand, we give our friendly feeling towards all beings, we give what we have to give, we level roads, we dig tanks and build a hall for the public;—this is, O king, our spell, or protection or advantage as you may call it."

Well pleased was the king with them, he gave them all the wealth in the slanderer's house making him their slave; he gave them also the elephant and the village as well in which they lived.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

* Abstinence from life-slaughter, from theft, from adultery, from lying and from spirituous liquors.

SHOULD BRAHMOS CALL THEMSELVES HINDUS?

THE question has been raised as to whether a person of Hindu lineage who contracts a marriage under Act III of 1872 (Civil Marriages Act) and has consequently to make a declaration that he is not a Hindu is guilty of any moral cowardice or delinquency in repudiating the religion of his ancestors. The members of the theistic or Brahmo Samaj (except those belonging to the Adi or original sect) marry under this Act, and on their behalf it has been contended that if they make the declaration knowing that they are Hindus, they are morally guilty, but if they do not believe themselves to be Hindus, they are quite justified in making it. This contention is of course perfectly correct, but the question to which pointed attention has been drawn by one of the most learned and respected members of the Adi Samaj still remains to be answered, viz., whether Brahmoe of the more advanced sects can conscientiously call themselves Hindus. The opinion of this gentleman seems to be, that they not only can, but should call themselves Hindus in order to get the benefit of the prestige that attaches to the name of Hindu, and because Hinduism does not necessarily connote idolatry. When those who make the declaration really feel in their hearts how dear the cognomen of Hindu ought to be to every one of Hindu origin, instead of repudiating the glorious national appellation, and submitting to the misrepresentation of foreigners, who take every Hindu to be an idolator, they will learn to take pride in it. Within the broad bosom of Hinduism, continues the gentleman alluded to above, there are various sects—idolators at the one end and pure theists at the other—but that is no reason why we should recant our glorious heritage. To this the objection has been raised and rightly, that for the masses of its votaries,

Hinduism not only connotes idolatry, but also caste, and those who consider the institution of caste to be immoral cannot conscientiously call themselves Hindus. The question therefore ultimately resolves itself into this—Is caste essential for Hinduism?

It is a vast question, and cannot be solved in a few words. Nevertheless some broad observations may be made, pointing the way to solution. The Adi Samaj has formally renounced image-worship, but not so caste, and this, we believe is the crux of the situation. There is reason for this conservatism on the part of the Adi Samaj on the question of caste, in spite of its evident sympathy with reform. Ever since the Hindus have come to be known by that name, Varna Dharma or caste has formed an essential and inseparable element of Hinduism. It is therefore called Brahmanism, in which the supremacy of the Brahmin as the head of the social hierarchy is recognised, as distinguished from the religion of the ancient Indo-Aryans, founded upon the Veda. The expression 'Vedic Hindu' is really a misnomer and a contradiction in terms, for in the Vedic age there were no Hindus. The religion of the Aryans of the early Vedic age consisted of sacrifices, but they had no idols, no temples, and no caste, at least in the sense in which the word came to be understood in later times. Caste came into being in the later Vedic age, sometime before the rise of Buddhism. The earliest Buddhist literature shows that it was already in full vogue, though of course it was then in a much more fluid condition, and its ramifications had not been so endless as now. The latest theory, started by Mr Havell, regarding idolatry is that it came to India through the Bactrian Greeks, who professed Mahayana Buddhism and allowed their native love of idolatry full play in the Gau-

dhara sculptures. Certain it is that after the downfall of Buddhism, when neo-Brahmanism took its rise, it took over all the idolatry of the Buddhists, and set up temples for its gods. But Hindu philosophy gave the fullest scope to the human mind, and compelled none to be an image-worshipper. The Shastras contain numerous expositions of the doctrine of idolatry, and everywhere it is recognised to be only a means to an end—the concentration of the mind—and nowhere has it been made obligatory upon all; on the contrary, it has been universally admitted that it is not intended for cultivated minds, the higher *Adhikaris*, and that the supreme Brahman is formless. While the position of a patriotic and enlightened person of Hindu origin desiring to call himself a Hindu is not therefore complicated by insuperable conscientious scruples in respect to idolatry, his position in regard to the institution of caste is not so free from doubt; for a Hindu must be affiliated to some caste or other, and he can abjure it only when he renounces the world and becomes a sannyasin. But so long as he is in the world, he must belong to some caste and observe the rules of that caste in regard to food and marriage. If he be a Hindu of the more advanced type, he may call himself a Hindu and yet observe none of the restrictions as to food and marriage and may eat prohibited food and marry outside his caste for both of which practices sanction may be found in the ancient history of Hinduism. But further than this he cannot go, for he must belong to some caste or other if he is to retain the name of Hindu, and history furnishes no instance of a Hindu who has not been a member of a caste before his retirement from the world as a wandering monk.

Having stated the position of the conscientious abjector in the matter of calling himself a Hindu as clearly as possible, let us now see if his objection can be reasonably met. Now we all know that even orthodox Hindus of the modern times regard themselves as the lineal descendants of the Vedic Aryas, and however much the text of the Rig Veda may be tortured, we

do not get any clear trace of caste before we come to the Purusha Sukta of the tenth Mandala of the Rig-Veda. Class divisions there may have been, as among the Iranians of the Zend-Avesta, but certainly among the Vedic Aryas there was no caste as we understand it. This much being clear, a patriotic Hindu may refuse to admit caste-distinctions and yet argue that he is a good Arya of the old Vedic type, and since the religion of the Vedic Aryans is regarded by the modern Hindus as synonymous with Hinduism, thus justifying its title of Sanatana Dharma or everlasting religion, he has as good a title to pass for a Hindu as anyone else. That this is the position of many persons who are still within the orthodox fold admits of no doubt. But with these persons it is yet a mere intellectual conviction, to which they have not the courage to give practical effect by openly renouncing caste. Small bodies of advanced Hindus have formed themselves into associations, like the Aryan Brotherhood Association of Bombay, who profess to have definitely cut off their connection with caste. The Arya Samaj also professes to have done this, but in practice, we are told, caste is not entirely ignored. The point of these social reform movements lies in the fact that though they do not recognise caste, those who have joined them regard themselves as Hindus, and would call themselves by no other name.

It may be asked, what remains of Hinduism, as its distinctive feature, if caste be abolished? The answer is not so difficult as it seems, if we have only the courage to face it. Hinduism, as we know, is not a credal, but an ethnic religion, and an ethnic religion is much more plastic and malleable than a credal religion with its set dogmas and formularies. Since the extinction of the ancient Greeks and Romans, Hinduism is the only great ethnic religion of the modern world, Mahomedanism, Christianity, and Buddhism being all religions of the credal type. Though these religions have a fixed creed, we find that a great deal of individual liberty of conscience is now allowed in Christianity in particular and in contemporary European writers

are to be believed, Christianity is a decaying religion, and a very small proportion of educated men who pass for Christians really believe in the Christian creed. In spite of this, few Europeans hesitate to call themselves Christians, though they may have no faith in the dogmas of Christianity. They would justify their position, if such justification were wanted, by pointing to the fact that Christianity does not connote a set of dogmas exclusively but also a certain type of culture and racial development. Persons belonging to the Christian races of Europe and America, inheriting the culture and traditions associated with these races and subject to the historic evolution which they have undergone, are as much entitled to call themselves Christians as dogmatic followers of the Christian creed. It is for this reason that an Indian Christian will, with the majority of European Christians remain so in name only, and will not be treated socially as one of their brotherhood. Now if those Christians of Europe and America who do not conform to the Christian creed do not care to repudiate the name of Christian why should persons of Hindu origin, who are not required to adhere to any definite creed at all, feel impelled to recant the name of Hindu simply because they do not observe caste distinctions? They may say, with far more justice than Christians, that Hinduism is mainly a social system and is the name given to a special type of culture. The word religion is not the same as the Dharma of the Hindus. To a Hindu, Dharma means the whole duty of man, and the sumtotal of his duties to self, family, society and the world constitutes his religion. Hinduism also denotes a special ethnic group, whose habitat is India, and which has been gradually formed out of the mixture of the original Aryans who migrated to Bharatavarsha with the ancient Dravidian and other non-Aryan races of India. The culture of this composite ethnic group—every great race in the world is a complex of various racial strands, and an absolute ly 'pure' race is a myth—centres round

the Sanskrit language and literature, from which it derives all its traditions, and also all the innumerable associations of kinship, usage, undefinable, yet powerful, which unite this group in a bond of cultural affinity, and distinguish it from other similar groups. One can very well, it seems to us, call himself a Hindu in this sense, even though he repudiates two of its most common features, e.g., idolatry and caste, without proving false to his conscience. He may not be a Hindu in the generally accepted sense, but he need not feel any violent qualms or compunctious visitings of conscience for refusing to subscribe to mass opinion in a matter of vital importance to his individual self.

What, then will be the distinctive feature of his Hinduism? The answer is clear. To the rest of the world, he will still be a Hindu, for he does not subscribe to any particular creed and belongs to a special ethnic group, inherits a distinct type of culture, and is the product of a definite historic evolution. In all these respects he has a peculiarity which marks him off from the followers of the other religions of the world, and endows him with a distinct personality. His religious individuality will thus be preserved by a kind of negative process which is known in logic as division by dichotomy. He is not a Mahomedan with whom he shares certain ethnic and linguistic characteristics, because he has no creed, however short, he is not a Buddhist with whom he possesses strong cultural, but neither linguistic nor racial affinity (except with a small number of Indian Buddhists) for the same reason, he is not a Christian, with whom he is racially but not culturally or linguistically allied, also for the same reason. But to say this is not to suggest that such a Hindu will be distinguished by negative characteristics merely. He will have a positive culture, tradition and racial inheritance to call his own and he will moreover have the glorious privilege, denied to the adherent of every other religion, of being absolutely unfettered by any creed in his intellectual and spiritual development.

For there is this great truth in the earnest and feeling protest of the learned member of the Adi Samaj referred to above, who wishes all persons of Hindu origin to call themselves Hindus and be proud of it, that a people can be great only by thinking greatly of itself, and it is much easier to achieve greatness with a great tradition of culture, running along the dim vista of ages into the immemorial past. It may be said in reply that to give up Hinduism is not to deprive oneself of its ancient culture, which may remain as much a living possession in the case of a convert as in that of a Hindu. A convert from Hinduism cannot, even if he would, efface his past. He, as much as his Hindu brother, is an heir to the ages, and both are equally entitled to take pride in the country's noble past, and in the glories of its ancient civilisation, for India is the common motherland of both. But however true this may be in theory, in practice the example of the Hindu converts to Islam shows us that even if the cultural affinity be strong in the first generation or two of converts, it soon becomes weak, and gradually becomes as good as extinct, by the superimposition of another culture, artificially grafted on the native culture. But though it is easy to forget, it is difficult to acquire, and in proportion as the new culture is great, with age long associations and a special civilisation of its own, it is difficult for an outsider to grow into it, and so long as the convert does not do so, he remains a mere pariah at the gates, seeking entrance into a new heaven. If the new culture has no ancient traditions by the aid of which it can furnish its votaries with the requisite emotional sustenance it may be assimilated at once, but it will not confer the prestige that belongs to the ancient religions, and not having reached the bed rock of the heart by a slow process of hereditary evolution through hundreds of centuries with innumerable historic, social, political and spiritual links and interrelated associations, its roots will not drive deep, and the new culture will sit lightly on the descendants of the proselyte who do not owe their

religion to personal moral conviction. This argument, it may be urged, may be advanced against every great missionary religion which at its inception must *ex hypothesi* have been a new cult with few followers. But Christianity lived and prospered by adopting the Greco-Roman culture, and the gods of classical antiquity and many of its fasts and festivals were absorbed by Catholicism under a slightly veiled disguise. The same may be said of Buddhism in relation to Brahmanism, and Islam in India has likewise had to make terms with Hinduism in order to survive. Love of country, the sense of racial kinship and cultural affinity, are much stronger in these days than they ever were at any previous period of history. If the new culture of Brahmoism is based on the Vedanta philosophy, its Hindu affinity becomes apparent. In fact, by the followers of every other religion in India Brahmos are regarded as the most advanced section of Hindus and nothing else. Where is then the objection to call themselves Hindus, even if the orthodox section of the community refuse them this title, since they draw their religious inspiration from the monistic rationalism of the Upanishads? Moreover, it is something to belong to a large community—large in extent and numbers, and rich in intellectual inheritance. "Man as a unit is a poor thing, physically, morally, intellectually. Ability is the product of communities, of men formed into organisms, not of individuals. No individual as an individual can achieve anything. Not till he feels he is a cell in a greater and more enduring life can he develop." (Fielding Hall). From this point of view also, it is well to be affiliated to a great people like the Hindus, provided there are no inseparable obstacles to be overcome. The heart of the patriotic Hindu yearns for his brothers and sisters who, at the call of conscience, broke away from the mother Church. Among these seceders are many of the makers of modern India. He longs to clasp them in his loving embrace, and share the common glory of their great names. Even the rigidly orthodox Hindu looks upon them as much nearer of kin than upon the followers of other religions.

Would they keep him at arm's length and repudiate their patrimony? Let them renounce idolatry and caste by all means—there are many Hindus who are intellectually convinced of their supremely deleterious effect on society and admire the moral courage of those who openly abjure them—but let them not cease to call themselves by the ancient designation of Hindus, so as to leave the path open for a reconciliation between the old and the new, not by a sacrifice of the essential elements of their faith but by refusing to submit to the blind orthodoxy which would reserve that name for a particular brand of Hinduism, and thereby make it possible for advanced thinkers within the fold to join hands with them for the dissemination and ultimate adoption of more liberal views among the rank and file of the orthodox community leading to their open recognition as Hindus in the fullness of time.

Postscript.—It would seem to many that even polytheism is on the whole not so injurious to the country as the incubus of caste. The educated classes may render lip-service to the many gods of Hinduism but practically they are monotheists and recognise the unity of the godhead, and philosophical Hindus sometimes go even further. The lower classes on the other hand, are idolators all the world over, whether they call themselves so or not, for they all pay homage to idols, eikons, images, pictures, paintings, saints, sadhus, pirs, prophets, ancestors, spirits, relics and the like, and associate special spiritual merit with pilgrimages to shrines reputed to be sacred. The only remedy for this state of things is education and more education as the condition of the Russian moujik abundantly shows. In the meantime we may derive what consolation we may from the thought that the religiosity of the masses has had a potent effect in humanising their passions and fostering good will and sympathy in social relations. The institution of caste, too, was perhaps

at one time a powerful factor in holding the Hindus together in the face of adverse attacks, to which no other religion has been so liable. With the growth of racial and religious consciousness, however, the utility of caste in promoting cultural solidarity has vanished, and it now exerts a most baneful influence on the progress of the Hindus unmitigated by any relieving feature of any kind whatsoever. So long as the doctrine of promotion by merit had even qualified application, some justification might be urged for it, but this is no longer the case, since caste distinctions have attained absolute rigidity. With the very growth of the religious consciousness, again the lower classes are becoming keenly conscious of their humiliating position within the bosom of Hinduism, and the spirit of revolt against irremovably fixed social barriers is daily gaining in strength. If Hinduism wants to prevent further weakening of its vitality by defections through mass-conversion, it must adjust itself to the new situation and habituate itself to think of the future of the religion without caste as an essential feature of its structure. The Adi Brahma Samaj too, must grapple with the problem of caste instead of fighting shy of it. It is only when the great body of the Hindus get accustomed to large and influential sections of the people calling themselves Hindus who neither admit polytheism nor caste that they will, with the adaptability that the absence of any creed confers on them, begin to feel that neither of these two institutions, which have by promoting superstition and preventing solidarity, proved so baneful to their national advancement, is an essentially integral factor of the religion they profess. And it is only when such a feeling comes to be generally entertained among the Hindus that Hinduism will deserve to occupy the premier position among the great world religions that we claim for it.

July 19, 1919

A HINDU

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION ON INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS
OF MEDICINE

"NOTWITHSTANDING the introduction of the western system of medicine, the ancient indigenous systems continue to exercise considerable influence over the people at large, and large masses of the population have recourse to what is known as the Ayurvedic system among the Hindus and Unani system among the Musalmans. It is not necessary for our present purpose to consider how far either of these systems is founded on a true scientific basis, for it is plainly desirable that systems which have in the past deeply affected the life of important communities, and still exercise immense influence upon them should form the subject of historical study and scientific investigation, especially as competent scholars are likely to be available for this purpose. Sir P. C. Ray, who has devoted a lifetime to the study of chemistry, has produced a work on the history of the Hindu system of chemistry which has met with unstinted praise from competent scholars. Dr Girindranath Mukherji was some years ago awarded by the University a research prize for his investigations on the surgical instruments of the ancient Hindus, who had, it seems, made, in quite early times, progress which would have been deemed considerable in Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century.

"That the entire system of indigenous medicine, as practised in India, affords a fruitful field of study and investigation, is indeed clear from the testimony of many competent authorities. Dr Hoernle, in the preface to his studies in the medicine of ancient India, observes —

"Probably it will come as a surprise to many, as it did to myself, to discover the amount of anatomical knowledge which is disclosed in the works of the earliest medical writers of India. Its extent and accuracy are surprising, when we allow for their early age, probably the sixth century before Christ, and their peculiar methods of dissection. In these circumstances, the interesting question of the relation of the medicine of the Indian to that of the Greeks naturally suggests itself. The possibility at least of a dependence of either on the other cannot well be denied when we know as a historical fact that two Greek physicians, Ktesias about 400 B. C. and Megasthenes about 300 B. C. visited or resided in North India."

"Dr. Neuberger in his history of medicine (vol I, page 60) writes —

"That Greek medicine adopted Indian medicines and methods is evident from the literature. The contact between the two civilisations first became intimate through the march of Alexander and

continued unbroken through the reign of the Diadochi and the Roman and Byzantine eras. Alexandria, Syria, and Persia were the principal centres of intercourse. Indian physicians' means and methods of healing are frequently mentioned by Græco-Roman and Byzantine authors as well as many diseases, endemic in India but previously unknown. During the rule of the Abbasides, the Indian physicians attained still greater repute in Persia, whereby Indian medicine became engrafted upon the Arabic, an effect which was hardly increased by the Arabic dominion over India. Indian influence under the guise of Arabic medicine was felt anew in the West. The apparently spontaneous appearance in Sicily in the 15th century of rhino plastic surgery bespeaks a long period of Indo Arabian influence. The plastic surgery of the 19th century was stimulated by the example of Indian methods the first occasion being the news derived from India that a man of the brick-makers' caste, had, by means of a flap from the skin of the forehead, fashioned a substitute for the nose of a native."

"Similar testimony is furnished from a very different quarter. The late Surgeon General Sir Pardey Lukis, sometime Principal of the Medical College, Calcutta, and later Director General of the Indian Medical Service, said in the course of one of his public utterances —

'I wish to impress upon you most strongly that you should not run away with the idea that everything that is good in the way of medicine is contained within the ringed fence of allopathy or western medicine. The longer I remain in India and the more I see of the country and the people, the more convinced I am that many of the empirical methods of treatment adopted by the Vaidas and Hakims are of the greatest value, and there is no doubt whatever that their ancestors knew ages ago many things which are now-a-days being brought forward as new discoveries. For instance during the last few years, there has been a considerable amount of talk about what is known as depurating, that is, of people depriving of the system of salt. There are certain experiments carried out to overcome a result of which it is recognised that the dropping the greatest benefit to be derived from restricting your patients to a vegetarian dietary. There is nothing new in this. I have known thousands of years ago. The Vaidas and Hakims would have told you that. I have seen that Jav made their experiments in India in all dropsical affections, and in the East and West.

"Equally emphatic is the glory of the new before Harold Brown, formerly orthodox Medical Service, that 'the much neglected indigenous drugs which are of other the assertion of the but are little known to the' the st

medicine' No arguments are needed to establish the position that a system which is described in these terms by some of the most distinguished exponents of the western system of medicine should be cultivated in an Indian university from the point of view of a historical critical and scientific student. We do not suggest that in a university of a modern type it would be correct to establish degrees and diplomas in ancient systems of medicine with a view to authorise the recipients to undertake the practice of their profession. But we maintain that these systems of medicine deserve careful investigation in an Indian university from the point of view already indicated. The result of such a study would be to throw light on their origin and growth, the true basis of their structure and development. If adequate provision is made for this purpose in the reconstituted University it is not unreasonable to hope that the exponents of the indigenous systems of medicine will gradually become linked with students trained according to the most approved western methods. The former will recognise that though their ancient system reached the height of a systematising theorising school of thought, it lacked the freedom of individual action essential to the pursuits of real science and its evolution was prematurely arrested by an unsanctified veneration for petrified dogmas. The modernists as we may call them will on the other hand realise that the ancient system possessed an imposing structure of empirical knowledge and technical achievement which cannot be safely ignored even in these days of rapid progress. —Vol V Ch XLII

The chairs of pharmacology and of the history of medicine are desirable on general grounds, but they are also desirable because it

is in connection with their teaching that effect should be given to the demand fully justified, that the ancient systems of Indian medicine should receive attention by the University of Calcutta.

It is clearly impossible that we should ask the university to undertake to train students on systems which ignore what has been done in science and medicine for centuries although they have preserved valuable knowledge. As Sir Sankaran Nair the Member for education pointed out in a speech of March 24th 1918 at the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi College at Delhi the study of modern sciences is indispensable for medicine.

His Excellency Lord Pentland struck the same note in a speech recently delivered at the opening of the Ayurvedic hospital in the Cochin State —

Medicine, he said, whether it be called Ayurvedic, Unani or western must follow the same methods and the same aims and submit to the same tests. Any system of medicine must be correlated with every advance in the allied sciences such as chemistry and physiology.

There is an obvious and promising desire at the present moment among the numerous adherents of these systems for closer touch with modern scientific methods. In time no doubt they will be able to make available for the practitioners of western medicine the traditional knowledge which is of real value and will reject as western medicine continually rejects those theories which are mere survivals and cannot stand the test of experience. The distinction between Indian and western systems of medicine will then disappear. —Vol V Ch XLIV X

PARAGRAPHS FROM THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION REPORT

(1) Desire for Secondary Education— its origin.

With West the desire for increased facilities for secondary education draws its strength from a belief that under the stress of modern life the alertness of mind which a good education may engender and the steadiness which it may impart both to judgment and character are of increasing value alike to the individual and to the community. The economic and social conditions of to-day are hable by reason of forces which are worldwide in their range of operation to unforeseen fluctuation and change. They

offer therefore new opportunities to resourceful initiative and attach heavy disqualification to ignorance and unpreparedness. For this reason the whole nation is concerned in so improving its educational equipment from the primary school to the University as to increase the number of trained minds and rigorous personalities at its command.

The individual also feels the need and advantage of better education. As industry and commerce extend and as the functions of public administration grow more complex a young man has a wider choice of careers. As a rule however he needs a good education to take

advantage of the choice. The demand grows for schools which give a good education at a low fee.

But though private individuals profit by having such a school within reach the advantage is not only theirs. The community gains from the average standard of training being raised. —Vol I Ch VIII

(2) Neglect of the ablest youths—a national loss.

The neglect of the ablest youths in the most critical years of their lives is indeed not only the most disheartening but the most dangerous feature of the educational life of Bengal. For the fate and fortunes of every people depend upon the opportunities which it affords to its ablest sons who must be the leaders and guides of the next generation in every field of national activity. If their minds are sterilised if their intellectual growth is starved and stunted the nation will as surely suffer as it will if it neglects the material resources which nature has bestowed upon it. It is almost a truism to say that the progress of every nation depends largely upon the abundance the character and the training of its exceptionally gifted men. And while a soundly devised educational system will not neglect the training of the ordinary mass of men any system stands self-condemned which fails to make itself a means of selecting men of promise and of affording to them every possible opportunity of bringing their powers to full fruition not for their own advantage alone but for the commonwealth. —Vol I Ch XIII

(3) The Historical Method of Study

The historical method has come to be during the last hundred years so vital an element in all serious thought and the historical point of view is so essential an element in the equipment of the leaders of any society which is to play an effective part in political development that we feel the deficiency of the historical studies in the University system of Bengal to be a real danger. There is no point at which there is a greater need for the importation of a more scientific and liberal method into the teaching and no aspect of the training of the educated classes of Bengal which needs more careful attention. —Vol I Ch XIII

(4) The Spirit of the Time

More penetrating than words written or spoken is the spirit of the time. And that spirit challenges many traditional submissions awakens new longings after self-realisation tears off the mask of authority which is worn by some ancient traditions and sends a current of dissent and unrest even into the recesses of the home aroused by such a challenge conservatism shows itself in self-defence the more conservative. And in retort innovation wears its most defiant look. The current which in some natures stimulates individualism may for

a time polarise old and new ideas in the sphere of women's education in Bengal. But there are signs of a desire for some adjustment between the new ideals and the old and for some accommodation between what the West offers and what the East can teach. —Vol I Ch V.

(5) Western political ideas must effect social transformation in the zenana

the demand of women for political rights in western countries is not due to thought it has been facilitated by the improved education of women there have been periods in western history when women in important circles of society, were just as well educated as men without any such results. The modern women's movement in all western countries which has gone far in Britain only because Britain is politically further advanced than most other countries is the inevitable consequence of the political ideas which have been adopted in western lands during the last hundred years. Sooner or later in every country which adopts these ideas the question of the position and rights of women must inevitably be raised for in every land which has accepted them these ideas have brought about a gradual and sometimes a sudden and violent social transformation.

It is not therefore by merely denying an efficient education to women that great social changes can be averted. They may be delayed by such means though perhaps only at the cost of a widening gulf between the thoughts and aims of men and women. But social changes which must ultimately be of a far reaching character can only be prevented by shutting the door (if that were possible) against the political theories and methods of the West. The process of change must be painful. It cannot be made in one sphere of life the political without ultimately affecting all the rest and if it is to be carried out without the most tragic of domestic misunderstandings it can only be by giving to women that degree of education which will enable them in partnership with their men gradually and healthily to adjust the conditions of Indian life to the needs of a new age.

For themselves they [educated Indians] have accepted the ideas of the West more or less fully. Many of them are even eager to give practical expression in the institutions of India to those political ideas and systems of the West which have wherever they have been adopted been the provoking cause of a radical transformation often painful in the whole social order. Yet they long to be able to try to the tide of advancing change when it approaches the *purdah* thus far and no further. But this is not a permanently defensible attitude. The only solution must be a resolute attempt to achieve a real synthesis not in women's education alone between the ideas and traditions of the West and the ancient and rooted ideas

and traditions of India. But this reconciliation of eastern and western ideas cannot be limited to a single sphere —Vol II Ch XIV

(6) True National Service

'Those aspirations of human nature which are most deeply satisfied by a steadfast and active religious faith have in the case of many students sought fulfilment in devotion to the cause of the nation. In so far as this devotion represents loyalty to a disinterested ideal and evinces an eagerness for personal service and sacrifice no one would withhold respect or even admiration from those actuated by such motives which indeed in their nobler manifestations are wholly consonant with deep religious conviction. But as we have seen there are instances in which the appeal to religion has been used for unworthy ends.

An education which strikes deeper into character and gives fuller insight into the complex realities of life and duty is needed to protect boys and young men against morbid self-delusion and to instil that steadiness of moral and intellectual discernment which they need in order to distinguish between false patriotism and true. In any event many of them will not win their way to serenity of mind without agony of thought and long self-discipline —Vol II Ch XIX

(7) Blind acceptance of the old faith impossible

In such a situation as the present it would be vain to expect blind acceptance of an old tradition. The better indeed the only way is to give the student such a training and outlook as will enable him to fight his doubts and to gather strength with which to face the spectres of the mind to slay them and thus at length to rest in a faith which by his effort he has made his own. This faith may still be the old faith but it will be the old faith definitely appropriated by his heart and mind and will thus be more truly than before his own —Vol II Ch XIX

(8) Modern Education in Bengal

Modern education in Bengal has justified itself not only in the talent and scholarship of the eminent men whom the province has produced and in the efficiency and uprightness of the public services but in an even more impressive way in the trustworthiness, devotion to duty and self-respect which are the honourable characteristics of the educated community and disclose themselves unobtrusively in thousands of quiet lives. The life of the student body viewed in its broad aspects is sound and healthy and is supported by much steadiness of individual character by high standards of conduct and by the influence of good homes —Vol IV Ch XXXIX

(9) Not only the highest but all western education useful

I think and it is a matter of deep conviction with me that in the present circumstances of India all western education is valuable and useful. If it is the highest that under the circumstances is possible so much the better. But even if it is not the highest it must not on that account be rejected. I believe the life of a people—whether in the political or industrial or intellectual field—is an organic whole and no striking progress in any particular field is to be looked for unless there be room for the free movement of the energies of the people in all fields. To my mind the greatest work of western education in the present state of India is not so much the encouragement of learning as the liberation of the Indian mind from the thralldom of old world ideas and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life and thought and character of the West. For this purpose not only the highest but all western education is useful. —Quoted from Mr Gokhale's speech on the Universities Bill 1904 in Vol IV Ch XXXIX

(10) Causes of the growth of secondary education

A fourth cause [the other three causes being economic pressure, the awakening of new ambitions and the desire for industrial careers] has furthered the growth of secondary and college education during recent years. Thoughtful Indian opinion frets under the stigma of illiteracy which inspite of the high attainments of a relatively small minority the country has still to bear. Every advance which India makes towards a place of direct influence in the affairs of the Empire throws into sharper relief the ignorance under which the masses of her people labour. The educated classes are sensitive to this blot upon the good name of their country and feels that it lowers the prestige of India in the eyes of the world. They approve therefore of any extension of education believing that an increase in the numbers of any kind of school will directly or indirectly lessen the mass of ignorance which is the heaviest drag upon the progress of India. On a narrow view of their own interests the educated classes might demur to making higher education accessible to scores of thousands of new aspirants to careers which are limited in number and already over-crowded. It is well understood that one result of the growth of new high schools will be to intensify the competition for a restricted number of posts and therefore to prevent salaries from rising. But any disposition to limit educational opportunities on this account is overborne by a conviction that the country needs more education and by a faith that the liberal encouragement of new schools will in the long run prove the wisest policy. Such encouragement is believed to be in the interests

even of those who already enjoy access to the kind of education which, if it were limited to them, would have an enhanced pecuniary value. Much of the zeal for secondary education springs from non self-regarding motives, and works against what might appear to be self-interest. It is this belief in education for its own sake, a belief which, though often vague and indistinct, is ardent and sincere, that gives it its chief significance to the movement now spreading in Bengal"—Vol IV Ch XXX

(11) The effect of the prevailing illiteracy on intellectual growth

"The most serious handicap of the Indian student is the intellectual atmosphere which he has to breathe. I need not say that no disparagement of the Indian intellect is implied in this statement. What I refer to is simply the outcome of well-recognised sociological conditions peculiar to India and more specially to India in the mufassal, at this stage of her progress. (i) There is the great mass of illiteracy all round. I am not speaking here of illiteracy in the student's own immediate circle of relations and friends, but of the illiteracy among those whom personally he may not know at all. It would be interesting to trace out some of the subtle pervasive ways in which this great mass of illiteracy is operative as an influence not only on the student (though he perhaps is most affected) but also to a greater or less extent upon all who have to live and work in India. The general effect is a sort of aridity or sterility which is not favourable to normal many-sided intellectual growth. (ii) There is the fact that even when literacy is present it is usually a one-sided affair, hardly as yet affecting women to any appreciable degree. (iii) Only too frequently is the student an isolated unit in his family, in his social circle or, it may be even in his neighbourhood." Mr M. B. Cameron, of the Canning College, Lucknow, cited in Vol IV, Ch XXX.

(12) Ancient and Modern Educational Thought

"Each of the traits which Mr. Trivedi selects as being characteristic of education in ancient India (its identification with religious belief, the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, the admission of the poor to learning, the personal tie between teacher and taught, the setting apart of a special class for the duty of teaching, freedom from detailed control by Government) has also been characteristic, at different times and in different degrees and forms, of one or more of the various traditions which have shown themselves indestructible in the complex fabric of education in the West. But modern educational thought in the West is affected by three fundamental assumptions: viz. (1) that the whole nation, without exception, should have access to educational opportunity, (2)

that education should be equally accessible to both sexes, and (3) that attendance at school should be compulsory for every one up to an appointed age limit. The growing influence of these ideas upon Indian opinion is manifest, though the difficulty of their practical application in India is obvious"—Vol IV, Ch XXX.

(13) Vernacular education must be improved.

"No young man in England would be considered to have received a sound and good education unless he possessed a mastery over his own vernacular, had learnt to avoid grammatical errors and had acquired a taste for the metres of the idioms of his mother-tongue. We are emphatically of opinion that there is something unsound in a system of education which leaves a young man, at the conclusion of his course, unable to speak or write his own mother tongue fluently and correctly. It is thus beyond controversy that a systematic effort must henceforth be made to promote the serious study of the vernaculars in secondary schools, intermediate colleges and in the University. The elaborate scheme recently adopted by the University for the critical, historical and comparative study of the Indian vernaculars for the M. A. examination is but the coping stone of an edifice of which the base is yet to be placed on a sound foundation, and it is only when such a structure has been completed that Bengal will have a literature worthy of the greatness and civilisation of its people"—Vol IV, Ch XLII.

(14) Bengal must be Bilingual.

few even of the most ardent and eloquent advocates of the use of the vernacular are of opinion that Bengali has yet reached a stage at which it would suffice for the teaching of the majority of those branches of western education which form an essential part of the university curriculum. There is an overwhelming mass of opinion pointing to the use of English as the chief medium from the end of the intermediate stage upwards.

We are disposed to think that the educated classes in the various provinces of India will like those of some other countries, both in the British dominions and elsewhere, wish to be bilingual, to use their mother tongue for those dear and intimate things which form part of life from infancy upwards, and which are the very breath and substance of poetry and of national feeling; to use English as a means of inter-communication necessary for the maintenance of the unity of India and of touch with other countries for the mutual interchange and stimulation of ideas in the sphere of scholarship and science and for the promotion of that interprovincial and international commerce and industry on which the economic future of India will largely depend.

' Those of us acquainted with British conditions do not find the bilingual Welsh student in any way handicapped when he comes to an English speaking university nor do we think that bilingualism is felt to be a handicap to intellectual development in such countries as Belgium and Switzerland. More and more in the larger European countries are the pupils (largely by the use of the direct method) acquiring with less than half the school time and less than half the home work devoted in India to the study of English a working mastery of a second living language. The results already obtained in some Madras schools show how practicable reform may be in Bengal.

Our general aim is to make the educated classes of Bengal bilingual. But like our predecessors we lay stress on the continued necessity of improving the vernaculars through which the results of western as well as of eastern knowledge can alone be conveyed to the masses of the people. —Vol V Ch XLI

(15) Industrial Training

The problem of training in mechanical engineering in Bengal differs essentially from the corresponding problem in England because of the averseness of so many high-caste Bengalis to use their hands and because unlike the English youth who wishes to become a mechanical engineer and who in accordance with universal tradition does the work of an ordinary workman and accepts the pay of an ordinary apprentice during his training the average Bengali youth regards such work and such pay as beneath his dignity and is therefore unable to acquire the practical experience necessary to make a successful mechanical engineer.

We believe with the Industrial Commission and with the majority of the firms whom we have consulted that the demand for engineers trained in India is bound to increase and though some firms are doubtful as to whether India can ever train responsible engineers we think the successful experience on the civil engineering side and the fact that there are now successful chemical works, porcelain works, tile works and tanneries in Bengal entirely run and managed by Indians shows that there is every reason to believe that Bengal will be able before long to produce highly trained Indian mechanical engineers. But for that development to take place successfully we feel that the concurrence of the engineering firms is essential. —Vol V Ch XLVI

(16) Effect of Muslim Education on Indian Unity

But in this new movement of the Muslim community towards higher education there lies the presage of an intellectual unity which would lessen if it might not obliterate the breaches caused by ancient divisions and by deep differences in cultural tradition. A greater equality

in point of culture might strengthen the forces which make for harmony and co-operation between the two main sections of the Bengal population. The whole community would be the stronger by the abatement of those misunderstandings and antagonisms which have a long history behind them and still affect the inner life of the country. Social reform would be rendered less difficult were some of the estrangements modified by the influence of friendships formed at school and college and a gradual lessening of the power of old divisions would make the people of Bengal more homogeneous for the manifold and arduous tasks which await it. —Vol V Ch XLIX

(17) Historical archives and research

All over India there exist vast masses of unorganised and unexplored historical material in many languages not merely the contents of the Government archive rooms but many family collections and many records of existing or former Indian Governments such as the admirably kept archives of His Exalted Highness the Nizam at Hyderabad or the large Marhatta collections at Poona. The history of India cannot be fully explored until these collections are made available. They are not made effectively available merely by throwing open the archive rooms to scholars. A student of the first two decades of the nineteenth century for example ought to work not only at the archives in the British Museum rooms but at the Marhatta archives at Lahore and a multitude of other collections. Even if he could find the time for such exploration he would find his materials in many languages and in many scripts.

What is necessary is that all the most valuable of these materials should be printed, the most important documents in full selections from the less important in summaries and translated into English. This work can only be carried out by a great co-operative enterprise; it cannot be achieved by the sporadic endeavours of isolated university scholars. Like the corresponding treatment of the English archives which are in some ways though more complete less complex and varied it will only be possible if it is undertaken by Government enlisting the services of a large number of scholars drawn from among the university teachers of all parts of India, fixing the main plan of the work and entrusting to qualified men under a competent general editorship the production of a great series of *monumenta historica India*. The result of such an enterprise would be not merely that the materials for Indian history would be made available but what is far more important that the methods and spirit of sane and scholarly historical investigation would receive an immense stimulus in all the universities like the stimulus which was given to Eng-

historical scholarships by the preparation of the Rolls Series and the Record Office publications India needs nothing more than a wide diffusion of that sanely critical spirit in dealing with men and institutions which historical investigation should create. This spirit will grow but slowly if it is left to the disconnected and unassisted spontaneous effort of individuals'—Vol V Ch L

(18) Fellowship among the Empire's Centres of Thought

In the coming unification of the British Commonwealth no small part will be played by the universities for the commerce of ideas must be yet more potent in bringing about mutual comprehension between the various elements in a great co-operation than the commerce of material things. To the cultivation and expansion of this commerce of ideas from which all the participants will profit too little attention has yet been given. And in the reorganisation of the intellectual life of India which must accompany its political development if that is to have permanent fruits it is as necessary that there should be more organic intellectual relations with the other great members of our partnership of peoples as that there should be more organic political relations. The British universities have been in some sense the parents of the university systems of all the British lands as the British Parliament has been the parent of their political systems. But there has been in the one sphere even more than in the other too little organised intercourse and mutual assistance. The British universities have yet much to give to their daughters but the daughters have also much to give in return. It is needful that attention should be given to this aspect of our partnership of nations and that we should find some mode of organised fellowship among the Empire's centres of thought of such kind as will in no way restrict or interfere with the freedom of each to cultivate its own garden in its own way.

'We believe that it is at this stage in post-graduate research work that the best work can be done by Indian students going to Britain, and we look forward with hope to the time when there will be a steady stream of well-trained and well-qualified young Indian graduates and young Indian professors going to Britain and in a less degree to other English-speaking lands for a period of training in the methods of research and meeting at the great British centres students who have come for a similar purpose from all parts of the British Commonwealth. In bringing about such a result Government must necessarily play a principal part. On the other hand we anticipate that in due time when the Indian universities have been reorganised and have developed great schools of learning particularly in those subjects which ought to be specially the concern

there will be, a counter stream of British researchers from all the nations of the commonwealth coming to take advantage of the revival of the ancient learning of India.—Vol V, Ch L

(19) An Educational Tax Advocated

'On all hands during our travels in Bengal we have heard the demand that Government should give more for education. Often enough those who make this legitimate claim seem to figure Government as sitting upon a huge and inexhaustible treasure-chest from which it dispenses niggardly bounty and they seem to imagine that it is greater generosity on the part of Government which is required. [This is hardly a fair presentation of the popular point of view. The people think that the State treasure-chest is depleted and squandered by extravagant waste of public funds in the shape of excessive civil and military expenditure. If such waste were stopped there would be sufficient money for a wider spread and a far better system of education.] But if Bengal is to have a better system of education Bengal must pay for it and only Bengal can pay for it and that what Government has to show is not 'generosity', but courage in levying the necessary taxation, a courage not to be expected until it is plain that those who will have to pay the taxes are ready to do so. Either in the form of fees or in the form of gifts or in the form of taxes Bengal must pay more if it wishes to escape from the vicious circle of its present education and to give to its youth a training which will fit them more adequately to play their part in the world.

If it is urged that the taxpayers of Bengal are too poor to be able to pay for the advantages of such an improved education our answer is that Bengal is too poor to be able to afford the waste of ability which is caused by the present system. It squanders her most valuable asset which is the brain power and moral vigour of her sons in a grave degree it fails to turn their great abilities towards the most socially useful ends. It does little to train their powers of initiative and to inculcate independence of mind and judgment. A change which will help in getting rid of these shortcomings in the present system of education and which will give a stimulus to the capacity for public service in new careers will in the long run be an economy as well as in other ways a boon to Bengal and through Bengal to India and the world.—Vol V, Ch II

(20) New and inadequately provided branches of study in the University of Calcutta

'1. New branches of study at present not represented in the University of Calcutta or its Colleges in which as finds allow teaching might advantageously be undertaken—

(i) Ind in vernaculars (ii) Hebrew and Syriac (iii) Greek and Latin (iv) French, German and other

remaining 20 and the Government of India retained the power conferred upon it by the Act of 1857 of cancelling any appointment. Moreover the Vice-Chancellor the chief executive officer of the University was to be appointed by the Government all regulations of the University must be submitted to the Government for its approval all affiliations and disaffiliations of colleges must be finally determined by it all professors readers and lecturers of the University must be approved by it in short almost every detail of university policy was made subject to its supervision.

The universities of India are under the terms of the Act of 1902 in theory though not in practice among the most completely governmental universities in the world. —Vol I Ch III

Even in the existing type of university it may well be doubted whether a government control so minute and detailed as that imposed by the present system is likely to produce the best results.

But the system as it now works has some manifest drawbacks the greatest of these drawbacks is one which is apt to be ruinous to any system of administration the weakening of responsibility.

We think it necessary to say that in our judgment detailed Government control which is unsatisfactory even in universities of the affiliating kind mainly concerned with administrative work is likely to be even more unsatisfactory when applied to a real teaching university.

The essence of a real university is freedom of teaching. —Vol III Ch XXXIII

A plan of educational reform based upon a transference to the Department of Public Instruction as the latter is now constituted in its relation to Government of the responsibility of the recognition of schools now exercised by the University would be regarded as a reactionary measure and as a menace to educational freedom. The intensity of the feeling must be borne in mind by all who may be responsible for proposing changes in the educational system of Bengal. The feeling springs from a conviction or it might be truer to say from an instinct that education should not be controlled in all its vital issues by a bureaucracy however competent and disinterested acting in the name of the Government. State action and state supervision are necessary as factors in educational policy. But they should leave a wide margin for the exercise of free initiative even at the cost of what may seem to be waste of energy and some disregard of the intellectual standards accepted as authoritative by the expert opinion of the time. —Vol IV Ch XXXI

- (24) Sanskrit studies should be placed on a footing of equality with Islamic studies at the Dacca University.

We are informed that strong representations were made on behalf of the Hindu community

urging that Sanskrit studies should be placed in Dacca on the same footing as the Islamic and that Government expressed its approval of this proposal in 1913. In view however of the financial stringency created by the war it was decided in 1915 to abandon this portion of the scheme for the time being.

We think it would be greatly to the advantage of the University of Dacca if Sanskrit studies could be given the position in the University approved by the Government of India and that the two schools of Islamic and Sanskrit studies would gain by their co-existence in the same University. In any case a full and adequate place should be given to Sanskrit in Dacca especially in view of its nearness to an important centre [Vilrampur] of Sanskrit studies.

In many ways the opportunities of Dacca will be unique. We hope it will serve as a new home for the study of that Arabic philosophy and science which gave fresh intellectual life to Europe during the middle ages that Sanskrit studies will find a worthy and equal place alongside Islamic studies and that in this quiet intellectual centre in the great plains and waters of Eastern Bengal and in touch with a historic city there may spring up a fresh synthesis of eastern and western studies. These are the possibilities of Dacca. —Vol IV Ch XXXIII

[In Calcutta also the commission recommended the establishment of an Islamic College for which land has already been acquired by Government and they say we are anxious to see one [institution] at least which will specialise in orthodox Brahminical learning and the Sanskrit College obviously furnishes a valuable nucleus for the purpose (Ch XLII). The object is that eastern scholars may unite with their unrivalled knowledge of the oriental classics in acquaintance with the critical methods of the West. The future of India depends upon finding a civilisation which will be a happy union of the Hindu Islamic and European civilisations (Ch XLII). In the Dacca University Bill no provision has been made for Sanskrit studies.]

(25) Obiter Dicta

The educational pyramid though still a pyramid has narrower basis and a broader apex than elsewhere. The tendency of an enlightened policy in the future must be to change this state of things not by whittling away the apex but by broadening the base. —Ch LI

For the educated Indian of today the master key is English. English then is indispensable to the higher education of India at this time. It cannot be foregone. The instinct of the people is right. It is not merely that for the Indian student English is an instrument of livelihood. It is more than that. It is a pathway leading into a wider intellectual life. —Ch XLIII

"The Bengali student like many a student in other lands, feels upon his mind the pull of two loyalties the loyalty to the old order and the loyalty to the new. But in his case the difficulty of combining these two loyalties is very great. Each loyalty need is fuller and clearer definition to him. He finds it hard to light upon any real adjustment between them. Therefore it is often his fate to lead what is in effect a double intellectual life. He is two-minded and lives a parallel life in the atmosphere of two cultures. He too as a great administrator from Europe and of his own life in India, has to keep his watch set for two longitudes and indeed for more than two longitudes. It is not only with Calcutta and London but with New York, Chicago and Tokyo that the intelligent young Bengali has to keep in time. —Ch V

(26) Value of University Examinations

"We desire to add one final word in regard to the value which should in our judgment be attached to examination certificates and degrees. We regard them as passports to careers for which the university certifies the suitability of the holders. But those passports should not be regarded as valid for a lifetime. Ten years or so after a man has taken his degree (especially if this has been awarded like the majority of degrees, on the result of performance in an examination room and not on the result of his own original investigation) he ought to have done his work in the world in such a way that he is judged by that, and not by his examination answers or even by a more complete record of his early youth. Conversely it should be no reproach to a man that he has done badly in an examination if by his subsequent work he has retrieved an early failure which may in some cases have been due to illness or misfortune. We think it absurd that a man who has obtained only a low honours degree should be debarrd from preferment for all time when by personal achievement in original work in administration or in teaching he has shown himself capable of beating his early competitors in the real work of life. Examination results may show capacity and promise. But it is by a man's performance in which character counts so largely that he ought to be finally judged in the university as elsewhere. —Vol II Ch XVII

"In no university do all the brightest minds necessarily find a place in the first class and the most inspiring teacher or investigator may be a man with relatively poor academic qualifications [footnote: Thus John Richard Green the historian took a pass degree at Oxford Darwin took a poor degree at Cambridge I rarely ever went to a university]. Moreover this criterion wholly breaks down when the claims of teachers educated in other countries in England or America have been equated with those of Calcutta graduates. —Vol IV Ch XXIV

(27) A New Synthesis of the East and West

"At the present time, however, a growing number of the younger minds in India feel the need of industrial enterprise and of individual freedom from what they judge to be obsolete restraints. And simultaneously, an overgrowing body of opinion in the West seeks to set further limits upon individual profit making and so far as the circumstances of each great department of production and distribution allow, to supplement if not to supersede, private profit by collective control. Each tendency is conditioned by the need for safeguarding the play of its corrective opposite. But this drawing together of East and West towards a central point of balance between communal organisation and free scope for individual enterprise suggests the possibility of a synthesis in regard to the structure and maintenance of which East and West may learn each from the other's experience. —Vol I Ch V

(28) The Discipline of Indian Students

In class the Bengali student is generally well behaved and in the Indian school and college some of the minor worries which confront the teacher in other countries are noticeably absent. These observations are confirmed by the experience of two important colleges in Bengal. Dr Watt and his colleagues at the Scottish Churches College state that they have little difficulty in the matter of discipline. The staff of the Serampore College have experienced little or no difficulty in maintaining the necessary discipline among the students."

But while the student is as a rule, obedient to laws and regulations his obedience appears to be passive rather than active. He does not wish to create trouble but on the other hand, he rarely realises his essential oneness with the college, his loyalty to it his co-operation in its life and discipline is not active enough, his attachment to the college is not sufficiently deep to stand a sudden violent strain. —Vol II Ch XIX

(29) The Student in Bengal

If a general inventory be taken of his powers and disabilities the Indian boy living in Bengal will be found to come up to a good average when he is compared with his like in other countries. The conception of the orthodox Brahmin family has according to the members of the Commission in it more than the vestige of a noble doctrine of fellow service of other worldliness of renunciation. The Bengali student has according to the same body a very retentive memory and good powers of learning. His power of imaginative sympathy (with which is associated a feeling for rhythm and a gift for music) goes hand in hand with sensitiveness and diffidence and sometimes a disposition to form too favourable an estimate of their own attainments and powers. He has

the inward eye but sees too little with the outward eye. In him the eye of the mind is more developed than the eye of the body. His linguistic capacity is remarkable. 'In no part of the continent of Europe are there so many men and women who speak the English language with faultless accuracy of authorised phrase as among the highly educated Indian community—the masters of the English tongue possessed by no large number of educated Bengalis only fails to excite admiration because it has become familiar through everyday experience. Aptitude for number exists side by side with a defective sense of time. Even today there are traces of the vagueness about chronology which is found in the *Puranas* with their vast and cloudy aeons, cycles, and yugas.'

In a disposition so impressionable as that of the Bengali student, and so responsive to new ideas, with a mind which can skim quickly over the unfamiliar region of another's thought, and yet is housed in a body for whose vigorous health but little care is given it is inevitable that there should sometimes be a pause of hesitation between insight and action, a maladjustment between knowledge and will. There are however, according to the Commission two capital defects in the Bengali student's character. One is instability. 'And it is perhaps to this trait in his temperament that is due his lack of endurance in working his way with stubborn undeviated purpose through the granite of a difficult subject. Of drudgery indeed he is capable, at times only too capable. He displays powers of absorption and of unceasing though rather mindless toil. But these are very different powers from those exerted by a man who digs his way through the intractable mass of a difficult subject applying at every stage in his progress all his mental power to the problem of the next advance. The other defect is that he is deficient in the capacity for complex coordination whether in the sphere of thought or of action. A certain degree of weakness in the grasp of complex factors, in their adjustment to one another and in keeping them in equilibrium be it in the study of a complicated intellectual problem or in the maintenance of an organisation. This defect is one of the impediments to the progress of the Bengali not only (though there are conspicuous exceptions) in the study of such subjects as sociology and economics but also in complex industrial undertakings in the wide but still too much neglected field of municipal enterprise and in the responsible duties of commercial management on a large scale.—Vol I Ch V

(30) The Bengali Girl

the art of household management. In this art under the difficult conditions imposed by the joint family system and not seldom by restricted means the Hindu woman frequently attains to a high degree of skill, tact and

resource. In fact, her abilities (as is shown by history as well as by the experience of to-day) find congenial tasks in the sphere of administration. There is a striking type of Hindu woman—racer with mother wit whose strong will and character impress themselves much more vigorously upon the family life than on the observer would imagine. The Bengali girl has an instinct for order and for neatness. She has natural grace of bearing, deftness of hand, a simplicity of taste. If she has been taught to make on the floor the traditional designs (*alpana*) in rice or flour, her hand is often skilful in drawing patterns and the weaving of necklaces of beads (*panthas*) or garlands of flowers (*malas*), has quickened her sense of colour.

Three instincts and powers show themselves with significant beauty in the nature of the Indian girl. From an early age she discloses in very marked degree the instinct of motherhood. This natural disposition is strengthened and evoked by the spoken teaching and by the silent assumptions of the Hindu home in which she is born. The mystical aspect of life is very sacred to the Hindu soul. Everence for what is symbolised by the life of husband and of child is central to a Hindu woman's conception of duty. Living behind its earthly manifestation and yet inseparably merged in it is a divine principle of which she prays that she may be a channel and in the service of which pain at times transmuted into ecstasy, anguish into joy. Hers is the duty of the life-bringer. In her worship of a divine mystery, instinct is transformed into faith. Self will is conquered by devotion; personality is uplifted by submission.

Thus in the Indian girl's nature the instinct of motherhood is linked with another power, a sense of religion. By religion in a devout Hindu home every act of a good woman's day is ruled.

In her home-service the devout Hindu wife is true as steel, asking for no recognition, selfless and constant to the end. Here is not the will to power but the will to submission, a submission courageously self-effaced and bringing with it a spiritual power of service and of insight.

And this brings us to the third chief instinct of the devout Indian girl, her power to idealise. She can invest an object in itself simple and humble with a mystic significance, and in the symbol sees the unseen. Through the visible her eyes and soul discern the invisible. And at last through self-control and discipline she may attain to the power of entering in moments of intense feeling beyond the entanglements of distracting thoughts into a peace that passes all understanding.—Vol I Ch V

(31) Communal Representation in the Government of the University

Within the sacred precincts of the temple of learning all rotaries should receive equal treat-

ment and none should claim any special favour (Sir Gurudas Banerji) 'A university in which such needs and interests are considered is a contradiction in terms (Mr S G Dunn of the Muir College Allahabad) In my opinion the endeavour of the university should be to discourage sectarianism and not to emphasise it (Sir Ali Imam who stands alone among Mahomedan witnesses in expressing this view even Sir Abdur Rahim saying as follows) Speaking of the Muhammadans it is extremely important that they should be adequately represented in the Government of the university —Vol I Ch VI

(32) Special Features of University Education in Bengal

One of the most remarkable features in the recent history of Bengal and indeed of India has been the very rapid increase in the number of university students which has taken place during the last two decades while the increase in numbers has everywhere been striking it has been much greater in Bengal than in any other part of India nor is it easy to find any parallel to it in any part of the world

The full significance of these facts can perhaps be most clearly brought out by a comparison between Bengal and the United Kingdom The populations of the two countries are almost the same—about 45 000 000 By a curious coincidence the number of students preparing for university degrees is also almost the same—about 26 000 But since in Bengal only about one in ten of the population can read and write the proportion of the educated classes of Bengal who are taking full time university courses is about ten times as great as in the United Kingdom

Nor is this the most striking part of the contrast The figures for the United Kingdom include students from all parts of the British Empire including Bengal itself those of Bengal are purely Indian Again in the United Kingdom a substantial proportion of the student population consists of women in Bengal the number of women students is—and in view of existing social conditions is likely long to remain—very small indeed Still more important in the United Kingdom a very large proportion of the student population are following professional courses in medicine law theology teaching engineering or technical science In Bengal though the number of students of law is very great the number of medical students is much smaller than in the United Kingdom there are very few students of engineering students of theology whether Hindu or Islamic do not study for university degrees students of teaching are extraordinarily few and there are as yet practically no students of technical science because the scientific industries of Bengal are in their infancy and draw their experts mainly from England

It appears therefore that while an enormous

higher proportion of the educated male population of Bengal proceeds to university studies than is the case in the United Kingdom a very much smaller proportion goes to the university for what is ordinarily described as vocational training The great majority—over 22 000 out of 26 000—pursue purely literary courses which do not fit them for any but administrative clerical teaching and (indirectly) legal careers In the United Kingdom (if the training of teachers be regarded as vocational training) it is possible that these proportions would be nearly reversed A comparison with any other large and populous state would yield similar results Bengal is unlike any other civilised country in that so large a proportion of its educated classes set before them a university degree as the natural goal of ambition and seek this goal by means of studies which are almost purely literary in character and which therefore provide scarcely any professional training

Yet another feature of the contrast not only between Bengal and the United Kingdom but between Bengal and all other countries with a student population of comparable size is the fact that while other countries have many universities Bengal has only one The 26 000 students of the United Kingdom are divided among eighteen universities which vary widely in type the 26 000 students of Bengal are all brought under the control of a single vast university mechanism follow in each subject the same courses of study read the same books and undergo the same examinations The University of Calcutta is in respect of the number of students the largest university in the world —Report of the Calcutta University Commission Vol I Ch II

Except in the United States of America in Canada and perhaps in Japan we find nothing comparable to the eagerness for secondary education now shown in certain districts of India —Ibid Vol I Ch VIII

(33) Wanted Diversity—not Uniformity—in Colleges

The experience of other countries seems to show that variety not uniformity is the source of intellectual vitality The wonderful modern revival of learned activity in France dates from the time when under the leadership of Albert Dumont Ernest Lavisse and Octave Gréard the uniformity imposed by Napoleon's single dominating University of France was broken down and eighteen French universities sprang into vigorous life There is room for new universities says Mr Joges Chandra Ray but none for the multiplication of one type teaching the same subjects in the same way and turning out graduates similar in body mind and spirit A university exists for a society and a society is a complex organism having various functions to perform new

survey is masterly, thorough and exhaustive and will prove very useful to the future historian of English education in this province. We were most pleased with the Chapter on the Student in Bengal which is an eloquent testimony to the real insight and genuine sympathy and broad-mindedness of the writer. But one may honestly entertain the opinion that the five volumes now before us might have, without detriment or loss of value, been compressed into three. If a captious critic were to bring against the Report the charge of verbosity, it is difficult to say how it could be rebutted.

There are a thousand things in the Report which call for sifting examination in a magazine article like this it is possible to notice only one or two. This will be done on the present occasion.

VERDICT WITHOUT A HEARING

We find that serious allegations against the Calcutta University have found a place in the pages of the Report but the public have not been afforded the means of knowing what the defendant has to say on the point. Mr W C Wordsworth says (Vol I p 307) on the recognition of schools by the University —

It is usually the case that of all who consider the school's application the inspector alone has seen the school. Yet it is by no means the rule that his recommendation is accepted even when wholly endorsed by the Director. Cases are not unknown in which recognition has been granted despite the inspectors' and Directors' emphatic advice or in which recognition once granted temporarily on condition of certain improvements being made has been continued without further reference to the inspector and cases have been recently brought to the notice of the Syndicate where schools formally deprived of recognition have still been permitted to present their pupils for the matriculation. The present situation is one that depreciates the value and prestige of the inspector; he is obviously in a difficult position in relation to a school that has managed to secure recognition against his deliberate judgment and his position is made worse by a practice that has grown up in certain parts of the province: a school after inspection frequently sends a deputation of its committee to Calcutta to canvass the Syndicate and traverse the inspector's report. This practice is not discouraged by all members of the Syndicate and engenders the idea that the position of the

University is that of a mediator between the inspectors and the schools.

Mr F O D Dunn, Inspector of Schools for the Presidency Division, writes on the same topic (Vol I p 307) —

'The regulations dealing with the recognition of schools by the University have become a dead letter for the following reasons: the most undesirable and most inefficient school continue to enjoy their connexion with the University —

(2) The unwillingness of the University to enforce its own regulations. The reason for this is twofold: (a) people in India do not like to be unpleasant and to take the final and decisive course. Instead of disaffiliation or removal of recognition the offending school is let off with a warning that unless within such and such a period improvements have been effected action will be taken. And so on. (b) The regulations are scarcely capable of fulfilment in the spirit and the letter by about 60 per cent of existing institutions.

The extracts from the evidence of these two witnesses are followed immediately by this remark of the Commission —

The defects disclosed in this evidence are relatively to the present needs of the University and of the province more serious than would have been the case twenty and thirty years ago.

Evidently the Commission hold that the charges are "proven." But there must be another side to the shield. It is not unlikely that among eight hundred schools there might be a few whose records deserve the strictures of Mr Wordsworth. But scores of instances might be given where the greatest injustice would have been done to private unaided schools and a death blow dealt to secondary education in Bengal if the University had acted up to the report of the Department. We shall refer only to three cases.

The Brynmohan Institution (College and School) at Barisal founded by Babu Aswinkumar Dutt has had a long and brilliant record, and had always been spoken of highly by successive Lieutenant Governors and Directors of Public Instruction. Shortly after the partition of Bengal it was visited at the request of the Principal by an Inspector of Schools who expressed himself as being pleased with what he heard and saw. About a year after this (Feb 1907) the same officer was

deputed by the Director of Public Instruction, Eastern Bengal and Assam to inspect the school on behalf of the University. In the meanwhile the Institution had fallen into the bad graces of the Government of that province. The report submitted by the inspecting officer through the Director was most damaging to it (6th October 1907). The Syndicate sent a copy of the report to the authorities of the school and demanded compliance with certain conditions which were based on the allegations contained therein (July 1908). The reply of the Secretary to the Governing Body is dated the 14th August 1908. What followed will appear from the extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate (22nd August 1908) given below —

Resolved—

(i) That as the facts set forth in the report on the inspection of the School Department of the Braja Mohan Institution, Barisal are disputed and the allegations made against the Institution are emphatically denied the Syndicate find it impossible to judge the case fairly and to pass any final orders thereon without a thorough and independent inquiry.

(ii) That a Committee be appointed to investigate and report on the condition of the Braja Mohan Institution, College and School Departments with special reference to the allegation that the Governing Body of the Institution staff and the students have taken part in political agitation and demonstration in such a manner and to such an extent as to prejudice its character as a place of sound education and discipline.

(iii) That the Committee consist of the following members of the Senate

Sir Goroob Dass Banerjee K T M A D L PH
President

The Hon'ble Mr S P Saha
Professor P Brahmachari M A F C S F G S
Professor J V Cunningham M A F C S A R
C S I

Dr Thibaut C I E PH D D Sc
(iv) That the Committee be authorised to take evidence and to adopt such other measures as may be necessary to enable them to submit a full report in the matter.

Ordered —

(i) That a copy of the above Resolution be forwarded to the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam through the Director of Public Instruction of the province with the intimation that in order to make the inquiry as full and satisfactory as possible it would be necessary that the Government should furnish the Syndicate with a statement of the case against the Institution

and should be prepared to support the statement by evidence.

(ii) That the Government be further informed that the evidence which they may desire to adduce will be taken in Calcutta by the Committee who will commence their proceedings early in November.

Ordered also —

That a copy of the foregoing Resolutions and Orders be forwarded to the Secretary to the Governing Body of the Braja Mohan Institution and be informed that the authorities of the Institution will have a full opportunity of defending their position before the Committee.

The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam furnished the Syndicate with a statement of the case against the Institution—it was a heavy file and only the first instalment—but declined to support the statement by evidence. The Committee therefore never met and the authorities of the Braja Mohan Institution were not given an opportunity of defending their position before them. The situation that now arose was curious. During those following years the Syndicate continued to receive from the Director month after month charges of a more or less serious nature against the College and the School, but they were not allowed to have them tested by their own Committee of inquiry. All that they could do was to transmit the communications to the Governing Body of the Institution and call for their replies. The Syndicate acting on these replies, as well as the reports of their own Inspector, Dr P K Ray who inspected the College year after year and with whom was associated on one occasion Dr E R Watson of Dacca College and Mr H R James Principal and the late lamented Mr J A Cunningham Professor of Presidency College who were deputed to visit it in 1908 felt satisfied that it had been guilty of no offence which required severe censure. But the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam could not see eye to eye with the Syndicate in this matter. They withdrew the scholarship rights from the College and the School imposed other disqualifications upon them and ultimately recommended more drastic measures to the Government of India. Under these circumstances it is not too much to state were it not for the firm stand taken

universities ought to take up the different questions and try to embody the underlying principles in their ideal. There will then be diversity in university education in the country.

'We agree with Mr Ray in his belief that there is need for greater diversity in the intellectual life of Bengal, and in the training received by her sons

Some device whereby the colleges may differentiate themselves, whereby the deadening uniformity imposed by the present system may be mitigated, this seems to be the solution indicated by the circumstances. The colleges [of the Mofussil] must be given a chance of showing distinctive characteristics, of doing work that shall not be merely a reproduction of an old and wearisome pattern a chance also of arousing the interest, and winning the practical support of their districts, in order that the best among them may, in the long run, establish a claim to the higher rank.—Ibid, Vol IV, Ch XXXI

"What we consider a grave defect in the present condition of secondary schools and intermediate colleges is their dull uniformity their lifeless conformity to a type solely intended to give instruction to candidates preparing for the matriculation and intermediate examinations. We are convinced that this is not in the best interests of education and that diversity of pattern and freedom of development are essential for the growth of schools which may effectively meet the varied and changing needs of the community."—Vol V, Ch XLII

(34) Need for Careers

Failure to obtain a degree means failure of life in far more cases in Bengal than it does in western countries for in those countries a degree is but one of many portals to many careers in Bengal it is the only portal to the most important and the total number of careers open to a young man of promise is at present far smaller than in western countries.—Ibid Vol II Ch XVII

The narrow choice of careers open to Indian students is a second cause of anxiety and tension. A young Indian of good education has before him fewer alternatives of congenial occupation than are enjoyed by his contemporary in the West. The number of openings for highly qualified medical men in the country districts are far fewer than in the West. The religious organisations of the Indian community do not offer to university graduates as great opportunities of work and influence as fall to a clergyman in England or to a minister in Scotland. Further more until quite recently a Bengali student could not look for commissioned rank in the army. Under the conditions of Indian administration recruitment is made in London to some of the highest grades in the medical and educational professions to important service posts in engineering and to the Indian Civil

Service. Nor is the teaching profession at present sufficiently attractive. In secondary as well as in elementary schools the work of a teacher is inadequately paid.—Ibid, Vol IV Ch XXXI

The fact must also be frankly recognised that there will be no sense of reality about any scheme of university education so long as the opportunities of civic life are not in harmony with it. We must proceed in the hope that such harmony will be established and that the labour of this commission will be co-ordinated with the contemplated political and industrial reorganisation. The conditions of the times make it clear that it will be for the good not only of humanity but the British Empire itself that the talent and moral energy of the people of India should be fully developed and utilised in the future ordering of human life along more stable comprehensive and harmonious lines"—Justice Sir Abdur Rahim, quoted in Ibid, Vol IV, Ch XXXI

It would be misleading and unjust to say that the wish to pass examinations and to get a degree is the chief cause of the desire for western education which is spreading rapidly in Bengal. In great drifts of opinion individuals act under the impulse of the momentum which stirs the mass. Beneath the motive which the individual may assign for his own action there lies a deeper cause, often masked by an illusion of self-regard which constrains him, though he may be only half-conscious of its pressure to move in the direction determined by the aims and sentiments of the people to which he belongs.

The explanation is to be found in the very limited range of careers open to educated young Indians in the value of a knowledge of English to those who enter such careers and in the disproportionate degree of importance which is consequently attached to recognised certificates of literary attainment.

In the life of an English or American school boy there is no test upon which so much turns, no examination to fail in which brings such irretrievable disaster. An active business career a life of adventure abroad, the army the sea are all for one reason or another less open to the Bengali boy than to a boy in the West. Matriculation is the key which unlocks the door to all the callings attractive to the respectable classes in Bengal. And at that door the crowd grows larger every year.—Ibid, Vol I Ch IX

(35) The Conflict of Western Influence and Eastern Traditions

It is through the contact between Indian culture and that of the outer world and especially the culture of Europe and the West that painful dilemmas are created in the mind of the thoughtful student of Bengal. He feels the eddying current of western thought which

is forcing its way, in some degree unseen into the quiet waters of his traditional life. The current brings with it an unfamiliar, but vigorous and agitating literature a mass of political formulae, charged with feeling and aspiration and sometimes delusively simple in their convenient generalisation fragments of philosophies some poisonous weeds of moral scepticism bright hued theories of reform the flosam and jetsam of a revolutionary age. The young man's necessary study of English has given him the power of reading what the rushing stream brings with it. His own instinctive yearnings for social reform for intellectual enlightenment and for moral certainty make him eager for fresh truth. And behind this new foreign literature and philosophy behind the pressure of those invisible influences for which printed books and journals are but some of the conduits of communication there stands the great authority of colossal Power. Power enined in political achievement in religious conviction in the world wide ramifications of commerce in stupendous industrialism in the startling triumphs of applied science in immeasurable resources of wealth Power which even under the strain of a titanic struggle pits out new manifestations of energy and suffers no eclipse.

These influences fix upon his thoughts and bind them by their fascination. And yet admire them as he may he feels by instinct that in them evil is mixed with good. By instinct also he knows that in part they are alien to his own racial tradition, and that while some are ameliorative to it, others are baneful. But it is beyond his strength to disentangle what will help from what will hurt his country and

his individual life. He is overmastered by the force of the new stream, and finds that even the brief waters of Indian life are invaded by its waters. Not a student in Bengal or elsewhere in India can be wholly insensible to some of the influences of western thought and experience though he may not be conscious of their significance to him and to his country and even if conscious of it may not be able to express his feeling in words. Some however of the students are aware of the tension in their thoughts and ideals which is caused by the two-fold appeal of western influence and of eastern tradition. —Vol. I, Ch. V

(38) The Need for Modern Education

Our own view is that modern education has been but one of the channels though admittedly a principal channel through which the influences of the West have penetrated into India that such penetration was in any case inevitable, that modern education whatever its defects met a need which was keenly felt by the Indians themselves that it is indispensable to India if she is to achieve an inner unity and take her rightful place among the peoples of the world that its results though not free from grave dangers or even from actual mischief have on the whole been highly beneficial and that though unavoidably producing some tensions of mind and spirit and even leading in some cases to what Mr John Woodroffe describes as a paralyzing inner conflict, it has in the main prepared the way for a culture which will harmonise with and supplement the national culture and will stimulate the latter into new manifestations and achievements. —Vol. I, Ch. V

AN OLD ALUMNUS

THE REPORT OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION

THE report of the Calcutta University Commission has been before the public for three months but it has not yet evoked the criticism that it deserves by reason of its importance and the revolutionary changes recommended in it. We do not remember to have noticed in the newspapers the holding of a single public meeting in Bengal for the purpose of discussing the report nor do the public bodies in the country seem to have taken an active interest in it. What a wave of agitation swept over this vast peninsula from one end of it to the other

when the Report of Lord Curzon's Universities Commission came out in 1902! And yet the measures recommended by that Commission were but a child's play in comparison with the drastic and far-reaching changes which are looming large at this moment over the educational horizon of India. One explanation of this seeming public apathy will perhaps be found in the formidable bulk of the present report. It consists of five thick volumes, and the Appendices will cover eight more. The first three volumes contain the 'analysis of present conditions'. The

survey is masterly, thorough and exhaustive and will prove very useful to the future historian of English education in this province. We were most pleased with the Chapter on the Student in Bengal which is an eloquent testimony to the real insight and genuine sympathy and broad mindedness of the writer. But one may honestly entertain the opinion that the five volumes now before us might have without detriment or loss of value, been compressed into three. If a captious critic were to bring against the Report the charge of verbosity, it is difficult to say how it could be rebutted.

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It is usually the case that of all who consider the school's appeal on the inspector alone has seen the school. Yet it is by no means the rule that his recommendation is accepted even when wholly endorsed by the Director. Cases are not unknown in which recognition has been granted despite the inspector's and Director's emphatic advice or in which recognition once granted temporarily on condition of certain improvements being made has been continued without further reference to the inspector and cases have been recently brought to the notice of the Syndicate where schools formally deprived of recognition have still been permitted to present their pupils for the matriculation. The present situation is one that depreciates the value and prestige of the inspector; he is obviously in a difficult position in relation to a school that has managed to secure recognition against his deliberate judgment and his position is made worse by a practice that has grown up in certain parts of the province a school after inspection frequently sends a deputation of its committee to Calcutta to canvass the Syndicate and traverse the inspector's report. This practice is not discouraged by all members of the Syndicate and engenders the idea that the position of the

University is that of a mediator between the inspectors and the schools.

Mr T O D Dunn Inspector of Schools for the Presidency Division, writes on the same topic (Vol I, p 307) —

The regulations dealing with the recognition of schools by the University have become a dead letter for the following reasons the most undesirable and most inefficient school continue to enjoy their connexion with the University —

(2) The unwillingness of the University to enforce its own regulations. The reason for this is twofold (a) people in India do not like to be unpleasant and to take the final and decisive course. Instead of disaffiliation or removal of recognition the offending school is let off with a warning that unless within such and such a period improvements have been effected action will be taken. And so on. (b) The regulations are scarcely capable of fulfilment in the spirit and the letter by about 60 per cent of existing institutions.

The extracts from the evidence of these two witnesses are followed immediately by this remark of the Commission —

The defects disclosed in this evidence are relatively to the present needs of the University and of the province more serious than would have been the case twenty and thirty years ago.

Evidently the Commission hold that the charges are "proven." But there must be another side to the shield. It is not unlikely that among eight hundred schools there might be a few whose records deserve the strictures of Mr Wordsworth. But scores of instances might be given where the greatest injustice would have been done to private unaided schools and a death blow dealt to secondary education in Bengal, if the University had acted up to the report of the Department. We shall refer only to three cases.

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deputed by the Director of Public Instruction, Eastern Bengal and Assam to inspect the school on behalf of the University. In the meanwhile the Institution had fallen into the bad graces of the Government of that province. The report submitted by the inspecting officer through the Director was most damaging to it (5th October 1907). The Syndicate sent a copy of the report to the authorities of the school and demanded compliance with certain conditions which were based on the allegations contained therein (July 1908). The reply of the Secretary to the Governing Body is dated the 14th August 1908. What followed will appear from the extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate (2nd August 1908) given below—

Resolved—

(i) That as the facts set forth in the report on the inspection of the School Department of the Braja Mohan Institution Barisal are disputed and the allegations made against the Institution are emphatically denied the Syndicate find it impossible to judge the case fairly and to pass any final orders thereon without a thorough and independent inquiry.

(ii) That a Committee be appointed to investigate and report on the condition of the Braja Mohan Institution College and School Departments with special reference to the allegation that the Governing Body the instructive staff and the students have taken part in political agitation and demonstration in such a manner and to such an extent as to prejudice its character as a place of sound education and discipline.

(iii) That the Committee consist of the following members of the Senate

Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee K.T. M.A. D.Litt.
President
The Honble Mr S.P. Saha
Professor I. L. Mukherjee M.A. D.Litt.
Professor J. A. Cunningham M.A. D.Litt.
Chairman

Dr. Thibaut C.E. Ph.D. D.Sc.

(iv) That the Committee be authorised to take evidence and to adopt such other measures as may be necessary to enable them to submit a full report in the matter.

Ordered—

(i) That a copy of the above Resolution be forwarded to the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam through the Director of Public Instruction of the province with the intimation that in order to make the inquiries full and satisfactory as possible it would be necessary that the Government should furnish the Syndicate with a statement of the case against the Institution

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Ordered also—

That a copy of the foregoing Resolutions and Orders be forwarded to the Secretary to the Governing Body of the Braja Mohan Institution and he be intimated that the authorities of the Institution will have a full opportunity of defending their position before the Committee.

The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam furnished the Syndicate with a statement of the case against the Institution—it was a heavy file and only the first instalment—but declined to support the statement by evidence. The Committee therefore never met and the authorities of the Braja Mohan Institution were not given an opportunity of defending their position before them. The situation that now arose was curious. During those following years the Syndicate continued to receive from the Director month after month charges of a more or less serious nature against the College and the School, but they were not allowed to have them tested by their own Committee of inquiry. All that they could do was to transmit the communications to the Governing Body of the Institution and call for their replies. The Syndicate acting on these replies, as well as the reports of their own Inspector, Dr P. K. Ray who inspected the College year after year and with whom was associated on one occasion Dr L. R. Watson of Dacca College and Mr H. R. James Principal and the late lamented Mr. J. A. Cunningham Professor of Presidency College who were deputed to visit it in 1908 felt satisfied that it had been guilty of no offence which required severe chastisement. But the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam could not see eye to eye with the Syndicate in this matter. They withdrew the scholarship rights from the College and the School imposed other disqualifications upon them and ultimately recommended more drastic measures to the Government of India. Under these circumstances it is not too much to state that they were not for the firm stand taken

by the Hon'ble the Vice Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, the Braj Mohan Institution would have long ago been a thing of the past.

Again take the case of the Siddheswar Abhaya Chattran Institution at Chanchartala (Dacca district). In 1915 Mr Stapleton, Inspector of Schools, Dacca Division in his report on the school after making sixteen distinct allegations against it remarked 'Its present management constitutes a grave menace to sound education and discipline. The life of the school was in imminent danger, but the Syndicate did not think it right to condemn the school unheard; they asked the Managing Committee for a reply. It was promptly submitted and was forwarded by the Syndicate to the Director of Public Instruction who again sent it for report to Mr J W Gunn, Inspector of Schools, Dacca Division. This officer held a two days' inquiry in the school 6th and 7th March 1916. The report submitted by him proved by its silence that Mr Stapleton's allegations had been successfully met by the Committee, and that their statements could not be contradicted. Mr Gunn again inspected the school on the 5th September 1917. The only serious difficulty that now confronted it was his recommendation in the report—this had also been demanded by the University—that the Committee should be thoroughly reconstituted to the satisfaction of the Department. It was reconstituted in October 1917 but not to the satisfaction of the Department for the Director took exception to the Secretary and three other members. Once more the Syndicate asked the Managing Committee to explain matters and on receipt of their representation requested the Director to state on what grounds he based his objection to the gentlemen referred to. His reply will be found in the following extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate dated the 10th January 1919.

61. Read a letter from the Director of Public Instruction Bengal stating with reference to the office No. 5793 dated the 8th November 1915 that the informant on regarding certain members of the Siddheswar High School Chanchartala was forwarded in his letter No. 700 dated the 6th February 1918 and that

it was confidential and was intended for the guidance of the Syndicate in taking executive action; that no such purpose would be served by communicating it to the parties immediately concerned and that he is unwilling that such action should be taken.

The Director also states that the objection to Babu Barada Kanti Basu was based on his being an absentee and that in view of the representation subsequently made he does not intend to press the objection in his case.

Resolved—

That Dr S P Sarbadhikary and the University Inspector of Colleges be requested to inspect the Chanchartala Siddheswar High School and report on the matter contained in the file.

The University Inspector inspected the school in September last, but as the matter is still pending we shall close our narrative here. It is only necessary to add that during all these weary years of trouble, one Sub Divisional Officer of Munshiganj, after another, European and Indian, visited the School and remarked favourably on it. Mr S Modak ICS, found it in March 1918 'in a flourishing condition', and Mr J N Gupta MA ICS District Magistrate of Dacca wrote on the 13th January last 'I have read with interest the inspection notes of the S D O. I entirely agree with the views of the S D O and do not consider any change in the constitution of the managing committee necessary.'

The third case is that of the City Collegiate School Mymensingh Branch. In July 1917 the Syndicate received a letter from the Director of Public Instruction Bengal forwarding a copy of a letter from Dr C P Segard, Adviser to Government on Physical Education, regarding the state of things obtaining at the City Collegiate and Mritunjay Schools at Mymensingh in which Dr Segard states that from the point of view of Hygiene, Sanitation and Physical Education the two schools are impossible as Educational Institutions that both have close to a thousand students and the conditions and surroundings under which they are taught are simply vile; that some of the class rooms are little less than disease breeding pens being poorly lighted and ventilated and holding the greatest number that can be crowded into their doors and that there is no arrangement for Physical

Training in any of the Schools and (the Director) suggesting that as the schools are independent of Government assistance and can apparently afford to ignore the Education Department the University should bring pressure to bear on the authorities of the two schools to remedy the state of things disclosed by Dr Segard whose report is in no way exaggerated.

We can speak only of the City Collegiate School. It could not be expected to survive such ruthless onslaught but it has. The reason is the Syndicate never award punishment without giving a hearing to the accused party. In the present case they followed their usual practice and finding the explanation of the Managing Committee satisfactory allowed the matter to rest where it should. We also understand that Dr Sadler and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee visited the school in 1918 and were favourably impressed with it.

We would also in this connection draw the attention of our readers to the Following remarks of Principal Herambachandra Maatra who has been a Fellow of the Calcutta University for more than a quarter of a century and a member of the syndicate for a number of years (*Modern Review* Dec 1917)

There have been numerous instances in which the Director after having forwarded a report on a school from an Inspector has modified his views on the Inspector's recommendations after a discussion at a meeting of the Syndicate. There have been instances in which members of the Syndicate belonging to the Education Department have declared some of the demands of an Inspector of Schools to be absolutely unreasonable.

Surely a body constituted like the Syndicate with about half the members belonging to the Education Department is no less qualified than the Inspector to come to a right conclusion as to the steps to be taken to preserve discipline. Could any answer be pointed out in which the Director and his subordinates in the Syndicate have descended from the deceptions of that body?

A CHARGE AGAINST HINDU EXAMINERS

The Commission (Vol II, p 177)

But Mr Worlsworth Principal of the Presidency College and officiating Director of Public Instruction for Bengal makes the following grave statements which cannot be ignored.

The University does not commend complete

confidence. There is a suspicion sometimes vocal that the published results of examinations are not invariably in accord with the work done. This suspicion is due in part to the system of grace marks formulated in the regulations partly to the readiness of examiners' meetings to attend to complaints or representations from individual candidates and generally to show indulgence.

Here also the University has been condemned unheard. Not only this. The last sentence contains a serious charge against examiners. Were they given by the Commission any opportunity to examine or reply to it? The Hindu examiners have fired the worst of all. The Commission have thought fit to allow a grave allegation against them to stand unchallenged. It is to be found in the following words of theirs on page 203 Vol II.

The protest (against the practice of requiring students to write their names on their answer books in addition to the roll numbers) comes very largely from representative Mussalman who think that Mussalman candidates suffer under some disabilities compared with Hindu candidates when the answers are corrected by Hindu examiners.

The present writer has been an examiner for about twenty years and has worked his way up from the Entrance to the M A Examination. To the best of his knowledge this sweeping charge is absolutely unfounded. May we enquire why veteran examiners like Mr Herambachandra Maatra and Dr Brayendranath Seal were not in their oral evidence interrogated on this point?

We feel this omission all the more keenly inasmuch as they adopted a different procedure which was the right one with regard to an allegation made against the University by a Muhammadan witness. They say on the same page

Nawab Syed Nawabally Chandhury has drawn our attention to the case of two students one a Hindu the other a Mussalman each of whom according to the statement obtained 300 marks at the B A Examination in 1916 (the minimum for a pass being 300) when the Hindu candidate was passed and the Mussalman rejected in spite of the fact that the Hindu candidate's marks were made up in part of 9 grace marks.

After a careful inquiry into this matter,

the Commission arrive at the following conclusion

It seems clear to us that the case to which the Nayar has drawn our attention shows no evidence of inequality of treatment on the ground of race and no other such case has been brought to our notice. Dr P J Bruhl the Registrar of the University stated in his oral evidence that in his opinion there was no bias of the kind suggested.

The University is exonerated, but not a word about the Hindu examiners.

A CHARGE AGAINST THE UNIVERSITY AND THE COMMISSION'S OWN REPLY TO IT

Mr Wordsworth has formulated another indictment against the University. We read on pages 381-2, Vol I

Mr W C Wordsworth (until lately Principal of the Presidency College) states that there is or appears to be a tendency in University policy to regard all colleges as of the same degree of untrustworthiness. Certainly it has long been a cardinal belief among the staff of the Presidency College that there is an university policy a tendency to diminish the prestige importance and efficiency of the College in the interests of easy administration. I may instance recent inspection reports in which after a few hours inspection the inspectors attacked the carefully considered policy of the governing body in the matter of numbers and of the combination of subjects permitted in one of which also they attacked by name as not fitted for his position a gentleman of considerable academic distinction and experience whom one of the inspectors had himself commended in the highest terms. The belief which Mr Wordsworth and his late colleagues entertain may or may not be justified. But it is an unhappy state of things not conducive to good work when such suspicions can be entertained by a body of able and reasonable men.

The principle laid down in the last clause is very sound but the observation seems to be a mild endorsement of Mr Wordsworth's indictment, at any rate it is not distinctly contradicted, and it does not appear that the University was invited to state its own side of the case. But we may be mistaken. Perhaps the following passages in the Report, marked by judicial impartiality, and containing a thorough vindication of the University, are written in reply to its traducers. They are extracted from the Chapter on Post Graduate Teaching and Research.

The result which followed from this system was a most regrettable feeling of distrust and jealousy between the University and some of its colleges. The authorities of the colleges though realising the need for the University classes distrusted their efficiency owing to their large size and felt suspicious that the University wished to crush ultimately their higher classes out of existence. The professors in charge of the University classes were not slow to reciprocate the feeling and felt suspicious that the authorities of the colleges desired to have a monopoly of higher teaching so as to be able to restrict its field. (Vol II pp 47-48)

The Presidency College could not possibly claim as of right to provide and even if it advanced the claim it had not the means to provide for the efficient instruction of all graduates from all other colleges in the University. But even if the college could secure the means those students from the other colleges could not force themselves upon an institution which for the sake of efficiency, must have a manageable size. (p 50)

HOW THINGS MOVE IN INDIA

How rapidly things move in India is best illustrated by the history of Post Graduate Teaching in the Calcutta University. Such teaching was undertaken for the first time by the University in 1908, with two lecturers and 19 M A students. In 1916 the number of the latter rose to 1172 while that of lecturers and assistant professors reached 46. On the 20th October 1916 the Government of India appointed a committee to consider the question of postgraduate students in the university and its constituent colleges. 'The unanimous report of this committee,' we are quoting the language of the Report, "was presented on the 12th December 1916.

The Government of India after examining the report forwarded it to the University for consideration with the intimation that if the Senate accepted a scheme corresponding substantially to that put forward by the Committee, the Government of India with the concurrence of the Government of Bengal would not raise any objection thereto. The matter was elaborately discussed by the Senate at four sittings and ultimately regulations drafted on the lines of the report by a sub-committee were adopted with slight modifications. These regulations received the sanction of the Governor General in Council on the 26th June 1917, and constitute the present Chapter VI of the University regulations. (Vol II p 51) The machinery was rapidly constituted and the

system came into working operation from the beginning of September 1917 (P 50)

In the meantime an announcement had been made by His Excellency the Chancellor of the University at the Convocation held on the 6th January 1917 to the effect that the Governor General in Council had decided 'to appoint a Commission to inquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta and consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the questions which it presents. The members of the Commission were appointed on the 14th September 1917 and they held their first meeting on the 12th November, i.e. just two months after the new post graduate classes had been formed according to the regulations recently sanctioned by the Government of India, and the result of the inquiry of the Commission is the recommendation of an entire reconstruction of the system just introduced. Surely the rate of progress in this case is amazing. It would be interesting to note by way of contrast for how many years Mr Gokhale's Primary Education Bill is hanging fire.

SCATHING CONDEMNATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

It is stated on p 67 Vol I that the regulations required to give effect to the Universities Act of 1904 were framed by a small committee appointed by the Government of India and presided over by Mr Justice (now Sir) Asutosh Mookerjee, and that they constitute a thorough careful and honest attempt to carry out in detail the principles laid down in the Act. The fact is admitted on all hands that the University, as the Commission found it was the creation of the most pre-eminent of its Vice Chancellors who was at the head of its affairs for eight long years and piloted it safe through many a shoal and sand bank and whose masterful presence is still felt in every direction though he ceased to be its official chief five years ago. Mr Wordsworth bitterly complains that of recent years the University's interpretation of the needs of the public it serves has been mainly inspired by one dominant personality, with much resultant unrest.

After this it is painful to find that the deliberate verdict of the Commission is that failure is writ large on the portals of the University of Calcutta. They say

Secondary education in Bengal is preparing candidates not making men. It teaches subjects but offers no synthesis of knowledge commences no nucleus of unifying thought. It is dull not so much because it is poor in material resources as because it is poor in ideas.

Eleven out of every twelve of our witnesses who deal with this point (the Matriculation Examination) express dissatisfaction with it as a test of fitness for entering the university. The University allows a very considerable number of ill-educated candidates to pass. The intellectual output of the University of Calcutta in the form of contributions to learning has been small relatively to the size of the University, a testimony to the unfruitfulness of the education which the University has encouraged and developed under the all powerful influence of regulations for examinations. The colleges are wooden models turned out to a pattern in accordance with the regulations of the University. Most of the instruction to which the Commission have listened was arid and unprofitable. The students of the University were marked by intellectual deadness which shows itself in a multitude of ways.

And this is how the Commission sum up the discussion of the examination system of the reformed University —

It is impossible to peruse the evidence on the examination system as it exists to-day in Bengal without a feeling of profound sadness. The immensity of the effort disproportionate to the results, the painful anxiety of the candidates, the mechanical award of marks encouraging the least fruitful efforts of the mind, a leniency sometimes neglecting the grave responsibility of the University to the public and tending to class the less with the more deserving students, the number of failures in spite of that leniency, the sterilising influence of the whole system on both teachers and taught and the consequent crying waste of the intelligence of the youth of Bengal, these are evils which have been brought home to us by the most convincing evidence from witnesses of every section of the community as well as by what we ourselves have seen.

The above forms sad reading for all who love their Alma Mater. One fails to understand how Sir Asutosh Mookerjee could sign the Report without a word of dissent.

NON APPRECIATION OF PRIVATE COLLEGES

The Commissioners are very generous

in their appreciation of the missionary colleges of Bengal and their report on them is prefaced with a warm tribute of praise

The influence which has been exercised by the missionary colleges upon the development of Education in Bengal has been of the highest value and importance. No colleges wield a deeper influence over the minds of their students none have a stronger corporate spirit. The influence of the missionary teachers over the mind of their students is doubtless further deepened by the fact that they have obviously undertaken their work from no motives of self interest. They approach more nearly to the spirit of the old Hindu guru than many college teachers in modern Bengal.

This may be no more than what is deserved, but read side by side with it the bald description of the four first grade private colleges in Calcutta does not appear to be particularly sympathetic, or free from racial bias. We read on page 422 Vol I —

These four colleges—the Ripon the Vidya sagar the City and Bangabasi—very closely resemble one another in the main features of

* We have no desire to speak against missionary professors. But if they with their handsome salaries and comfortable and sometimes palatial residences can be said to have obviously undertaken their work from no motives of self interest we cannot understand why the same thing cannot be said of many Indian professors whose academic careers were brilliant and who after decades of service have far smaller incomes than many of their former class-fellows of inferior academic standing following other professions. We personally know Indian professors who chose teaching as a calling in preference to more lucrative professions open to them. Indian professors are not and have not been wanting who have conformed to the ideal of the Hindu guru to some extent.

As the commissioners refer to the deep influence wielded by the missionary colleges over the minds of their students we only refer to but do not wish in this connection to characterise the influence produced on the minds of the Hindu students by the rule of compulsory attendance in Bible classes though they do not believe in the influence wielded over the minds of students by the two scales of salaries for white missionary and brown non-missionary professors for doing work of the same grade and kind by the provision of separate living rooms for white missionary professors and native professors &c. &c. also very deep though not in the sense in which the missionaries have used the word.—Ed., M R

their work in the huge numbers of students with which they have to deal and in the wholesale and mechanical way in which they necessarily have to treat them in the very inadequate proportion between their teachers and their pupils, in the small salaries and insecure tenure* which they offer to most of their teachers and in the most total absence of any effective social life among their students. They are in fact, huge coaching establishments for examination wherein the human element in education is inevitably almost non-existent†

Not a single statement here is absolutely untrue, but the sum total produces an impression which does great injustice to these four Colleges. "To tell truth, rightly understood" says R. L. Stevenson "is not to state the true facts but to convey a true impression, truth in spirit not truth to letter, is the true veracity." A foreigner unacquainted with India will conclude from a perusal of the Report that the private colleges are doing no useful work, and meeting no insistent demand. Is it the fault of these Colleges that they have to cater to the needs of huge numbers, and that their classes are full to overflowing? It is idle to assert that when eight or ten thousand students

* This is not true of every one of these four colleges.—Ed. M R

† The editor of this Review was a pupil in turn of a Government college, a missionary college and a private college. He does not wish to make any comparisons but he owes it to his professors in the private college to say that they were not inferior to his other professors in teaching capacity and certainly not inferior in power to exercise beneficial influence on the character of their pupils. Is there much more social life among the students of government and missionary colleges than in private colleges? Are not they too taught mechanically more or less? Are not government and missionary colleges also coaching establishments to a greater or less extent? Is the human element in education conspicuous by its presence in government and missionary colleges?—It will be admitted that if in any college there is physical collision between a professor and his students and there are other colleges where there are no such collisions the human element in education is more non-existent in the former than in the latter. And it is a matter of history that such collisions have not occurred in the four Calcutta private Colleges but have occurred e.g. in the Presidency College the latest being that in which Professor Oaten figured.—Editor M R

pass the Matriculation and four thousand the Intermediate Examinations in a year it would have been good either for the country or for its youth if the private Colleges were closed or reduced in dimension and if the vast majority of the successful candidates were turned away. The Commission elsewhere speak of the anarchical movement in Bengal. They owed it to these Colleges to say at least this much that the movement might have assumed undesirable proportions had not private enterprise stepped in to afford facilities for education however imperfect it might be in their opinion to as large a number as possible. If anybody is to blame it is not certainly these private Colleges which have exerted themselves to their very utmost to carry out loyally the New Regulations of the University and come up to the standard insisted on by it. Among the teachers in these colleges did the Commission find none who had obviously undertaken their work from no motives of self interest? We are precluded from naming those who are still living—distinguished educationists who have grown gray in the service of their country and whose self sacrifice in the cause of education is freely acknowledged all over the Province. But teachers like the late Mr P K Lahiri Mr N N Ghose Mr Ramendra Sundar Trivedi and Mr Rajendranath Chatterjee might have been accorded by the Commission a humble measure of recognition. Besides we are not prepared to admit that the difference between the types of colleges under discussion is really so wide as it is made to appear in the Report but good taste seals our lips for comparisons are odious.

The following passage occurs on pages 424-5 Vol I

The Rpon and the City Colleges have recently acquired large new buildings paid for partly by private subscriptions and partly by Government grants. They are not ill-designed for the purpose but the purpose which has governed their design is that of providing accommodation for innumerable lectures to immense classes of students not that of providing a home for living societies of teachers and pupils. They do not find space for nests of

private rooms. They are in short barracks of lecture rooms—a criticism which may indeed fairly be applied to most Bengal colleges not excluding Presidency College.

Why the defect of the Presidency College is not mentioned in its own proper place but is casually referred to at the end of a denunciatory clause in the report on the Rpon and the City Colleges it is not for us to say. Our complaint is that here also the unfortunate private Colleges have been singled out for castigation for what was demanded by the New Regulations of the University. Take the case of City College. It had a building of its own at 13 Mirzapur Street which so long as the old system was in vogue was found quite adequate to its purpose. The operation of the New Regulations led to unforeseen expansion of Collegiate education so that the rush of numbers rendered it absolutely indispensable for the college to shift to new premises. The large new building at Amherst Street characterised by the Commission as not ill-designed but about which we are informed on the best authority their President remarked that it was an addition to the beautiful buildings of Calcutta cost over three lacs of rupees and was occupied only a week before the Commission visited the college. The Governing Body of the college are now told by the Commission that there is no space in it for nests of private rooms—a requirement the idea of which never crossed their mind when they placed the plan of the building formally or informally before the University Inspectors. What is now asked for by the Commission? Is it intended that the building should be sold off and a fresh home found for the College, or that it should be penalised for honestly conforming to the regulations of the University the remodelling of which no human being could have the prevision to anticipate?

The Commission remark (p 417 Vol I) The Scottish Churches College embodies the great tradition of Duff. For the enlightenment of our readers who may not know what that tradition is we make the following extract from *The Life of Alexander Duff* by Dr George Smith—

"I have never ceased to pronounce the system of giving a high English education, without religion, a blind, suicidal policy. On the other hand, for weighty reasons, I have never ceased to declare, that if our object be, not merely for our own aggrandisement but very specially for the welfare of the natives, to retain our dominion in India, no wiser or more effective plan can be conceived than that of bestowing this higher English education in close and inseparable alliance with the illumining, quickening, beautifying influences of the Christian faith. The extension of such higher education, so combined, would only be the means of consolidating and perpetuating the British Empire in India, for years even ages to come, vastly, yea almost immeasurably, to the real and enduring benefit of both." (P. 266.)

The passage quoted above forms part of a statement prepared by Dr. Duff in 1853, when the great educational despatch of the East India Company was under debate. Twenty-three years before this, he landed in India. When he presented his letter of introduction to General Beatson, he was advised to visit at once Rajah Rammohun Roy, and among "the providential combination of circumstances, which culminated in the Scottish evangelisation of the Hindus by education," the biographer of Duff counts "the help of the one Hindu whom English teaching had led to find the living God." For the material assistance which our great countryman rendered to Dr. Duff in founding his school, the forerunner of the present Scottish Churches College, we refer our readers to the pages of his biography. Rammohun Roy also "emphatically declared that all true education ought to be religious, since the object was not merely to give information, but to develop and regulate all the powers of the mind, the emotions, and the workings of the conscience." As he expresses himself in his letter on English Education to Lord Amherst, he "looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge" in India, and "offered up thanks to Providence for inspiring the most generous and enlightened nations of the West with the glorious

ambition of planting in Asia the Arts and Sciences of Modern Europe." But his object was not exactly that which Dr. Duff had in view. For, as his English biographer, Miss Collett observes, "the prospect of an educated India, of an India approximating to European standard of culture, seems to have never been, long absent from Rammohun's mind; and he did, however vaguely, claim in advance for his countrymen the political rights which progress in civilisation inevitably involves." Has the spirit of "the tribune and prophet of New India" died out in the land of his birth? If the Scottish Churches College embodies the great tradition of Duff, did not the Commission find a single college where the tradition of Rammohun Roy was silently and unobtrusively working among his countrymen? Was it not the noble enthusiasm in the cause of national uplift created by him that led Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Mr. Surendranath Banerjea to found the colleges which, along with two others in Calcutta, have developed into "immense and populous institutions"? It is delicate for us to speak of City College; but we have no hesitation in stating the bare truth that it was the spirit and ideal of Rajah Rammohun Roy which inspired the late Mr. A. M. Bose and Pandit Sivanath Sastri, just taken away from us, in establishing City School in 1879. The self-denial of some of the members of the staff—self-denial not only in respect of pay and prospects, but that of an acuter form, to wit, foregoing the pleasure of doing intellectual work that might have lived—has been ignored by the Calcutta University Commission; but they will find consolation where the Maker of Modern India found it—they will find it in the thought that their "motives" are acceptable to that Being who beholds in secret and compensates openly."

RAJANIKANTA GUHA.

THE SUGAR PROBLEM

THE Government's appointment of a committee of experts to consider what may be called the sugar problem of India will be welcomed by every one in the country who knows something of our sugar industry or is interested in the systematic and scientific examination of all Indian industries. In fact many will feel that the Government has moved not a day too soon in this matter. When we note the various activities initiated or promoted by the Government as well as by the various scientific and technical associations in America, England and Germany with the object of consolidating those industries which may have suffered during the war or which may have been started only after the war broke out, we cannot but deplore the absence of corresponding efforts in India where the need of such investigations is perhaps greater.

As the committee is appointed primarily to investigate and advise, as all preliminary committees should be, the Government communique does no more than merely suggest some aspects of the whole problem. While the report and the advice of the committee will be awaited with great eagerness, it may not be out of place to indicate here some standpoints which are necessarily involved in any systematic inquiry of the sugar problem.

The sugar problem arises out of several very different considerations. And although of all the standpoints from which the problem may be regarded the Indian standpoint is naturally and necessarily the one which will appeal to us most and which will have a decisive influence on the ultimate decisions arrived at, there are some other standpoints also which cannot be ignored and which for all that we know are so intimately associated with the whole problem that they are sure to influence the inquiry and even the final conclusion. One of these which

has not been referred to in the Government's communique is the British standpoint. It arises, not merely from the interests of Britain but also from the broader interests of the British Empire. It is not suggested that there is any necessary conflict of interests between India and Britain in this case merely because there are two distinct standpoints. It may as well be and we hope will actually be that the two different standpoints may strengthen the whole case of the reform of the sugar industry and may quicken the efforts in the same direction.

The sugar problem of Britain and of the British Empire which as we said is vitally related to the sugar problem of India will be clear from the following considerations. The British Empire is the greatest sugar producer in the world, the total production in 1917-18 being about 4½ million tons. Owing to deficient rain fall in India later on, the sugar produced in India and consequently in the British Empire declined and the last has now come down to 3¼ million tons. The Empire's consumption of sugar however is still greater and may be taken as 6¼ million tons for the corresponding period. If we deduct the 3 859 330 tons produced by the Empire from the 6 222 030 tons consumed, we arrive at the shortage of 2 362 700 tons or in round numbers 2¼ million tons in the year. In spite therefore of the British Empire producing more sugar than any other single state in the world, it is yet indebted to foreign countries for something over one third of its total consumption. Looking to the importance of sugar in our daily life, the dependence to such an extent on foreign countries cannot be contemplated with equanimity and thoughtful people who desire to see the British Empire quite self-sufficient have already been actively engaged in studying this problem.

A detailed study of the figures reveals some more interesting facts. The most important fact which emerges out is that it is the United Kingdom which is chiefly responsible for this shortage, because while it consumes an exceedingly large amount it produces none. The Board of Trade returns for the import of sugar in the United Kingdom from all sources, are about 19½ lakhs tons for the year ended 31st December 1913 (*i.e.*, before the war), and 13 lakhs tons for the year ended 31st December 1918. According to Mr. J. W. Macdonald's calculations, the shortage of 23½ lakhs tons of sugar in the year may be explained as under: about 18 lakhs tons as due to the imports in the United Kingdom, 8 lakhs tons as due to the imports in India, and 3 lakhs surplus due to Fiji, West Indies, and Mauritius. This surplus usually found its way to India, consequently India's dependence on sugar produced outside the British Empire was reduced by that amount, and came up to somewhere between 5 and 6 lakhs tons.

Thus the United Kingdom and India (in this case we include under India Ceylon,

in this Indian group. As the total shortage of about 8 lakhs tons in the Indian group is made up, to the extent of a little more than one-third, by the sugar surplus of some of the British dominions, namely Fiji, Mauritius and some of the West Indies islands. The remaining two-thirds is made up by imports from foreign countries chiefly Java. The situation in the United Kingdom is more instructive. The shortage was chiefly made up, before the war, by the beet-root sugar made in Germany and Austria-Hungary, which between themselves were responsible for 65 per cent of the total imports in the year 1913. Of this Germany alone contributed 47 per cent or nearly half of the total sugar consumed in the United Kingdom, and Austria-Hungary 18 per cent. Cuba came next with 11½ per cent, Netherlands with a little less than 10 per cent, and then other foreign countries with still smaller percentages. It may be noted that the amount of British-made sugar imported in 1913 in the United Kingdom was scarcely 4 per cent of the total imports. The following table will make the position clearer.

Imports of Sugar Into the United Kingdom.

(Board of Trade Returns 1913)

Source.	Amount of Refined Sugar	Amount of Raw Sugar	Total Amount	Percentage of Total Imports.
Germany	4,65,453 2	4,72,026 0	9,37,479 2	47 per cent. nearly
Austria-Hungary	1,08,063 85	1,60,858 45	3,68,922 3	18 " "
Cuba		2,24,227 3	2,21,227 3	11½ " "
Netherlands	1,78,566 6	11,207 7	1,89,774 3	10 " "
Total Foreign	9,22,254 5	9,74,995 2	18,97,239 7	96½ " "
Total British	290 25	71,729 45	72,019 7	3½ " "
Total Imports	9,22,544 75	10,46,714 65	19,69,259 4	

Hongkong, North Borneo, Sarawak, Straits Settlements, Singapore, Malacca, Penang and Cyprus) are chiefly responsible for this huge deficit. There is however one difference in the cases of the two, and it is this that while the United Kingdom does not produce any sugar, India itself produces a very large amount. The other places included with India above also do not produce any sugar worth mentioning, and India itself does not now produce all the sugar which it needs.

Let us now see how the shortage is made up both in the United Kingdom and

As soon as the war broke out, more than half of this sugar-supply was cut off, and but for the timely assistance from Cuba, the people of the United Kingdom would have had to face a veritable sugar starvation. The figures for the year ending on the 31st December 1918, very clearly bring out the fact that Cuba alone supplied nearly as much sugar—cane-sugar in this case—as was supplied by the two central powers before the war. The total imports certainly declined, but the proportion of the British-made sugar improved from 3.5 per cent to 16.8 per cent, while

of the foreign powers Cuba alone contributed 63 per cent and Java 14 per cent settled a huge effort will be made by them to capture the market they have now lost

Imports of Sugar Into the United Kingdom

(Board of Trade Returns 1918)

Source	Amount in tons of Refined Sugar	Amount Tons Raw Sugar	Total Amount Tons	Percentage
Cuba		8 23 900 7	8 23 900 7	63 per cent
Java	492 9½	1 86 192 7	1 86 685 65	14
Peru		41 69½ 9	41 69½ 9	3
Mauritius	4 170 6½	94 417 ½	98 588 2	7½
Br West Ind es	2 303 7	59 490 ½	61 794 ½	47
Demerara	3 3½	56 423 1	56 426 45	47
Total Foreign	12 033 0	10 73 716 ½	10 8½ 749 75	83 ½
Total British	9 518 3½	2 10 382 3½	2 19 000 7	16 8
Total	21 551 3½	12 84 099 10	13 0½ 650 4½	

Thus at the conclusion of the war the United Kingdom has to depend for about four fifths of its sugar supply on foreign countries. Of the many great truths brought home by this great war one of the most indisputable is perhaps this that an ally of to-day may become an enemy to-morrow. The necessity of a great nation or a great Empire to be entirely self sufficient at least in respect of the prime necessities of daily life is now felt to be imperative and suggestions for consolidating the Empire's raw materials the Empire's manufactures and the Empire's trades with this object have been so favourably received as to indicate a movement in the direction of some kind of preference for the Empire's articles. The Government of India has already made a move with respect to hides. But sugar is a commodity of still greater importance. It is no longer an article of luxury but an article of daily necessity particularly in the United Kingdom where the consumption of sugar per capita of the population is nearly 90 lbs per year—one of the highest in the whole world. It is of supreme importance for the United Kingdom to be altogether independent of foreign sugar which in other words means that the production of the Empire must increase by a little more than 23 lakhs of tons per year.

The consideration of the future is complicated by the fact which is in danger of being overlooked but is none the less true that as soon as Germany and Austria Hungary (or what remains of them) are

in the United Kingdom. A very severe competition between the continental beet sugar and the Cuban cane sugar is most certain and this struggle will take place long before the Empire finds itself in such a position to increase its own production as to be completely self supporting. In the face of these two powerful rivals both of whom are ready well organised and capable of easily expanding their concerns the United Kingdom is not likely to find it easy to import Empire made sugar which has yet to be made in sufficient amounts and will even then have to be carried over a long distance. The main question therefore is not that which of the two foreign powers will ultimately hold the field but that whether the United Kingdom will ever be able to do without both of them deriving all its supplies from within the Empire. The British Empire itself must enter into a struggle with these rivals and must be determined to win otherwise its dependence on foreign powers will increase still further with the consequent certainty of extreme embarrassment on some occasions.

Among the various remedies suggested and started one is the production of beet sugar by the United Kingdom itself. With this object beet root cultivation has already been commenced there but in the view of many experts this remedy is not at all promising. The United Kingdom is lacking in most of the requisites of a successful beet sugar industry and particularly in land experienced farmers and technical knowledge. Because it is well known that

the beet-sugar industry is one of the most highly scientific industries on the continent and it cannot be at once planted even in a country like England.

A larger consensus of opinions seems to point out the desirability of increasing the productive capacity of those parts of the British Empire which are themselves large sugar producers. It will be easier to expand a growing industry than to start an altogether new one. Attention therefore is turned to those dominions which have a surplus to export and in which conditions of expansion are suitable. Although Jamaica, Trinidad and some others can very well respond and give larger returns, most of them are faced with a shortage of labour, which cannot be supplied except by immigration, particularly from India. Moreover, even if this difficulty were solved, it is doubtful if the increase will go to make up the full deficit, as their capacities could not conceivably be so far augmented.

India is apparently the only country within the Empire that could possibly solve the whole problem. Expectant eyes are therefore turned to India, and one cannot resist the conclusion that the Government inquiry is, in part at least, inspired by Imperial considerations.

We may briefly go into the problem of the Indian Sugar, Why : India—a country which itself imports 5 to 8 lakh tons of sugar per year is looked upon as capable of furnishing the whole Empire's sugar, *what is the basis of this expectation and what are the difficulties to be necessarily overcome.*

It is a fact that of all the countries in the world, India possesses the largest acreage for cane. It is also a fact that till recently, India was the largest producer of sugar of any country in the world, and it is only very recently that Cuba has taken the premier position, India standing a good second. It must also be recorded that statistics in British India are very imperfect, and they are much more so in the native states. While the actual production in the whole of India is certainly greater than what the figures show, the *gur* or raw sugar which is

largely made in India, has, on the other hand, a very low sugar-content. These factors have mystified a large number of earlier investigators who in despair of ever getting at the truth have generally omitted India's share in the World's Total production of sugar. It is however possible to work with the available figures, whose limitations may be borne in mind.

There was a time when Indian sugar was exported to Europe and to England even : we do not know what was the total production in those times. But it is true that Indian sugar was driven from this field, which was ultimately possessed by European beet-sugar. India began even to import sugar, and within the last few years has imported something between 5 to 9 lakh tons per year. Most of it was cane-sugar, but there was also a small amount of German and Austrian beet-sugar.

Is it possible for the tables to be so completely turned that instead of importing 5 to 9 lakh tons per year, India may produce so much sugar that after satisfying the home demand, it may have enough to export to the United Kingdom? The normal production may be taken somewhere between 28 and 32 lakh tons per year. This will have to increase more than 1½ times. While no one can dogmatise on this subject, the following points can be, and have been, urged, in favour of the view that the Empire's deficit might be made up by India.

(1) There is already a very large sugar industry in India. It is obviously more advantageous to improve and expand it, than to make experiments elsewhere. With regard to the possibility of expansion, (2) India possesses plenty of land and labour, without which the industry cannot be established anywhere. Evidently, it is better and easier to employ the Indian labour in India than induce it to emigrate to other sugar-producing colonies. From the Indian's own standpoint, in view of the extremely disgraceful treatment which several of the dominions are giving to Indian labourers, it will be neither desirable nor very possible to take out a large number of Indians to the colonies. As

regards improvement, (3) there is plenty of scope for it. It is a notorious fact that the yield of sugar from the Indian cane is extremely low. First of all about 90 per cent of the total sugar-cane area grows an inferior kind of cane. Secondly, not all the cane which is grown comes to be pressed, because, apart from the amount used all over the country in chewing a lot is wasted and allowed to decay for the simple reasons that there are very little facilities of transport and there is not enough power to crush all the cane! It is stated by Sir Alfred Chatterton that he has himself seen in a good year large areas of sugar-cane in good condition allowed to rot and finally to be burnt on the ground, because the power available for crushing the canes was not sufficient. Of the cane that does find its way to some kind of mill, the ordinary mill worked with bullocks manages to take only 50 per cent of the juice the remaining 50 per cent being lost so far as sugar making is concerned. Another 25 per cent may be put down as the loss due to the use of the open pans for evaporating the solution. The introduction of better mechanical appliances as well as the application of more science to all the departments of sugar making is bound to affect the final yield. Thus 'in the Northern Provinces, including the United Provinces, Panjab, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal which together constitute 91.6 per cent of the total sugar growing area of India, where for the most part thin canes are grown the average yield of sugar in the current year was only 0.72 ton per acre. On the other hand, in the Southern Provinces, Madras, Bombay and Sind, where thick canes are grown, the average yield of sugar was 1.95 tons per acre.' With a larger application of scientific improvements some persons hope to see the yield rise to 4 or even 5 tons per acre. No doubt it will take a long time before this yield becomes general but it may be remembered that in Hawaii, where the greatest benefits of science to the cane-sugar industry are perceived, the average is 5 tons per acre.

Much might be written in favour of this line of reasoning, much might also

be written against it, to show that the difficulties are insuperable. That there are great difficulties cannot be denied, but the sight of difficulties must only stimulate the effort to master them, so that one way or other, the goal may be reached. For example, the difficulty of introducing improvements in the methods of making sugar, though very real, could easily be exaggerated to such an extent as to allow matters to shift for themselves and to end in ultimate inaction on the part of the authorities and in the ruin of the industry. In a country so vast as India, and where there is so little of general education, so little of the knowledge of modern appliances, so little of transport facilities and not also much of enterprising capital, and where, above all things, the ruling authorities even have not fully grasped the importance of playing their part in the progress of this great national industry, the introduction of the reforms could not be expected to be very quick.

The question of land tenure is also involved, and will offer another difficulty. It is well that the sugar-committee will make inquiries on the point. One wishes, however, that they will carry on their enquiry with an open mind, and that when the Government have their advice as to the extent to which "consolidation of the areas under cane is possible," they will also seriously consider the desirability of reducing the strength of the small holders. While large scale farming may be necessary for a more efficient industry, there is another aspect of small farming, which develops individual responsibility and initiative, and has been said to be of very great service in the West India Islands in a time of stress as pointed out by Prof. Carmody. From the people's standpoint too, the disappearance of a large class of small independent landholders cannot be welcomed as they are capable of making a very important part of the people. What is needed is voluntary co-operation on their part, so that they may help a large organised industry while retaining their individuality.

One of the knottiest of the problems will be the question of protection. Although

ultimately science is a better protection than a tariff-wall, it is undeniable that for some years to come the cane-sugar industry of India as well of the rest of the British Empire will have to receive adequate protection, if it has to satisfy the needs of the whole Empire. Sugar however has been the sport of politicians and economists, and so long as there is no certainty of the Government's attitude, large capital cannot be expected to go out, which it must do in order to effect the necessary improvements and the expansion in the industry. Moreover it has been agreed at the Peace Conference and in the constitution of the League of Nations that economic barriers should be removed as far as possible.

After granting that the conditions for the Indian sugar industry may become very favourable, there is another likelihood which will be attendant on any increased production. And it is that with more sugar being produced in the country, it is very likely that more also will be absorbed in the country itself. The consumption of sugar per capita is very low in India, viz., only 17 lbs. per year; it may therefore increase, and thus the extra production will not all go to make up the Empire's shortage, or in other words, much larger increase in production will be necessary than the actual amount of the shortage.

It is a very happy sign that the Government of India have seriously started to tackle this problem, which appears all the

more difficult when viewed from an Imperial standpoint. The committee of inquiry has the benefit of the assistance of Mr. J. W. Macdonald, a West Indian expert who has shown a masterly grasp of the whole problem, and of the Hon. Lalubhai Samaldas, one of the leaders of finance and industry in Bombay. It might have been better if in addition to the two Indians already appointed on the committee, there had been at least one more, like, say, Sir P. C. Ray, to represent the Indian chemical industry.

It may be added that a very important conference on this subject was organised by the Society of Chemical Industry of London. Early in 1917 the Society appointed a committee to make inquiries about and submit a report on the production and consumption of sugar within the Empire. The committee submitted its preliminary report in a conference held on the 16th of July 1919, and much of the information in this article is based on this report as well as on the speeches subsequently delivered in the conference. It should be noted that Mr. Macdonald's statement was perhaps the best that was made on the occasion. It was also announced in the meeting that "The British Empire Sugar Research Association" was established, backed by thirteen powerful Empire sugar trade associations, and representing millions of capital.

KANTILAL C. PANDYA.

A WORD ON HISTORICAL CRITICISM IN INDIA

WITH the commendable object of showing the new writers in the field of Indian History the right road to success, Mr. Vincent Smith has reviewed a good number of recently published works relating to the History of India, and this review of the learned scholar appears in the English journal "History" for July 1919. Certainly there is nothing

new in the statement that the writers should be free from bias and should pursue a strict scientific method, but we cannot afford to disregard the words of the veteran scholar as mere platitudes, since he has been induced to utter them looking to some cases of failure on the part of some writers of Indian birth for whom he evinces genuine sympathetic feelings. This

A WORD ON HISTORICAL CRITICISM IN INDIA

is exactly why we feel called upon to examine carefully what Mr Smith has said in his paper

Mr Smith begins by deploring the mental attitude of the English people at home that they cannot be roused to take interest in the subject of Indian History. We may mention relevantly in this connection that Reuter's telegram of the 4th September 1919, informs us that Sir Charles Lyall in welcoming the members of various learned societies to a meeting in London convened to discuss Oriental questions of archaeological interest has said that the present condition of things in India has made it essential that a thorough endeavour should be made to understand the Indian mind. We know very little how the apathetic English people can be made to take interest in the affairs of India, or how the Indian mind both ancient and modern can be interpreted to them right. It is however a matter of vital importance with us that we should interpret our history correctly to ourselves. As the chief practical use of history is (as has been nicely put by Bryce) to deliver us from plausible historical analogies and as to touch successfully the heart and the mind of a people settled down with a fixed habit of life, very correct and accurate interpretation is necessary of the heritage of the people from which they cannot easily get away. A truly patriotic historian cannot allow himself consciously to be led astray by any bias. As to the unconscious working of bias of one sort or another nobody can easily be free from, but it can be asserted looking to the natural probabilities of things, that in the matter of interpreting Indian thoughts and Indian institutions the trained scholars of India are less liable to err than the trained scholars of foreign lands. Mr Smith as a fair critic acknowledges this proposition when he says. The intimate knowledge of Indian languages, religions and social conditions possessed by natives of the soil gives them an advantage which no foreigner however learned can hope to rival.

We doubt not that Mr V. A. Smith who is a scholar of generous disposition will take the matter in good light if I proceed

to show that his European culture has been partly in his way in giving a true History of India to the world, and that because of his pre-conceived wrong notions about the activities of the people of India he has failed to appreciate the full value of such a work as the *Corporate Life in Ancient India* by Dr Ramesh Chandra Majumdar. To get at the mental attitude of Mr Smith we refer to a passage of his occurring at p. 385 of his enlarged and revised edition of *Akbar*. The author asks us in this passage on his own authority as well as on the authority of Lane Poole to accept this untenable proposition that what is called the history of the people cannot be written for India and that the history of India should concern itself with the accounts of the lives of the rulers of the country only. What has been stated to give reasons for this assertion will sufficiently clear up the situation. As the common people of India are not known to have been involved in political revolutions of the European type, Messrs Smith and Lane Poole cannot think of any change or mobility in the society of the Indian people. Thus viewing the people of India through the glass of European culture the noted writers have stated with confidence that the Indian commonalty has no history that can be told and that there has been practically no evolution of institutions. They have gone the length of saying when we read descriptions of Indian social conditions recorded by Megasthenes twenty two centuries ago we feel that his words are still applicable in the main to present conditions in India. Being busy in dealing with the palace records of ancient days Messrs Smith and Lane Poole could not evidently direct their attention to the activities of the inner life of India which have always been operative in effecting change in many directions. How the Jama preachers have been instrumental in spreading culture and in softening the hearts of many million of men in the wild tracts of India how our people have changed in the time of Gotama Buddha, Chutanya and Guru Nanak and how the people have been moved in the Deccan in the days of a great political upheaval by the influence of the teachings

of saints belonging to the lower classes of Marhatta Society, should not have escaped the notice of the noted historians though they might fail to be attentive to such things as the Satnami movement in the Chhattisgarh tract, or the humanizing activities of the Mahima Gurus in the backward hilly tracts of Orissa. We wonder how the historian can afford to forget that India has been the home of diverse races from the remotest antiquity and that through all times the Aryans have been influenced by the non-Aryans, and the latter by the former as reflected in many blends of our cultural institutions. We cannot any longer deny that the facts indicated above are essential factors for the historians to study in preference to the anecdotes of the lives of some rulers; for the real history of our country we have to study very seriously how the Aryans have absorbed many thoughts and notions of the non-Aryans and how the latter have changed by imitating the former. It should be evident to the oriental scholars that many dark corners of our Indian History cannot be properly illuminated unless some accounts of the hitherto neglected common people throw light on them. It is a miserable history which deals with the acts of the rulers only. Those who cannot understand "change" unassociated with "political revolutions" are bound to fail to read us aright; they should do well to change their view-point when addressing themselves to write the history of our country. A cycle of Cathay may be less eventful than a period of fifty years in Europe, but still the commonality in the East has a history to be told; why the East does not move as the West does, is by itself a fact of great historical moment, and it should therefore be a point for the Historian to deal with. When the European critics consider the peoples of the East less mobile than even a glacier, they judge things by a standard which is inapplicable in the East. Do not our languages and literatures of various times and of different provinces speak unmistakably of serious changes, which we have undergone and are still undergoing? The transition from one stage to another may be either slow imperceptible, but all the same, the

country has changed and this change has not been mainly due to what we get to read in the anecdotes of the rulers of India. India of today with all its social and religious institutions is not what it was "in the days of Megasthenes."

That the life of India was not so immobile is clearly shown in a book entitled "Corporate Life in Ancient India," which has been recently brought out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, a young and energetic scholar of the Calcutta University. That there is no tendency in this work to idealise the past or to minimise inconvenient facts, could be clearly and distinctly seen if Mr. Smith cared to look up the authorities on the basis of which Dr. Majumdar has stated his facts; the references to authorities have been noted in each case. If Mr. Smith cares to take note of the Atmaliik system and the Patki system of government as prevailed in the much unadvanced tract of the highlands of Orissa, he will have to considerably modify his notions. The systems have not wholly died out, and what they were may still be gauged by the Patki system still in force in some Feudatory States of Orissa. The word Mahallik in ancient Prakrit meant a old man or a wise man; how the Mahallik or Malliks or the representatives of several guilds and communities governed some states or took part in the administration of some states may be easily gathered from the State records: there is still a Feudatory State which bears the name Athamallik because of the system of administration which was in force after the time of the Marhatta supremacy in Orissa. Pataks or representatives of different communities or trade guilds are still nominated by the people, for instance in the State of Sonapur, and they are appointed as such by the Maharaja to represent their class interest to him and to be authorized to decide many questions of dispute.

To understand the judicial system of ancient India aright, one has to unlearn this proposition of European Jurisprudence that law flows out either from the King or from a similar determinate authority. It is not also true that the Brahmans legislated for the people in ancient India.

Either the King or the Public Judiciary had to decide things according to the customs which grew with the growth of the society or with the growth of different communities. I cannot dilate upon this important subject any further here but I can assure the European scholars that previous to the time of the introduction of foreign rule in India, the peoples legislated for themselves and the King had to enforce those rules when there was any violation of them. The Smriti works were wrongly conceived at the commencement of the British rule to be so many law codes in force in different provinces of the country, that they contain only ideal rules or recommended rules as rules for the Sista people has been to some extent appreciated now by the Jurists of Indian experience. To judge things by European

standards is a dangerous path to tread. It is not the 'western' method which is to be pursued as is insisted upon in the learned paper in question. What has to be done is to get into the scientific mood of mind to be able to see things as they are. This scientific mood of mind is neither eastern nor western in character. It will not be denied that many philosophical discussions of ancient time are singularly characterized by this mood of mind no matter whether we accept today the philosophic views which were once discussed in India with perfect freedom of thought. I object to the term 'western' as it may prove misleading and as correct thinking is not the birth right of any particular people in the world.

B C MAZUMDAR

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

I SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF HURISH CHUNDER MOOKERJI *Compiled from the Hindu Patriot* Edited by Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta M A B L The Cherry Press Dhurrumtollah Street Calcutta Pp 360+xxxii

The selections are divided into the following sections: The Mutiny, the transfer to the crown, the army and laws, indigo, industrial and commercial, administration of India, Indians and Europeans, social and religious, educational. There are some useful appendices. The editor has discharged his duty with care and discrimination. The book is invaluable for journalists as well as for students of the history of Bengal during the last fifty years of the nineteenth century. The book has been lying on our table for sometime and but for pressure of other work we would have been glad to make space for a more detailed review of this volume of selections.

II PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION by Anne Desant Theosophical Publishing House Madras 1919 Price Rs 1-8-0

The lectures here published are on social, political, religious and educational reconstruction and were delivered at the anniversary meeting of the Theosophical Society at Delhi in December last.

III. INDIA'S SERVICES IN THE WAR by B L Bhargava B A Standard Press Allahabad (Strongly bound in cloth and illustrated) Price Rs 10

The Price seems to be much too high.

Q

ORGANIC CHEMISTRY FOR INTERMEDIATE CLASSES By Madho Prasad M Sc Professor of Chemistry Victoria College Gwahar Cr 8vo 180 pages Price Rs 2

In the preface the author tells us that although the present work does not add anything to the general stock of knowledge already gathered on the subject yet it aims to make the acquisition of such knowledge easy. The object was certainly laudable and students may be found who by dint of memory may acquire such knowledge from the book as may enable them to pass an examination. For I am sorry to say that it is more of the nature of a Note-book otherwise known as a cram book than a text book. It is intended for beginners yet strange to say written entirely from the theoretical standpoint. Hence it has been possible to condense a large mass of so-called knowledge within a small compass and no illustrations, no description of the actual method of preparing an organic compound have been found necessary. The language is simple although halting and

lacks the precision characteristic of science. Thus, the book opens with the sentence 'Organic means pertaining to life, or to some living organism, and hence organic chemistry originally meant chemistry dealing with those compounds and substances which are obtained from some living organism or which are the chief constituents of certain plants, animals and other objects of life.' The earnest student will be undoubtedly puzzled to distinguish between the alternatives. Wherever the author has gone beyond the theory his language has been similarly inaccurate. For instance, the first line on page 44 reads 'Ferment is a small living vegetable or animal organism present in the atmosphere and also in the yeast.' After a line we are told that 'beyond 30 per cent temperature it cannot remain alive.' Is it a fact? On page 156 we are told that soap is simply a mixture of sodium or potassium salts of palmitic, stearic and olive acids with water and alkali. This cannot be the chemical definition of soap.

J C RAY

THE WAR AND AGRICULTURE by Mr Nagen Ganguly B Sc (Illinois U S A)

It is an interesting brochure of 4 chapters. (1) The War and Agriculture (2) Increased Food Production from soil (3) Food conservation (4) Food Distribution and two appendices (A) Harvest Prices of Jute and (B) Agricultural Reconstruction in Great Britain and Ireland. Two of these articles appeared in the Modern Review sometime ago. The author has described the organisations which have been made in England and other countries for the improvement of agriculture and has urged the people of India and its Government to form a definite agricultural policy.

The brochure has been well written and shows Mr Ganguly's extensive acquaintance with the periodicals of the day and how he keenly watches the agricultural movement in other countries. We commend this book to the zemindars and leaders of the country.

DEVENDRA NATH MITRA

KANNADA

KARNATAK GATA WAIBHAWA author and publisher Mr V B Alur B A LL B Pleader, and President Karnatak Itihas Mandal Dharwar, Pp 154 Price Rupee one To be had of the author

The author of the book under review is a well known writer in Kannada. This book is an outcome of his labours in research in Karnatak history for the last ten years. It is the first publication of the Karnatak Itihas Mandal at Dharwar which was founded in 1914 by the author himself.

The author has two ends in view one to create a spirit of genuine love for Karnatak in the younger generation of the Province and the other to suggest lines of research to those

who wish to toil in the thorny task of historical research. For the one he says, he has been a bard singing the merits of his illustrious ancestors. For the other, he says the work is simply a sign post pointing out the way to the temple of research.

In his first object the author has succeeded a good deal. He paints a very inspiring picture of ancient Karnatak, establishing among others the following important facts, with proper authorities in his favour—

1 Karnatak was a great empire extending from the Godavari in the North to the Cauvery in the South. It was ruled over by eminent and heroic kings for centuries kings who nurtured the Kannada language and the Karnatak culture.

2 In the fine arts such as Painting Architecture and Music Karnatak can boast of its special style, the remains of such arts being yet preserved at Ajanta and Ellora in the North and Carla, Vijayanagar, Badami, Halebidu etc, in the South.

3 Karnatak has given to the Hindu religion its three best philosophers thus helping it to develop and conserve its culture. Again the Hindu religion and culture were first protected against Mohamedan invasion by a Karnatak Empire resuscitated by a Kannada ascetic, the well known Vyasaraya, who on account of the variety of subjects over which he had mastery can be compared to Aristotle of the Greeks.

The new wave of patriotism which is rolling throughout India as a consequence of the great war has also reached Karnatak. In such circumstances the book is very opportune and it has done its desired work. The second object however is little achieved. The young minds though awake are not yet forthcoming to undertake the arduous task of research in their illustrious past. But to those few who have been inspired into work the suggestions are indeed priceless.

Considered as a piece of literature the book is indeed epoch making some of the noblest of modern thoughts being expressed in a most chaste and imitable style. The book is a specimen of oratorical and inspiring literature in the Kannada language.

The popularity of the book is self-evident from the fact that all the copies of the first edition, (about 1000) were sold off in less than a year and a half. The second edition is soon to be out. We understand the author has taken steps to insert better maps this time in the book.

A

MARATHI

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SURYAGRAHANA OR SOLAR ECLIPSE by the late Hari Narayan Apte Publisher—the Arya Bhawan Press Poona City Pp 366 Price Rs 2-4-0

This is the eighth and alas! the last of the series of historical novels written in his imitable style by Mr H N Apte whose death

in March last was mourned all over the Maharashtra by men and women individual readers and learned societies alike and who is still remembered as the premier Marathi novelist a master mind which unconsciously yet indebly influenced the old and the young the high and the low, a writer, who never wielded his pen without having some message to tell and who told it in a way which captured the hearts of his readers. The book under review is a historical novel and the pity is that the thread of its plot is snapped asunder just at a point where the interest of the reader has attained its highest pitch.

It will look ungracious to make any comment on a work, when its author is deprived of an opportunity of replying to it. Moreover much comment is needless as just three years ago when I noticed Mr Apte's another historical novel *Vajraghata* I sufficiently dealt with the merits and demerits of the author's style of depicting men and events in history and in a general way of the secret of his success or failure in the delineation of characters looked at from different points of view. Suffice it to say here that the great historical event which forms the subject of the book under review is one of absorbing interest to the Marathas and there can be no gainsaying the fact that the author has done full justice to it. There is however one outstanding feature in Mr Apte's historical novels which needs special mention. It is a truism to say that history and fiction go ill together unless the writer be he a novelist or a drama writer, possesses a very high regard for truth and takes scrupulous care not to sacrifice it for the gratification of a low earthly desire of playing to the gallery. That Mr Apte never yielded to such temptation is a fact which greatly redounds to his credit.

It will not be out of place however to point out a few mistakes that have crept into the book. For instance the name of Raja Jaisingh's son was not *सुरासिंह* but *सौरासिंह* and that the Durbar hall where the great Shivaji was received in audience by the Emperor Aurangzeb

was not *Am Khas* (in fact there is no such hall and the term wrongly used by the author has no meaning) but *Dewan-i-Am* at Agra. Mr Apte's defective knowledge of Urdu is no doubt responsible for this and similar mistakes. There has been some carelessness on the part of the person who edited and revised the book. In one place at any rate his remissness is unpardonable. On p. 184 the word *ब्रह्मका* is printed instead of *ब्रह्म पायका*. There is a world of difference in the meaning of the two words. This shows that the publisher must needs be more careful in getting further editions of this and other works of Mr Apte revised by a competent hand.

V G APTE

GUJARATI

TAHUKAR (ટાહકાર) by Vasanta Vinodi i.e. Chandulal Manlal Desai Ahmedabad Printed at the Prajambhhu Printing Works Ahmedabad Thick Cardboard Cover pp 144. Price Re 1 (1919)

This is a collection of poems called by their writer the voice of the cuckoo. The writer is a dentist by profession having learnt his work in England for five years. Thereafter he gave up a lucrative practice in Bombay and has just joined the band of volunteer social workers in Gujarat. From his earliest days he had a penchant for poetry and even before he proceeded to England he had been able to secure some fame for his productions and from the volume under notice it appears as if the stay in England and the lures of his profession have not made him forsake the Muses. The poems are written on all the burning topics of the day and it must be said to Mr Desai's credit that in trying to make them popular he has not sacrificed his art. They are very well written the sincerity of the poet lies on the surface and on the whole we think that we have no reason to be ashamed of his handiwork now presented to us. This cannot be said of a majority of those who in the present days court the goddess of poetry.

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Story of the Lion and the Elephant

Mr Ordhendra Coomarr Ganguly is a contributor of an article entitled *The Story of the Lion and the Elephant* to the September number of the *Modern Review*. has formed an erroneous view of the ancient history of Orissa and consequently I beg to point out the historical anachronism in connection with the reasons adduced to prove that the architectural devices in the temples of Orissa are adumbrated as if the fall of the Elephant dynasty had taken place with the advent of the Keshari Dynasty. His statements are not based upon historical facts but either on hearsay evidences or inaccurate conjectures.

From the palm-leaf archives preserved in the precincts of the Jagannath temple at Puri it is evident that the Keshari dynasty of Orissa was supplanted by the Gajapati dynasty or in other words the reverse of the view taken by Mr Ganguly presumably at the suggestion of Mr B. C. Majumdar who though well conversant with the Orissan arts and literature has in this case suggested quite the reverse of the historical fact. The architectural device of the lion over a recumbent elephant is attributable mainly to the predominance of the beastly instincts of the lion over the elephant.

PURNA CHANDRA DAS.

for a hundred other activities whose success depends upon the co-operation and help of the public. We undertook to organize a vast propaganda machine which turned out thousands of street corner orators and billions of circulars pamphlets and posters. Concentrating the activities of a hundred million people to help in the business of war was a gigantic task. A very efficient and very vast organization was necessary to do it and much to its credit it was done successfully.

Molding public opinion is purely a matter of psychology. The public as a whole can think of just one thing at a time and it can be reached only made to think by an appeal to its emotions rather than to its intellect. The ideals, aspirations and economic conditions of India can be placed before the public most efficiently if these two psychological laws are adhered to.

Another most important thing that an Indian publicity organization abroad must have is a definite program of action. The progress, prestige and power of an organization depend on its ability to divert efficient collective thinking towards specific tasks. A survey of the field must be made to ascertain who will be sympathetic and what lines of work must be undertaken to reach them.

Our purpose is a very definite one. We want to show to the world that the existing social, political, economic, industrial and educational systems and conditions in India are not satisfactory. Therefore facts about India should be known abroad. Then we desire to raise India in the estimation of the educated people of the world. We want to call their attention to the art, literature and philosophy of India. The result of work along these lines cannot but be better understanding, more sympathy and an increase of friendly relations between India and the rest of the world.

In his Open Letter, Lala Lajpat Rai has suggested five important methods of publicity abroad—the establishment of Information and Publicity Bureaus and News Agencies, the publication of books written by Indians and arrangement with foreign universities to exchange teachers and professors with India. There are agencies in England and the United States who are more or less adequately carrying out the first four things but there is need of more organizations in other countries. Besides London and New York, there should be permanent information and publicity centres in Shanghai, Tokio, Paris, South Africa, Australia and South America. Each centre should have branches in the important cities of those countries.

Who is to finance this work? India, of course. It is India's work and India must pay for it. The Indian National Congress may take it up or any one of the several other organizations such as the Servants of India Society or the Home Rule Leagues. It is possible of course to obtain support from foreign countries like Eng-

land and America but it is not advisable, owing to the difficulty of conducting an extensive publicity work relying solely on contributions from foreigners. Our self-respect also ought to tell us not to seek foreign help for such work.

In order to insure the financial standing of these Bureaus a central organisation in India is necessary. It is advisable that this central organization be managed and supervised by the Indian National Congress. This organization will raise an endowment fund of several lacs of rupees and should direct the plans, policies and in many cases select the personnel of the branches abroad. Some of these given competent business managers may become self-supporting by inventing sources of income in their respective countries. The India Home Rule League of America has some income from its bookshop from subscriptions to its magazine.

Young India, from membership dues paid by its active associate and ordinary members and from donations. The plans and policies of each branch should be under the direction of a competent Indian publicist and the remainder of the staff should be as far as possible Indian. In Japan, South Africa, the United States, England, France and one or two other countries resident Indians could be found to undertake this work.

Indian leaders either forget the force of public opinion or they are purposely neglecting to use that force. Buddha, Christ, Mohammed preached and educated public opinion to believe in justice, brotherly love and sacrifice and now they have millions of followers. The right does prevail though it seems to take much time.

Our Cause is just. It is not difficult to convert people to a just Cause nor to urge on their energies in behalf of India and the Indians whether these people be English, Americans, Japanese or South Africans. Only we must go to work wholeheartedly and be willing to make sacrifices. All people need is to have the knowledge of the injustices under which we suffer and they will act in our behalf.

Christ would not have had so many followers today if it were not for the hundreds of thousands of preachers who gave their entire lifetimes to announcing and repeating and keeping His message before the world. India cannot expect to have any adherents either in the House of Lords or in the House of Commons or in the Transvaal Assembly if we do not preach India's claims and rights at the top of our voices from every nook and corner of the world.

We want the people of the world to think about us. Thinking is important because it controls causes which control consequences. The only results we desire is a favourable world opinion, a knowledge of our present conditions and a recognition of our rights. These are to be had only by systematic, persistent and intelligent efforts.

This is an age of publicity. Now more than ever before public opinion is a real force in the

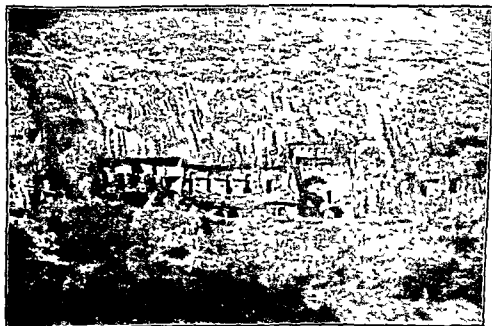
conduct of the world's affairs. If we do not do this force we are criminally delaying the realization of our natural rights. The watchword is: Agitate, educate, organize. C. V. York City. RAM KUMAR KHEMKA

JUNNAR

SURROUNDED by a complete circle of high hills as its city walls under the lee of another mighty flat topped hill lies the old city of Junnar, the holiest spot for an Indian in the whole of the Maharashtra. Junnar means an old city. So this old city of the Deccan was itself old when the Bahmanis of Gulbarga or the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar conquered its well nigh impregnable fort on the flat topped hill of Shivneri and repopled the deserted plain.

So sayeth tradition. To the opposite of that side of Shivneri on which modern

Junnar stands, people point out the site of the ancient city which was deserted when the Muhammadan invader came into the land for the first time and emptied the halls, carved out of the hills that surrounded Shivneri on all sides of the sons and of their attendants. Later on, when the Hindus had settled down peaceably under their new masters a new city was founded. From the old city the very name of which has been forgotten the new city took its name. It was called Junnar. Juna means old as in Junagadh and nar or ner is a shortened form of nagar.



The Cave of the Minister of the Saka King at Manmor.

PUBLICITY FOR INDIA ABROAD

LALA Lajpat Rai has recently issued 'An Open Letter to the Indian Leaders'. While it is primarily intended to call the attention of the leaders of public life in India to the 'necessity of educating world opinion about our country and our aspirations by concerted, judicious, and effective methods' the letter should be read by all Indians with thought and respect. Lalaji points out that no nation however isolated she might have been in the past can afford to ignore the force of public opinion in the various countries of the world.

The need for propaganda agencies for India in the various civilized countries has never been so great as now. There are interested people abroad who deliberately purposely distort facts about India and the foreign press sometimes carelessly often not knowing the facts allows these misrepresentations to be made public. While these anti-Indian propagandists have been working for years and are now redoubling their efforts practically nothing has been done to combat these mischievous malicious poisoners of the public mind.

Lajpat Rai dwells upon this when he says

'I must confess with shame that so far we have not paid sufficient attention to work in this connection even in Great Britain Ireland and other parts of the British Empire. What ever we have done has been done half heartedly. We have not used the modern methods of publicity. We have not made enough sacrifices in time and money. So far as the rest of the world is concerned we have paid no heed to what it thinks about us and of us. We have behaved as if it did not exist for us. This has harmed us considerably. The world holds us in contempt holds wrong and peculiar views of our history our lives our institutions and our aspirations. We cannot blame them for this as we have made no attempt to educate them on right lines. We have let judgment go against us in default.'

This is true. In the daily press of New York every day there appears considerable matter furnished by the Publicity Bureaus of European countries but rarely anything about India. The persistent efforts of a number of Indians in America in the past two years have induced the press to take some notice of India. But in spite of these attempts the papers had little space or sympathy for the millions who died of famine and disease. We have to work harder still to interest the world in our affairs.

Speaking of these publicity organizations at Rai says 'Every nationality on the face of the earth has its national organization

and its information bureau here (in New York), each of which educates, guides and watches public opinion in the interests of its government. If mighty governments do that, well may their example be followed in an humble way by private national agencies.'

One has only to look at the Directory of New York to note the large number of organizations that are carrying on the work of safeguarding the interests of and keeping the public correctly informed about their countries. The organizations listed are as varied in names as their nationalities. Some of them are

American Hellenic Society, American Scandinavian Foundation, Australian Press Association, Bohemian National Alliance, Council of Jewish Women, Czechoslovak National Council, Federation of Palestinian Jews, Federation of Roumanian Jews, Finland Consolidated League of America, French American Chamber of Commerce, Friends of Irish Freedom, Gaelic League of Ireland, Geneva Society of America, The German Society, Hispanic Society of America, Holland Society of New York, Hungarian Literary Society, Imperial Order of the Daughters of the British Empire, Irish Progressive League, Italian Bureau of Information, Japan Society Inc, Jewish Welfare Board, Lithuanian Alliance of America, Order of Sons of Italy in America, Polish American Association, Russian Information Bureau, Russian Soviet Bureau, Ukrainian National Alliance and Zionist Organization of America.

Most of the European governments especially Great Britain and France have in addition to their diplomatic officers very efficient non official organizations merely for the purpose of sounding educating and persuading public opinion in their favour. The government of America being of the people for the people and by the people these propaganda organizations consider it essential that the common people have correct and favorable impressions of them.

The Japan Society frequently advertises its services in the daily press. Its publicity work is quite unique inasmuch as it covers a very wide field of service. One of the advertisements entitled 'A Great Purpose Well Fulfilled' runs thus: 'To promote good will to encourage amicable understanding to extend commercial intercourse to bring closer together through travel and educational activities the thinkers and doers of two great nations the United States of America and Japan such is the purpose of the Japan Society.'

How well this purpose has been fulfilled is best evidenced in the volume of date and inform-

ation disseminated by means of the Trade Bulletin Information Bureau Travel Bureau Lecture Bureau and Publication Department conducted under its auspices

In the United States the Japan Society of New York has a membership in excess of 1200 of whom 1100 are Americans. The American Japan Society of Tokyo is a reciprocal organization of the most representative Japanese

The Japan Society has extended aid to many corporations institutions and individuals throughout the United States

How may we serve you?

Another well intentioned but rather fantastically worded advertisement to emphasize the necessity of an exact knowledge of Japan reads as follows

Some call it the land of wistaria. Some think it is a place of hysteria. It is neither one nor the other. It is far greater than either. Let us give you a proper conception of the aims and ideals the inspirations and aspirations of this newly westernized island empire whose social industrial and economic progress has amazed the world. The purpose of the Japan Society is to create a better understanding of Japan to encourage more friendly relations between two neighboring peoples to foster more pleasant and profitable trade connections by a fair and impartial presentation of actual conditions

Here you will find a Trade Bulletin a News Service a Bureau of Information a Travel Bureau a Lecture Bureau and a Publication Department. This society enjoys a membership in the United States of 1 000 members of whom 900 are Americans. It extends hospitality to distinguished visitors from Nippon. It facilitates travel to the Orient. It issues letters of introduction. How may we serve you?

This society is very persistent in its efforts. A third advertisement which gives a list of its officers and directors all people of considerable prominence in Japan and America says

The provincial mind of yesterday is developing into the international mind of to-day. Japan is a case in point. Closer business relations necessitate a more active interchange of general thought and educational and humanitarian ideas. The monthly Bulletin issued by the Japan Society bring to you first hand and authentic information upon the subjects of trade finance current events and travel. The Japan Society New York is an organization of Americans. The America Japan Society Tokyo is a Japanese organization. Both societies have a large and influential membership and are co-operating to further friendly relations. How may we serve you?

Another example that may be cited is that of the Italy America Society. One of its publicity articles describing An International Mobilization says

For some time past a highly beneficial international movement has been in progress. Its

purpose has been the establishing of a definite platform upon which the leading personalities of two great nations Italy and America might be enabled to exchange their best thought upon the questions of industry economics and finance as they are understood and practised in each of these separate lands. This idea has now culminated and has become an actuality in the recent formation of the ITALY AMERICA SOCIETY an organization composed of a group of representative individuals of both of these progressive peoples

That the industrial educational and financial interests of the two countries may achieve a more intimate mutual comprehension—that this international friendship of long standing may be increased and cemented that a general good to both peoples may be more broadly and more surely rendered into fact these in the main are the principles which the Italy America Society has been designed to promulgate. To obtain the further facts pertaining to this movement those interested may address the ITALY AMERICA SOCIETY

Coming to India—while not much publicity work has been done in foreign countries there are a few agencies in England and the United States which have been carrying on fairly effective propaganda. In London the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and the Home Rule for India League and in the United States of America the India Home Rule League and the Hindustani Association deserve special mention and credit

What the British Committee has done or has not done is well known to the Indian public. In our judgment its work has not been sufficient in proportion to the amount of money spent on it by the Congress. The Indian leaders in England specially Messrs Tilak and Kelkar are trying to reorganize it and give it a definite set of plans and policies to make its work more effective

The Home Rule for India League in London has done some praiseworthy publicity from funds raised in England from the British public. It has published many books pamphlets and leaflets; has sent thousands of circulars to influential bodies such as Trades Unions and to important persons contradicting mischievous anti Indian propaganda. Lectures in England Scotland and Wales have been held under the auspices of the League and its president Mr George Lansbury and one of its firm supporters Mr D Graham Pole have striven to marshal the democratic forces in Parliament in support of reforms in Indian politics in consonance with Indian wishes.

There is room enough in England for a dozen other Indian agencies to awaken the interest of the British public in India. The work now being done is laudable but it has by no means reached its maximum efficiency

In the United States under the leadership of

Lala Lajpat Rai the India Home Rule League was established October 22 1917 Its policy is outlined by its leader runs thus

We are engaged in disseminating knowledge of the conditions in India and in placing the Indian point of view before the American public In doing so we have oftener than not relied upon statements made and opinions expressed by British statesmen British publicists and British journalists We have never concealed our object We are not advocating the separating of India from the British commonwealth We have times out of number condemned revolutionary actions terrorism the use of any force or violence achieving our freedom

The objects of the League are

1 To support the Home Rule movement in India by co operating with such political organizations as the Home Rule Leagues the All India Moslem League and the Indian National Congress—both of India and America

2 To secure the power of self determination for India through constitutional methods

3 To strengthen and support all democratic institutions that aim at making the world safe for democracy

4 To further all kinds of friendly intercourse—social cultural educational and commercial—between India and America

5 To supply authentic information on the vital problems of modern India to the American people by the publication of a monthly magazine or by such other methods as are deemed proper by the Council of the League

During the first year the Bureau was entirely self-supporting maintained partly by contributions from Indians and largely by American contributions When Lokamanya Tilak heard of the work that Lala Lajpat Rai was doing he sent \$5 000 to put the organization on a financial footing

The League has recently started a bookshop and an India Information Bureau The bookshop is purely a business venture and furnishes the League with some income The objects of the India Information League are

1 To furnish reliable INFORMATION of all kinds about India—political educational commercial etc

2 To serve as a PUBLICITY and advertising medium between India and the United States

3 To supply TEACHERS of Hindu languages and Hindu topics in general

4 To supply LECTURERS on subjects relating to India and arrange lectures

5 To provide a READING ROOM furnishing all Hindu newspapers and magazines and a LIBRARY of books on India

6 To undertake TRANSLATIONS from and into Hindu languages

7 To teach English to workmen of Hindu origin in America with a view to increase their

efficiency and to make them better American citizens

It has received many inquiries about customs trade and other miscellaneous matters It has issued two special news bulletins to 250 American newspapers and magazines It is conducting a night class to teach English to Indian labourers It has furnished articles on various topics to a large number of American dailies weeklies and monthlies It is receiving through the courtesy of the Indian papers a large number of Indian newspapers which are placed in a reading room where anyone interested in India is welcome The Bureau is planning to cooperate with a number of foreign language newspaper syndicates to whom it will furnish articles in English about India which will be translated into Russian, Polish, German and other European languages and furnished to news papers all over the country Thus the message of India will reach millions of people who cannot be reached in any other way On the whole the work it has done justifies its existence to the fullest possible extent

Another organization an older one, established in 1912 is the Hindustan Association of America Its objects are to further the interests of the Hindustan students to interpret India to America and America to India Its work has been almost entirely limited to educational and social matters It has furnished information about American universities to hundreds of students in India Its official organ Hindustanee Student has been discontinued for a while for lack of funds It has Chapters and Nalanda Clubs in several University towns where Indian students can get room and board at economical rates

Besides these there are the Vedantic Societies in New York Boston and San Francisco the Maharashtra Mandal of America an organization of the Maharashtra students the Friends of Freedom for India &c The activities of each of them has considerable propaganda value although it is of a limited nature

Besides these organizations the work of a number of individuals has also been considerable Of these Dr Ananda Coomaraswamy Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar and a few others notably the Indian students of American universities—Dr Sudhindra Bose Dhan Gopal Mukerji Basanta Kumar Roy are notable among these In fact every Indian student abroad if he is of the right sort feels it his duty to act as a torch bearer of truth about India

Some work has been done in Japan—but not enough Japan in spite of what the anti Japanese propagandists may say has always been very sympathetic to the aspirations of Indians Count Okuma has on a number of occasions expressed himself in very friendly terms and has acted as host to many Indian students during their stay in Japan

The Indo-Japanese Association an organization

for a hundred other activities whose success depended upon the co-operation and help of the public, undertook to organize a vast propaganda machine which turned out thousands of street orators, and billions of circulars, pamphlets, and posters. Concentrating the activities of a hundred million people to help in the business of war was a gigantic task. A very efficient and very vast organization was necessary to do it, and, much to its credit, it was done, successfully.

Molding public opinion is purely a matter of psychology. The public as a whole can think of just one thing at a time and it can be reached and made to think by an appeal to its emotions rather than to its intellect. The ideals, aspirations, and economic conditions of India can be placed before the public most efficiently if these two psychological laws are adhered to.

Another most important thing that an Indian publicity organization abroad must have is a definite program of action. The progress, prestige, and power of an organization depend on its ability to divert efficient collective thinking towards specific tasks. A survey of the field must be made to ascertain who will be sympathetic and what lines of work must be undertaken to reach them.

Our purpose is a very definite one. We want to show to the world that the existing social, political, economic, industrial, and educational systems and conditions in India are not satisfactory. Therefore facts about India should be known abroad. Then, we desire to raise India in the estimation of the educated people of the world. We want to call their attention to the art, literature, and philosophy of India. The result of work along these lines cannot but be better understanding, more sympathy, and increase of friendly relations between India and the rest of the world.

In his "Open Letter" Lala Lajpat Rai has suggested five important methods of publicity abroad,—the establishment of Information and Publicity Bureaus and News Agencies, the publication of books written by Indians, and arrangement with foreign universities to exchange teachers and professors with India. There are agencies in England and the United States who are more or less adequately carrying out the first four things, but there is need of more organizations in other countries. Besides London and New York there should be permanent information and publicity centres in Shanghai, Tokio, Paris, in South Africa, Australia, and South America. Each centre should have branches in the important cities of those countries.

Who is to finance this work? India, of course. It is India's work and India must pay for it. The Indian National Congress may take it up, or any one of the several other organizations, such as the Servants of India Society, or the Home Leagues. It is possible, of course, to obtain support from foreign countries, like Eng-

land and America, but it is not advisable, owing to the difficulty of conducting any extensive publicity work relying solely on contributions from foreigners. Our self-respect also ought to tell us not to seek foreign help for such work.

In order to insure the financial standing of these Bureaus a central organisation in India is necessary. It is advisable that this central organization be managed and supervised by the Indian National Congress. This organization will raise an endowment fund of several lacs of rupees, and should direct the plans, policies, and in many cases select the personnel of the branches abroad. Some of these, given competent business managers, may become self-supporting by inventing sources of income in their respective countries. The India Home Rule League of America has some income from its bookshop, from subscriptions to its magazine "Young India," from membership dues paid by its active, associate, and ordinary members, and from donations. The plans and policies of each branch should be under the direction of a competent Indian publicist, and the remainder of the staff should be, as far as possible, Indian. In Japan, South Africa, the United States, England, France, and one or two other countries resident Indians could be found to undertake this work.

Indian leaders either forget the force of public opinion or they are purposely neglecting to use that force. Buddha, Christ, Mohammed, preached and educated public opinion to believe in justice, brotherly love, and sacrifice, and now they have millions of followers. The right does prevail though it seems to take much time.

Our Cause is just. It is not difficult to convert people to a just Cause, nor to urge on their energies in behalf of India and the Indians, whether these people be English, Americans, Japanese, or South Africans. Only we must go to work wholeheartedly and be willing to make sacrifices. All people need is to have the knowledge of the injustices under which we suffer, and they will act in our behalf.

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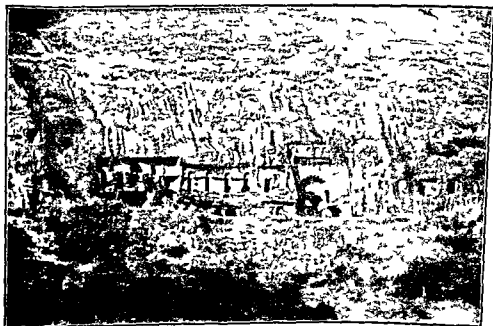
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RAM KUMAR KHEMKA

JUNNAR

SURROUNDED by a complete circle of high hills as its city walls under the lee of another mighty flat topped hill lies the old city of Junnar the holiest spot for an Indian in the whole of the Maharashtra. Junnar means an old city. So this old city of the Deccan was itself old when the Bahmanis of Gulbarga or the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar conquered its well nigh impregnable fort on the flat topped hill of Shivneri and re-peopled the deserted plain.

So sayeth tradition. To the opposite of that side of Shivneri on which modern

Junnar stands people point out the site of the ancient city which was deserted when the Muhammadan invader came into the land for the first time and emptied the halls carved out of the hills that surrounded Shivneri on all sides of the icons and of their attendants. Later on when the Hindus had settled down peacefully under their new masters a new city was founded. From the old city the very name of which has been forgotten the new city took its name. It was called Junnar. Juna means old as in Junagadh and nar or ner is a shortened form of nagar.



The Cave of the Minister of the Saka King at Manuori.

On the bleak flat top of Shivneri, in a small two storied stone house, which the Sultan of the Fort occupied in the days of glory of the Kings of Gulbarga and Ahmadnagar, Sivaji, son of Shahuji, was born in the year 1627 A.D. For this reason it is the holiest of the holies in the ancient land of Maharashtra.

It is a strange *tirtha*, as holy places are called in the Indian language. It bears no comparison with Benares or Prayag or Brindaban. The clamour of priests, the wailings of beggars and the mixed odours of crushed marigold and decaying vegetation do not reach you as you ascend the steep flank of Shivneri. There is a solitary temple on the hill in which Amba Bhavani is the presiding deity. A solitary shepherd may be seen tending his flocks on the ample pasture of the low hills. You have not to jostle a surging crowd which seeks entrance into temples. Shivneri is deserted. Maharashtra has forgotten its holiest *tirtha*.

The bustling tourist with the Kodak and white umbrella seldom comes to this place and therefore when you visit Shivneri you are not plagued with guides, you have to obtain your guide from the deserted streets of old Junnar or to ascend the hill without one.

New Junnar contains two or three places of interest. There is plenty of very good mediæval carving in the little Jumma Masjid in the heart of the city. A mile away from it are to be seen the pleasure gardens of a fortunate Abyssinian eunuch and his palace. The tank and the fountain of the garden and a few trees testify to its departed glory. The palace itself has been converted into the residence of an industrious Deccan Hindu who has covered it with a beautiful red tiled roof the dissonance of which with the ancient grey stained walls of the palace proclaims very loudly to the world that this is the twentieth century. At a short distance from the palace lies the tomb of the eunuch whose name can be read in the Persian or Arabic inscription on its door.

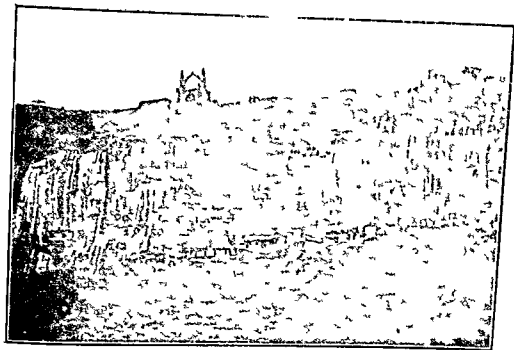
The hills surrounding Shivneri are honeycombed with cave temples and monasteries, both Buddhist and Hindu. Antiquarians divide it into four

groups. The first group is called the Ganesh Lena group, as Ganapati, the favourite deity of the Deccan, has been enshrined there. The pious Maharam Ahalya Bai of Indore built a series of steps along the steep hill side so as to make the ascent easier for the pilgrim. The caves on this hill are more numerous than those in other groups. Opposite to the Ganesh Lena group are the caves of the Manmodi group. Manmodi in Marathi is said to mean "the screwed head." The hill is so high that if you want to look at the caves from the plains, there is very great danger of your neck being screwed or broken. A teacher of the local school said that here were caves carved out of the rock at the expense of opulent merchants of Bharoch (modern Broach) and an Indian Minister of a Scythic King.

On another hill lies another group of cave temples called the Tulja Lena group. Lena means a cave in the ancient language of the inscriptions as well as modern Marathi. Here, in one cave, an image of Bhavani called Tulja Mata, has been placed. Shivaji held Bhavani Mata of Tuljapur, now in the Nizam's dominions, in great veneration, and therefore in many parts of his Kingdom temples of Bhavani were erected. In this group there is a curious cave which is circular in shape and contains a circular row of neat slender pillars which support the roof.

The fourth group of caves is that of Shivneri itself, which are full of jungle and inaccessible. The local Archaeological Department has not thought fit to provide footpaths in the case of this group only. Shepherds say that panthers reside and breed in these caves and help them materially by carrying off sheep or goats from their herds, so that even they do not venture to remain on the hill side in the afternoon.

Junnar is not easily accessible. The shortest routes are from Talegaon from the north and the west or from Poona from the south. From Poona the route is shortest but it takes more time as you have to traverse half of the Poona Nasik Road in bullock cart. But from Talegaon there is a motor service. Two or three



T E N r H I

furniture vans or open lorries have been converted into cars for the use of passengers. The road from Talegaon to Junnar crosses a section of the Bhor Ghat and passes by the hill fort of Chikan closely connected with the history of Shivaji and by the small hamlet of Deu where the famous poet Tukaram was born. Hence the family of the Bangalore litterateur Pandit Sukharan Ganes Deuskar originated.

In the earlier period of British rule Junnar was a prosperous town a big centre of trade in the Poona District and a favourite resort of rich Seths who were tired of earning money in Bombay. But it has fallen on evil days. Ever since bubonic plague made its appearance in this province Junnar has declined fast. Its streets are almost deserted rows of empty and ruined houses line the roads. The once famous paper industry is well nigh extinct. The rich Seth from Bombay avoids it. Even the brave Christian Missionary has given up his attempts to evangelize the poor heathen and therefore the chance

traveler finds shelter in the forsaken Monastery for Junnar boasts of no Traveller's Bungalow or Rest House.

The principal attraction at Junnar is a small ruined house on the top of Shivneri hill where once the Captain of the fort resided and where the king was born. If you ask which king? then the Maratha looks at you in surprise because the old kings are forgotten. In him lives the memory of one king, the protector of the Brahmana the god and the cow, the death of the Musalman bigot, the great king Siva. There was but one king and that was Siva. His descendants were mere puppets and the Brahmin Ieshwas were usurpers.

There is a single road along the steep sides of Shivneri hill to its top. It is a long narrow and steep road protected at intervals by a number of huge gateways flanked with bastions. There are two different forts. The lower fort containing the temple of Amba Bhavani and the Bule Kila or citadel which contains other

buildings. The road that leads up to the Citadel is much steeper and consists of a series of steps worn out by the feet of countless millions who have used them from a time which no living man can remember. The temple of Amba Bhavani is a simple looking thing. It has a wooden gate at one end, and inside it there are a series of wooden pillars exquisitely carved. As one goes about in this ancient land, he sees wonderful bits of old wood carving in out-of-the-way places standing side by side with the hideous art productions of the days of the Peshwas. The carved doorway of Bhavani's temple at Junnar and wooden colonnade in its smoke-dimmed interior are objects of art which would kindle a fire in the eyes of every connoisseur.



The Temple of Amba Bhavani at Shivneri

On the top of Shivneri, in the Bale Kila there are a number of ancient buildings. The largest of all is a building called the 'hodsala, i.e., stable. The Bale Kila is tudded with a number of tanks, two of which, called the Gauga and the Jamuna, are covered. There are huge underground granaries for the storage of food in case

of a siege. Over one of the granaries is a huge arch flanked by two small slender minars which can be seen miles away.

Close to this arch is a small two-storied building where the Castellan resided. The upper storey is in ruins and only a few arches indicate that there was one at any time. Over the door of this building is a small marble tablet with the following inscription :—

"The birth place of
Shrimant Shivaji Maharaja
Chhatrapati

Born 1627 Died 1680."

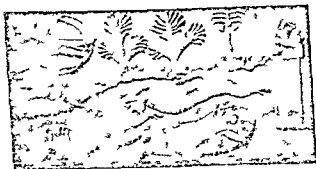
with a translation of the same in Marathi.

In comparison with the size and importance of the Fort on Shivneri the Castellan's quarters are very small. In some unknown spot of this ruined building Jijibai gave birth to a son in 1627 who is known to history as Chhatrapati Sivaji. At that date the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, and Bijapur, built on the mighty ruins of the empire of Bahmanis, were still existing. The Mughal had not reached the banks of the Bhima or the Tungabhadra. Nobody ever dreamed that the son of a petty Maratha Chieftain would ever dare to defy the masters of his father or the mighty Mughal of Delhi at whose very name even these masters trembled on their tottering thrones. Nobody would have believed you at that time if you had prophesied that the poor Maratha would one day wave his earth-coloured rag of a flag from the ramparts of the mighty capital of the Mughal and that one day a descendant of Nuruddin Jahangir would starve in the marble halls of his forefathers because the shoebearer of a Deccani Brahman forgot to sign the order for the issue of a dole of grain for the support of a blind man.

This little building, which was the abode of the Castellans of Shivneri under the Yadava, the Pathan, the Bahmani, the Nizamshahi and the Maratha, was very sacred in the eyes of the founder of Maratha greatness. The fortunes of war often gave its possession to his enemies. Sivaji felt the loss of Junnar very much and whenever it passed into the hands of the Mussalmans he made every attempt

in the habit of bathing and swimming in the Nile

The monuments of the ancients are the best possible proofs of proficiency in the art of swimming. In the Nimroud gallery of the British Museum there are some interesting bas-reliefs depicting fugitives swimming for refuge to a fortress and also



Fugitives Swimming to a Fortress

the crossing of a river by Assur Nasir Pal king of Syria and his army. The probable date of these monuments is about 880 B.C. In the first slab three warriors are depicted as swimming across the stream, two of them on inflated skins in the mode practised to this day by the hill men of Simla and the Arabs inhabiting the banks of the rivers of Assyria and Mesopotamia except that in the bas-relief the swimmers are shown as retaining the aperture through which the air is forced in their mouths. These men are depicted to swim in the side stroke position as well as with the breast stroke on the inflated skin which strokes are considered as quite modern developments. A drawing at Pompeii gives almost the exact position of the stroke popularised in England and now all over the world by Trudgen a stroke which was known and practised long before by the Indians and other nations.

By the Greeks and Romans no branch of physical education was considered more important than swimming. There are references to swimming in the poetry of Homer in the History of Herodotus in the Laws of Lycurgus. Swimming races were among the competitions of the Roman soldiers. Julius Caesar, the conqueror of

Britain was renowned as a swimmer. During one of his campaigns he swam across a river holding his invaluable Commentaries in his mouth, as did afterwards Camærons the Virgil of Portugal, who was once compelled to swim across a river with his work in his mouth. Caesar when attracted by Ptolemy in Alexandria swam to his fleet and returning with his forces defeated Ptolemy and proclaimed Cleopatra queen. Shakespeare describes a race between Caesar and Cassius:

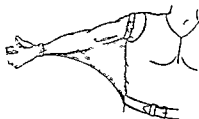
I was born free as Caesar so were you
We both have fed as well and we can both
Endure the winter's cold as well as he
For once upon a raw and gusty day
The troubled Tiber chafing with her shores
Caesar said to me 'Darest thou Cassius now,
Leap in with me into this angry flood
And swim to yonder point?' Upon the word
Accoutred as I was I plunged in
And bad him follow so indeed he did
The torrent roared and we did buffet it
With lusty sinews throwing it aside
And stemming it with hearts of controversy
But ere we could arrive the point propo'd
Caesar cried 'Help me Cassius or I sink'
I as Eneas our great ancestor
Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulder
The old Anchises bear so from the waves of Tiber
Did I the tired Caesar And this man
Is now become a god

This shows that if not in the time of Caesar, at least in the time of Shakespeare not only swimming but life saving also was known and practised.

Seneca was a good swimmer. Plutarch in his life of Cato mentions that the philosopher taught his son to traverse dangerous gulfs. The Emperor Augustus taught his nephew to swim. The Romans even incorporated a society of divers known as the *Urnatores*. In the reign of the Emperor Severus the Byzantines were besieged for three years by the Greeks and were in such dire straits that they at length resolved to attack their adversaries' fleet with their divers. These cut the cables under water and carried off the enemy ships which obliged the Grecians to raise the siege.

The story told in one of the poems attributed to Musæus of Leander a young man of Abydos who swam nightly across the Hellespont to visit his love Hero a priestess of Venus, illustrates the fact that

swimming was largely cultivated at that remote age * This story may be a myth but that the swim across the Hellespont is easy of accomplishment to an expert was proved beyond question by Lord Byron in 1810 The distance from shore to shore is barely an English mile, but the distance



A Webbed Glove with a webbed fin covered by Lord Byron and Lt Elenhead was upwards of four miles Byron describes his swim in the following lines

If in the month of dark December
Leander who was nightly wont
(What maid will not the tale remember?)
To cross thy stream broad Hellespont

If when the wintry tempest roared
He sped to Hero nothing loth
And thus of old thy current pour'd
Fair Venus! how I pity both

For me degenerate modern wretch
Though in the genial month of May
My dripping limbs I faintly stretch
And think I've done a feat to-day

But since he cross'd the rapid tide
According to the doubtful story
To woo—an I—Lord knows what beside
And swim for love as I for glory

I were hard to say who fared the best
Sad mortals thus the gods still plague you
He lost his labour I my rest
For he was drown'd and I've the ache

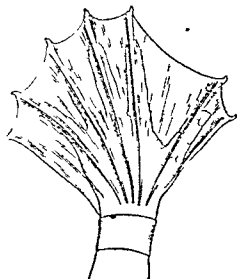
All students of history are well acquainted with the nobledeed of the brave Roman soldier Horatius Cocles His feat has thus been described by Macaulay in his *Lays of Ancient Rome*

'Never I ween'd I swimmer
In such an ease
Struggle though such a raging flood
Safe to the lan'g place

That the Roman ladies also practised swimming is evidenced by the fact that Clelia a Roman virgin who was given

* A similar story is, we believe to be found in the Panjab to that of Hira and Ranjha.

with other maidens as hostages to Porsenna escaped from the kingdom of Etruria and swam across the Tiber to Rome where a statue was afterwards erected in her honour There were many public swimming baths in Rome called *thermae*, which were used for various exercises The Romans encouraged swimming as a means of health and physical training The Roman patrician bishop poet Sidonius Apollinaris distinguishes the Franks from barbarians as the swimmers, and Charlemagne their great king in later years was known as an accomplished swimmer

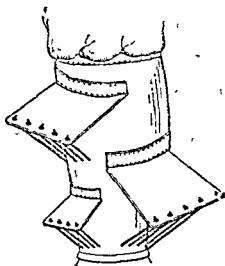


A Webbed Glove

The tribes of Northern Europe indulged in the art of swimming to some extent A king of Norway was a great swimmer

Among the Moghal Emperors Babur and Akbar were expert swimmers and used to cross rivers on horseback or leading horses by their reins which accomplishment they inherited from their ancestors in the plains of Central Asia.

Among the accomplishments of a complete gentleman swimming was considered by the ancients as one and it particularly recommended to such as



* Hinged leg-flaps.

were inclined to follow a military profession. In recent battles also many officers have distinguished themselves by swimming across rivers with despatches under heavy fire.

The inhabitants of the lake dwellings or Crannogs of Scotland and Ireland who flourished during the Stone and Bronze ages were proficient in the art of natation.

In the poem 'Beowulf', one of the oldest written in the English language, there is a long account of a swimming-match between Beowulf and Breca. They swam for five days in a raging sea.

Sir Thomas Elyot in *The Boke named the Governour* published in London in 1531 extols the art of swimming and exhorts military and naval officers to practise it.

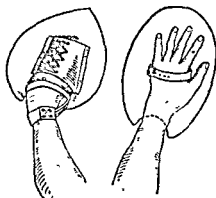
Shakespeare seems either to have been a capable swimmer or else well versed in the principles of the art, as he describes swimming in his *Julius Caesar*, *Henry the Eighth*, *The Tempest* and several other works.

Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* prescribes swimming as a good pastime for both the gentry and the common people. Louis XI and his courtiers used frequently to swim together in the Seine, and English Kings gradually adopted the practice. In the reign of Charles II swimming became fashionable in England.

The first actual work on swimming that can be traced is one published in 1538

by a Dutchman. In 1587 a book in Latin was published in England, and it has some very curious full-page woodcuts. This work was plagiarised by a French writer in 1697, and was translated into English in 1595. After that the books on swimming published in Europe and America may constitute by themselves a big library.

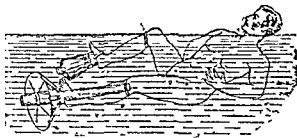
Swimming is the most universal of all physical exercises. But very few persons learn and practise it on a scientific basis, which is much to be regretted. Many of the best swimmers do not know why they swim so fast and with so much ease; with a good number of them their speed is more the result of accident than the following out of the art on any sound scientific lines. They do not take the trouble to investigate and understand the mechanical laws which govern all propulsion through water.



Hand-plates for swimming.

As a general rule learners think that in swimming the arms and hands are of the highest importance in propelling the body through the water, and therefore they use their arms with all the power at their disposal to push the body along. But in fact the movements of the arms are only of secondary consideration as a motive power, the leg movement being of prime necessity. A man can easily swim with his hands tied, but not so easily if his legs are tied and his hands are left free. The movements of the legs in swimming are very different from man's natural methods of progress in walking, and therefore

the inventor intended, should be worked like a piston in the water. The flaps will fold up when drawn in an upward direction, and as soon pressure is applied downwards will at once extend and offer a resisting surface to the water. This device was subsequently improved upon by making the rod self-floating and buoyant, by which it keeps the swimmer afloat and free to use his arms for propulsion by moving the piston.



Swimming appliances to help leg strokes

From time to time a large number of collapsible fins, flaps, sandals, gloves, boards and other attachments for the feet and hands have been invented. Searching through the records of the patent offices one is very strongly impressed with the idea that these inventions had their origin in the brains of those who were quite ignorant of the elementary principles which govern the movements of the limbs in swimming. Corks, buoys, belts and air-bladders as aids to teaching swimming have received special patronage from inventors.

In swimming the legs are brought together at the same time that the arms are separated from each other. It should always be borne in mind when practising the swimming strokes that every movement must be slowly and carefully executed, the circular sweep of the arms and legs properly defined, and all haste and flurry avoided. To ensure these the learner should practise breathing exercise and some sort of land drill. An inexperienced person exhausts himself by quick action and the raising of the body continually out of the water. When the whole of the body is immersed, and the chest fully expanded and inflated, the specific gravity differs so little from that of water that if a person turns on the

back, places the hands beyond the head at full stretch in a straight line with the body, and also inclines his head well back, this will suffice to keep him on the surface. It is possible to float with ease when turned on the back with the lungs inflated. Owing to the weight of the bones of the skull, the head has a great tendency to sink below the level of the water, so that when brought forward muscular force is required to keep it above water.

Women are of lesser specific gravity than men, their skeleton is smaller, and there is a greater proportion of fat; hence they can learn to float much more easily. With children the bones are much more lighter, the quantity of fatty matter is usually abundant, and they can therefore float more easily, if properly taught, than adults.

A person with a large and capacious chest floats better than one whose chest is small and contracted, for the air contained in the lungs makes the body float on water. The body of a floating person rises slightly out of the water during inspiration, and correspondingly sinks during expiration. If the lungs are emptied while the face is under water, and cannot again be replenished, the specific gravity becomes greater and the body sinks.

The movements of swimming are acquired by a man, but are instinctive and common to most quadrupeds. A dog may be taken as one of the best examples of a swimming quadruped. While swimming the legs of a dog move in the same plane as when walking or running. A man cannot learn to swim before he gets into the water, though there have been cases of persons finding themselves able to swim upon first going into the water. The propelling power in swimming is caused by the legs suddenly brought from a position placed wide apart into one close together like the blades of a pair of scissors. In fact, the mechanical power here brought into play is that of the wedge. For instance, suppose a wedge of ice were suddenly pinched hard between the thumb and finger, it is evident that the wedge of ice would shoot off in the direction opposite to that in which the sharp edge points

The soles of the feet play an important part in the propulsion of the body through the water

As regards arm strokes they are differently named from the style in which they are made. *Dog stroke* is a movement of the arms like the limbs of a dog while swimming, the *side-stroke* is a movement of the arms by the side of the body under water, the *Over arm Side-stroke* has revolutionised the speed rates, in the *Breast stroke* style the arms are moved from the breast to the sides under water, the *Trudgen stroke* with both arms entirely and alternately out of the water is an action peculiar to Indians, the *Crawl stroke* resembles much the movements of the double over arm stroke, but with this difference that the swimmer buries his face and keeps flat on the water, using his arms at a much greater rate, which rate is brought about by the quick movement of the legs

There are several methods of swimming too. Besides the most common method of swimming on one's belly, other methods are swimming on the back,—legs foremost and head foremost, under water on one side, &c

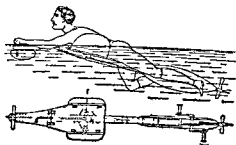
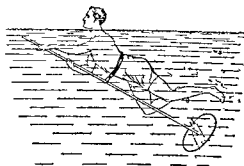
Back swimming can be easily acquired by any person able to swim on the breast, and its utility cannot be too highly praised. It is of great service in saving one's own and another's life

The ability to swim under water is often of service in life-saving, but it is somewhat risky and should not be much encouraged and practised. The best authenticated distance performance under water is that of 340 feet by James Finney in 1882

An expert swimmer may acquire several feats appertaining to that art, viz, Diving, Plunging, Floating and several other fancy feats

Diving is falling headlong into the water from some height. The whole secret of diving is the possession of plenty of pluck and self-confidence. Some of the heights recorded are almost incredible. In 1871 one Mr J B Johnson dived from London Bridge, which is nothing in comparison with the bridge-jumping performances of America. The Indian pearl fisheries are the most renowned in the world and the

work is all accomplished by natural divers. Their average stay under water is about 40 seconds, the banks are at a depth of from five to eight fathoms. For the purposes of pastime the other forms of diving, such as 'headers' or diving head first, 'slimming plunge', 'low diving', 'high diving', diving feet first, the 'sitting jump' and 'plunging', etc., are preferable to 'deep diving'. The best method of learning to dive is to stand on the bank of a river or pond then stoop down until the body is nearly double stretch out the arms in front of the head sink the head between them and gradually tumble over into the water



Piston Propeller

A plunge is a standing dive made head first, the body kept motionless and face downward, no progressive action to be imparted other than the impetus of the dive

All that is necessary in motionless floating on the surface of the water is practice, continued practice, even if failure seem always to be the result

Diving has been made graceful and

The art of swimming has become much popular and interesting owing to the introduction of the game of water polo

The prime importance of swimming lies in the art of life saving

We conclude by giving below the best records made by competitors of swimming clubs of Europe and Calcutta —

THE MILE CHAMPIONSHIP		
1871	H Parker	24m 35s
HALF MILE CHAMPIONSHIP		
1906	H Taylor	11m 25 ^s
1918	M L Mukherjee	12m 43s
220 YARDS CHAMPIONSHIP		
1902	F C V Lane	2m 28 ^s
1918	S L Mukherjee	2m 34s

100 YARDS CHAMPIONSHIP		
1907	C M Daniels	55 ^s
110 YARDS CHAMPIONSHIP		
1919	P C Bhur	1m 13 ^s
150 YARDS SWIMMING ON BACK		
1908	F A Unwin	2m 1s
110 YARDS SWIMMING ON BACK		
1919	H Chatterjee	1m 38 ^s
1914	H Jefford (of Calcutta)	1m 38 ^s
PLUNGING		
1906	W Taylor	82 ft 7 in
1919	H Gupta	67 ft 3 ¹ / ₂ in *

* Mainly compiled from *Swimming* by Archibald Smith and William Henry Honorary Secretaries of the Life-Saving Society The Bodleian Library Series Longmans Green & Co

CHARU BANDYOPADHYAY

THE HILLS

The hills are my door yard and my garden
 My balustrade against the climbing dawn
 My sunset bars over which the trooping stars
 Cross to the large free pastures of the night
 My barricades to keep the sunshine in
 And shut away the prowling threatening dark
 They are my changing sky hung tapestry
 Wrought by the magic fingers of the years
 My open playgrounds where my restless feet
 Accept the challenge of far beckoning
 My phrymates signalling mysteriously
 Of secrets hidden in their forest depths
 They are the priests who teach me steadfastness
 Before whom I my lowliness confess
 They are my towers of dreams they lift me up
 To where along her path of mystery
 The moon walks solemnly and all the stars
 Join merrily in their endless dizzying game
 Of ring a round a rosy O hills of home
 O father mother brothers lovers friends
 Familiar faces shining down to me
 My life belongs with you my hands are linked
 With your out reaching intimate friendliness,
 My feet are rooted in your fastnesses
 Like an ancient tree my heart is a warm stone
 Upon a sunny slope and my glad spirit
 Is a tender tender anchored cloud that lingers
 For sunset benediction Heaven was kind
 To make one hill overrun with trees and flowers,
 Heaven was kind and heavenly indeed
 To make a world furrowed with billowing hills
 And overrun with riot of the woods

MAYCE SETMOOR

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The *Arya*, Sri Aurobindo Ghose's monthly organ, is not a magazine for desultory reading. It requires to be read seriously and with continuous attention from month to month. Its contents may be described, for the most part, not as independent articles, but as books published piecemeal month after month, and in some cases for years. For that reason, it is difficult to summarise or sample any month's issue. Contributions which are really books should afterwards be published in book form.

Essential Intention of Indian Culture

The November number of the *Arya* contains the 10th instalment of "A Defence of Indian Culture" against Mr. William Archer's attack. This defence is the most elaborate, philosophical and profound we have seen. In the present instalment Mr. Ghose describes the principle, the essential intention of Indian culture, thus —

The first thing we see is that the principle, the essential intention of Indian culture was extraordinarily high, ambitious and noble, the highest indeed which the human spirit can conceive. For what can be a greater idea of life than that which makes it a development of the spirit in man to its most vast secret and high possibilities, conceives it as a movement of the Eternal in time, of the universal in the individual, of the infinite in the finite, of the Divine in man, or holds that man can become not only conscious of the eternal and the infinite but live in its power and universalise spiritualise divine himself by self-knowledge? What can be greater aims for the life of man than to grow by an inner and outer experience till he can live in God, realise his spirit, become divine in knowledge, in will and in the joy of being? And that is the whole sense of the striving of Indian culture.

In reply to the cheap criticism that "these ideas are fantastic, chimerical and impracticable, that there is no spirit and no eternal and nothing divine and man would do much better not to dabble in religion and philosophy, but rather make the best

he can of the ephemeral littleness of his life and body," Mr. Ghose urges —

That is a negation natural enough to the vital and physical mind, but it rests on the assumption that man can only be what he is at the moment, and there is nothing greater in him which it is his business to evolve, such a negation has no enduring value. The whole aim of a great culture is to lift man up to something which at first he is not, to lead him to knowledge though he starts from an unfathomable ignorance, to teach him to live by his reason, though actually he lives much more by his unreason, by the law of good and unity, though he is now full of evil and discord, by a law of beauty and harmony, though his actual life is a repulsive muddle of ugliness and jarring barbarisms by some high law of his spirit, though at present he is egotistic, material unspiritual engrossed by the need and desires of his physical being. If a civilisation has not any of these aims, it can hardly at all be said to have a culture and certainly in no sense a great and noble culture. But the last of these aims, as conceived by ancient India, is the highest of all because it includes and surpasses all the others. To have made this attempt is to have ennobled the life of the race, to have failed in it is better than if it had never at all been attempted, to have achieved even a partial success is a great contribution to the future possibilities of the human being.

The writer does not mistake the principle for the system of Indian culture. He knows and says that "the system of Indian culture is another thing."

A system is in its very nature at once an effectuation and a limitation of the spirit, and yet we must have a science and an art of life. The system of Indian culture was all these things in its principle and up to a certain point and a certain period in its practice. That a decline came upon it in the end and a kind of arrest of growth not absolute but still very serious and dangerous to its life and future is perfectly true, and we shall have to ask whether that was due to the inherent character of the culture to a deformation or to a temporary exhaustion of the force of living, and if the last, how the exhaustion came."

In addition to the principle and the system of Indian culture, we have to see not only the spirit and principle of the culture, not only the ideal idea

and scope of intention in its system but its actual working and effect in the values of life. Here we must admit great limitations great imperfections. There is no culture no civilisation ancient or modern which in its system has been entirely satisfactory to the need of perfection in man there is none in which the working has not been marred by considerable limitations and imperfections. And the greater the aim of the culture the larger the body of the civilisation the more are these flaws likely to overbear the eye.

The Achievements of Greece, Rome & India

Mr Aurobindo Ghose sums up the achievements of Greece Rome and India as follows —

Greece developed to a high degree the intellectual reason and the sense of form and harmonious beauty. Rome founded firmly strength and power and patriotism and law and order. Modern Europe has raised to enormous proportions practical reason science and efficiency and economic capacity. India developed the spiritual mind working on the other powers of man and exceeding them the intuitive reason the philosophical harmony of the Dharma informed by the religious spirit the sense of the eternal and the infinite. The future has to go on to a greater and more perfect comprehensive development of these things and to evolve fresh powers but we shall not do this rightly by damning the past or damning other cultures than our own in a spirit of arrogant intolerance. We need not only a spirit of calm criticism but an eye of sympathetic intuition to extract the good from the past and present effort of humanity and make the most of it for our future progress. (The italics are ours)

Calcutta's Nearest Water Power Resource

In pursuance of a recommendation of the industrial commission the Government of India appointed Messrs G T Barlow and J W Meares to make a hydrographic survey of India in order to ascertain whether, and to what extent hydro-electric power may be available. Mr Barlow having died in April last the preliminary report which has been issued is almost entirely the work of Mr Meares. *The Indian and Eastern Engineer* for November gives a summary of the contents of this Report.

India consists chiefly of a plain which slopes steeply from a height of 1000 to 2000 feet

down to a low lying fringe of land on the western coast. The plain is practically flat, but slopes very gradually towards the eastern side of India where it runs down almost to sea level. The steep slopes on the western coast provide a series of sites for hydro-electric power but as the rainfall is concentrated in about four months they all require storage reservoirs. Many of the hill ranges rising out of the plains in various parts of India consist largely of more or less isolated hills with very little high ground between them and therefore do not lend themselves to the construction of reservoirs with sufficient elevation and the same may be said to a considerable extent of the Himalaya on the north. The plateaux in southern India offer several valuable sites one at least of which the Cravery falls has been made good use of by the Mysore Government.

Mr Meares gives a list of 36 sites which have already been to some extent examined but the total number of sites mentioned which require examination is over 300.

Mr Meares explains in non technical language why it is impossible except at an altogether prohibitive cost to make use of the gigantic power represented by tidal action and even less possible to utilise the power of the current of great rivers in their course through the plains of India and he states with great clearness the factors which have to be reckoned with in searching for possible sites and in investigating any selected site.

Coming to northern India and particularly to Bengal we find it stated

The general character of the hills on this side of India is such that there is very little water power available the principal place with a reach of Calcutta is the falls of the Barabalong river in the State of Mourbhany. This being about 140 miles from Calcutta is not too far off to supply the Calcutta district with power.

Eleven years ago Major C H Douglas formed the opinion that 40 000 electric horse power could be obtained from these falls.

The recent investigations of the Barabalong fall suggest that the site may not be capable of developing more than 10 000 h.p. which would only supply about one-eighth of the present requirement of the Calcutta area but the examination has not been exhaustive and possibly further investigation will bring the quantity nearer to Major Douglas estimate.

A Bengali syndicate should immediately set about the harnessing of the Barabalong river.

India's Backwardness in the Use of Power for Industrial Activities

The Indian and Eastern Engineer writes —

The power used in various countries for industrial (including municipal) activities apart from railways and shipping, is put down as 75 million horse power, distributed roughly as follows —

United Kingdom	13 million h p
Continental Europe	24 , "
United States	29 , "
British Dominions and Dependencies	6 , ,
Asia and South America	3 , ,

and the backward state of electrical development in India compared with other parts of the Empire, is demonstrated by the following figures of watts installed per head of population —

Canada	148 watts
Australasia	62 ,
South Africa	57 ,
British Isles	33 ,
India	less than 1 watt

Wireless Telephony

The principles underlying wireless telephony may be understood by those who know the science of electricity from the following paragraph extracted from the *Indian and Eastern Engineer*

Wireless telephony has been obtained by setting up in the ether surrounding a wireless station, a succession of very short waves shorter I believe, than those of light, and superposing upon them the larger waves set up in the ether by the variation in the current produced by the voice impinging upon the diaphragm of an ordinary microphone transmitter. The apparatus employed is simplicity itself for sending it consists of an aerial wire which is connected to a source of very high periodicity electric currents and which sends out very high frequency waves of very short wave length. A microphone set is also connected to the aerial. At the receiving end there is another aerial with a receiving set including a pair of telephones, connected between it and earth. The pulses set up by the sound waves from the human voice, through the microphone are reproduced in the telephone at the receiving station just as with an ordinary receiver and transmitter connected by a wire.

Standard of Living and Production.

In the *Mysore Economic Journal* (which ought to be punctual) for September,

Mr K Kunhikannan, M A, disputes the correctness of the assumption that production in India is low and the vast resources in India remain for the most part undeveloped largely because the average level of consumption is so low. He does not think that it is the right remedy to suggest that India should "learn to want more wants."

'The argument is plausible but cannot stand close examination. Those who accept this line of reasoning forget that Indian industries and commerce were flourishing for several centuries and that stagnation set in only so late as the eighteenth century. There is no reason to believe that the people who for so long as fifteen centuries resisted the enervating influences of nature suddenly succumbed to her viles, spoiled by her gifts and lulled to her languors. As for the depressing influence of Indian philosophy, even if we accept it as a correct description of what is in many respects one of the most remarkable achievements of human thought, it should suffice to point out that for all the spiritual elevation of the Sermon on the Mount, Christian Europe has remained distinctly material in aid and endeavour.

It is equally absurd to argue that in India human wants are few and easily gratified without much exertion. The fifty millions who are said to be on the verge of starvation even in normal years live on their one meal a day, not certainly from choice. In their case the want has all the intensity of a privation. India has certainly wants enough without learning 'to want more wants'.

People make these absurd mistakes "because the symptom is mistaken for the disease."

The standard of living in all countries does little more than reflect the productive effort of the people. It is causal in so far as it may in its turn influence production and in India it can be shown that it has less influence in this respect than in other countries. The primary factor everywhere is production. When men produce on a large scale the increasing wealth soon manifests itself in a rising standard of living. When production is low the standard deteriorates. It does not, however, follow that when the standard of life rises, production necessarily keeps pace with it. The British workman has had a very fair share of prosperity during the last few years and his period of work has been reduced to forty-eight hours a week. There has been nevertheless a considerable falling off in the output of British manufactures which if it continues may tell heavily against England. Production depends then not so much on the standard of living. It depends rather on the proper adjustment of effort and opportunity.

Where one is weakened by physical and moral prostration, the other restricted or denied and both dislocated from their natural and healthy relation, the argument of tropical sluggishness ceases to be convincing.

"Productive effort is at its maximum in a competitive stage of society." "There can be no doubt that with the advance of India to a competitive stage, Indian efficiency would improve." The standard of living in India has not been fixed by her climate, her philosophy, or her religion.

Rather it has reached the present low level as a result of a gradually increasing deficiency in Indian wealth brought about by narrowing down her activities to the one branch of Agricultural production and by allowing the growth even in that limited field of serious obstacles which have unsettled the connection between industry and reward. With the provision of suitable facilities and the removal of these obstacles, Indian production is bound to increase in volume and the greater wealth will soon become manifest in a higher standard of living.

Qualifications for Leadership

In the September-October number of the *Hindustan Review* the Rev Edwin Greaves expatiates on the qualities which go to make a leader. The first quality is vision.

The only wise leaders of a people are those who are hard thinkers and are prophets. Not the weavers of specious philosophies, not the creators of romances, but the men who can interpret aright the history of the past who can gauge the needs of the times in which they live, estimate correctly the forces available for carrying forward projects to a successful issue and have a defined objective worth striving for. It is not sufficient to handle the immediate present, to attempt to meet an urgent present need by tinkering up a machine which must soon find its home on the scrap-heap. The true leader is the man who looks ahead, who discerns that which *ought* to be, that which *can* be, and resolves that it *shall* be.

The second qualification is sanity

The value of enthusiasm is fully recognized and it may be allowed that even cranks accomplish some good from time to time by reason of their enthusiasm, but for strong abiding expanding work level headedness is of outstanding moment. Sanity has affinity with common sense but is a bigger thing than that, its range is larger. Sanity is something more than the temper of cool calculation, being ready on occasion to enter upon daring enterprise.

The next is the power of initiation

Novelty is a terror to some, to others a bewitchment. There are people who are scared out of their wits at the mention of the untried, while to some neurotic souls anything which is new is simply irresistible. Novelty is *per se* a damsel dangerous to woo, disastrous to wed, but the man who shuns a course simply on the ground that it is new is no leader.

Perseverance is the fourth quality needed

One engaged in a little public work once said to me, "I find it so difficult to start things." My reply was, "Observation and experience have led me to feel that the difficulty is not to start things but to keep them going when they have been started." Initiation is important, carrying a scheme through is still more so. Grit, perseverance, patience, are essential. Public men need staying power.

Courage is another quality which must be regarded as one of the essential qualifications for leadership

The leader is something more than an organizer, there is something of the creator and discoverer in him, frequently not a little of the fighter. Often his purpose and methods will not immediately appeal to the masses, and there will be those who, clearly perceiving the effects of his plans on their selfish prerogatives and the result to long exercised corruptions and tyrannies will oppose him tooth and nail. The opposition may take the form of misrepresentations and calumnies, it may be manifested in open violence.

In the rectification of abuses, in attacks on corruptions, in the carrying out of reforms, courage is indispensable, courage to meet, it may be, actual violence, more often to battle against difficulties and obstacles and to wear down the attribution of unworthy motives and the charges of selfishness and folly.

The leader should be—

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted,
Wrong would triumph,
Held we tall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

Sympathy is the last qualification which Mr. Greaves has noticed. He is quite right in saying, "we do need a brotherly government."

"Even Democracies are not always brotherly, selfishness is not the monopoly of those who have hitherto been the rulers of a land, the middle classes, the common people, as well as the aristocracy are sometimes more keen on the furtherance of their own interests than on the

good of all in the Indian official as well as in the case of the foreigner there is a possible danger of want of real sympathy with the masses. It is not inevitable that the Indian should be in fuller sympathy with the great masses of India than the Britisher.

Social life must be freed from the foot and mouth disease the story of the birth of the Brahman and the Shudra from the mouth and feet of the Creator must be discredited and dismissed and a sound basis for the exercise of brotherliness and sympathy found in the common Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

"The Decline and Fall of the Hindus"

Such is the title of a long and important paper by Mr S C Mookerjee in the November issue of the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society*. It covers such extensive ground that it is impossible to comment on it within brief compass. The author would be well advised to reprint it in pamphlet form, giving references to authorities or original sources. 'I dreamt,' he says, 'that Mother India spoke to me thus—'

'The matter that is troubling you is the root of all evil in India which you do not seem to have been able to solve. Just think, is it not the want of sustained energy to remain indignant at the wrongs one section of your people get from another section of your own people? And why are not such wrongs put down with a heavy hand by the sufferers themselves?'

Learn to recognise that women are human and have rights.

Your impulse to do the right which under social terror you refrain from doing is like a flash of lightning which only reveals the depth of darkness in which you live the moral cowardice the spiritual depravity which you have made your own.

'Your manhood cannot be strengthened unless the Shakti comes from your womanhood which can be made strong unless its girlhood is strengthened. Girlhood is the most sacred flower of every Race but with you girlhood is shocked, slaughtered and debased by the premature lustful touch of man.

'Let your girls grow up in the sunlight amidst truthful surroundings uninfluenced by lying priests. They would grow up to be women fit to be mothers of men—fit to impart that Shakti which would make you men. Men are not being born amongst you but worms and virmins because false teachers have encouraged you to deflower the virginity in girls who should never be touched with loveless lust.

By your unholy marriages, by getting

premature children amongst you, you are committing Race suicide.

'Your Race is blind enough not to see how despicable it has become before the eyes of all humanity let alone the eyes of God who certainly has not made you Hindus His favoured licensees that His sacred and secret laws of generation should be violated and trampled upon by you without your getting retributive justice for it.'

Improvement of Agriculture in India.

Professor Gilbert Slater has delivered a series of lectures on industrial development of South India at the Y M C A, Madras of which *The Young Men of India* has published the first, on agriculture. He directed the attention of his audience to "five burning issues of South Indian agriculture," which are burning agricultural problems in the rest of India, too.

There is first the *question of exhaustion of the soil*. The second issue is the *question of pests and diseases*. Thirdly there is the *question of adulteration*.

It is said that there was some time ago a man living near Bombay who made a fortune because he possessed a pit from which he could dig clay of the same colour as Indian wheat and that he kept a band of women there continually at work kneading the clay into little pellets the size of grains of wheat and sold it to the merchants to mix with the wheat they exported. It is certain that Indian wheat was largely adulterated with earth in some such way. The results of such adulteration of Indian wheat was that the price fell considerably below other wheats although Indian wheat is in itself of superior quality. While the community as a whole suffers by adulteration the tragedy is that the individual ryot or merchant who adulterates more than his neighbours makes an individual profit by so doing and the honest man who hates the practice and adulterates less suffers an extra loss as the reduction of price based on the average amount of adulteration is spread over the whole output. Similarly when the trade in Indian indigo revived as a consequence of the war the old practice of adulterating it with mud revived also. What dyer will prefer the Indian product to synthetic indigo in such circumstances? Specially important to our Presidency is the adulteration of hides and skins tanned here. The dishonest tanner can increase the apparent weight of the hide by soaking it during tanning in Epsom Salts and other similar solutions. The loss falls at first upon the foreign buyer but he protects himself by refusing to buy from India or buying only at a specially reduced price. So the whole tanning trade suffers

and is threatened with extinction unless adequate steps be taken to deal with the evil.

In some cases the trade itself can do this, but Government should protect the interest of the whole community by passing and rigidly enforcing laws against adulteration. The fourth problem is that of excessive sub-division of land and fragmentation of holdings. The fifth is that of breeds of cattle.

Some time ago I wanted to make an estimate of the amount of milk annually obtained from the millions of cows in Madras Presidency. I made enquiries in various directions and finally worked out some figures based on the assumption that it took on an average no less than twenty five Indian cows to produce the quantity of milk yielded by an average English cow. I showed my figures to Mr G A D Stuart then Director of Agriculture. He immediately declared that I put the yield of an Indian cow much too high and his opinion was confirmed by the Agricultural College and even more emphatically by Mr Allan Carruth whose special duty it is to deal with cattle.

turn restrictions on the plea that it is detrimental to the well being of citizens. A man may not commit suicide or burn his house down, thus his liberty is curtailed. Democracy certainly does not make for the 'liberty of the subject' but aims at the liberty of the whole country, by just and equal laws for man and woman alike.

Municipalities should be empowered to deal with this trade of vice. Their authority is already recognized in cities where these centres of contagion generally are to be found. It is civic business to deal with the health of citizens, in respect to other diseases and abuses they are empowered to act why not in this?

The Prime Minister has stated that every obstacle moral as well as physical to the health and happiness of the people must be removed. Then what reason is there for continuing virtual freedom to a trade degrading to its agents and involving a contagious disease which is a race poison?

There are three P's which will reduce prostitution and improve public health: *Publicity, Penalty and Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic*.

We do not mean to infer that these principles alone can cleanse the nation of impurity. Every other agency is called for—education, moral suasion, medical and sanitary propaganda and not the least spiritual religion.

The world is suffering for want of a pure fatherhood. Let the Church teach that purity of life is as essential to the fathers as it is to the mothers of mankind if 'health and happiness are to be found in the children.'

An additional point which ought to be remembered is that world's moral conscience would be awakened by such legislation.

Society which now ignores the victims of this base trade and refuses forgiveness to the women who lose all welcomes the men prostitutes with in its borders and marries its daughters to them. Were the publicity of law to penalize these men Society would change its mind and social ostracism would be their lot. Here is an effective deterrent.

The Calcutta University Commission

In *East and West* Professor L F Rushbrook Williams gives some idea of the principal contents of the report of the Calcutta University Commission. He says

So far as the conservative portion is concerned there is room for differences of judgment. While no one seriously disputes the authority of the Commissioners and their competence to express an opinion there are some who believe that the remedies suggested for the evils so starkly disclosed do not perhaps represent either the ideal or even the most practical solution of the problem.

A Campaign Against Impurity and Venereal Disease

The following is from an article in the *Young Men of India*—

Picture the millions of adolescent boys of India being hurled over the precipice of vice ignorant of the awful terrors of suffering which awaits them in these traps where disease lies in wait. Humanity demands that they should be warned and taught. But how? We repeat make it illegal for a man to buy or for a girl to sell herself for immoral purpose. Flush the message into every corner of India—Do this and you will be punished. Social responsibility taught by law would be a strong incentive to self-control in the boy. Law would be an effective teacher of the single standard of morals and of how to 'play the game' with those at his mercy—his wife and child. We believe that purity and chivalry are inherent in man and need only to be aroused.

But it will be asked, how about the 'liberty of the subject'? There is an effective reply.

All Governments have a right to interfere with the liberty of the subject. The abolition of 'sati' in India by legislation was deemed needful to protect life. Commercialised vice endangers public health and destroys more lives in a week than sati did in a year.

The law does not permit the sale of opium or certain drugs. Nor of liquor—except under cer-

As Mr Williams is an officer on Special Duty in the Home Department of the Government of India, the "some" may refer to some of the tin gods of Simla. The only detailed criticism which Professor Williams allows himself to make is contained in the following passage—

This Board of the Secondary and Intermediate education is very ingenious, but it may be doubted whether in practice it will prove workable. So heavy will be its labours that it may be questioned whether a conscientious member will find himself with time to do any other kind of work. If this be the case, in practice the Board will probably resolve itself into the salaried President and the Director of Public Instruction while the representatives of the various interests whose presence the Commissioners rightly regard as essential will be conspicuous by their absence. Perhaps a practical solution would be to split the Board into two parts: a small executive committee composed of perhaps not more than four members and a larger advisory committee to whom the executive committee would report at stated intervals. Some such solution will probably be arrived at in practice and it would save time and trouble if it were to be regularised from the start.

The writer anticipates that in practice the Board of 15 to 18 members would resolve itself into the salaried President and the Director of Public Instruction. But if that be so in a body of 15 to 18 men would not the President and the D P I be still more powerful in the small executive committee of four suggested by him? It is to be feared that both the Commissioners' recommendation and Mr Williams' suggestion would in practice place secondary and intermediate education in the hands of Government.

"A New Status for India"

In the *Indian Review* Mr H S L Polak gives reasons for his faith that India has obtained or may obtain a new status. What are the facts on which his faith is based?

To begin with India has been given great Dominion rank in the Imperial Conference and her representatives have taken their seats in the Imperial War Cabinet. As a territorial unit of the Empire—I say nothing here of internal political conditions—she has been granted a status of complete equality with the great Dominions of the Empire. She has too now

for the first time in modern history, received independent international recognition. She was a separate signatory of the Peace Treaty, and as Mr Surendranath Bannergjee remarked, the other day, at the deputation that waited upon Mr Montagu on the South African Indian question she is also an original member of the League of Nations. Thus, whatever status and privileges any one of the Dominions does or may enjoy, in principle that status and those privileges are enjoyed or enjoyable by India.

Mr Polak thinks that South African Indians would be able to appeal to the Council of the League of Nations for redress of their grievances under the second part of Article XI of the League, which reads as follows—

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstances whatever affecting international relations which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

He thinks that South African Indians now have the following means of redress: a special mission to or a permanent semi-consular agency, the diplomatic action of the Imperial Government behind the scenes, the influence and pressure that can be brought to bear within the Imperial Conference, of which India is now an equal member, finally, the Council of the League of Nations and the Assembly of the League, in the last resort. He concludes by observing—

It may take time to work out all the possibilities and implications of India's new status, but it is there it is certain it is enjoyable, and it should be enjoyed and prove fruitful of much advantage to India as one of the great international factors in the world-civilisation of the future.

The Sadler Commission on the Education of Women

Large numbers of ex-educated Bengalis have no idea that Bengal is more backward than some other provinces. They should read Principal Miss McDougall, M A's article in the *Indian Review* for October, from which we extract the following passage:

A very serious mistake may be made if the account of such conditions in Bengal is taken as a true picture of women's education in South

India. The Report itself (Vol. II p. 4) declares that 'in this respect Bengal falls far behind Bombay' and it is only fair to say that it falls still farther behind Madras. The number of girls at school is greater in South India than in Bengal the number of schools is greater and the courses prescribed for them are more suitable.

She further observes

But the most serious warning must be given with regard to the section of the Report (Vol. II p. 21) concerning the injurious effect of collegiate education on the health and physique of the women undergraduates. This passage is written with a sympathy and compassion which all women must appreciate. But it is most regrettable that the Commission did not point out that this evil state of things is by no means true of other parts of India. If it were universally true our plain duty would be to close women's colleges and debar women from higher education for no advantage can compensate for the injury to the health of the mothers of the next generation. But as a matter of fact the health of women students in Madras is very good. Those who are responsible for the two residential colleges agree in reporting that the general level of health and vigour is very high and outsiders have told me that it is far better than that of women of the same age who live at home. The medical inspection made this year shows a marked improvement in the physique of those who were medically inspected on entering college last year and it is rarely indeed that there is any serious illness. The women of South India probably start with more vigorous health than the women of Bengal.

I let the friends of the education of girls and women find out what is wrong with Bengal.

Influence of Ruskin and George Eliot in English Education

In *Indian Education* Sir M. F. Sadler gives some idea of the influence of Ruskin and George Eliot in English education. Of George Eliot he says in part

George Eliot won the educational battle for girls and women. She had many helpers and allies. John Stuart Mill fought at her side. Henry St. John consolidated her victories. But it was George Eliot who made the great multitude of English readers realise that the best of education is not too good for intelligent girls and women and that under the old order of things there were as a rule given the trivial and the second rate. 'Scemerville and Girtton Newnham and Bedford College are so small decrees the outcome of *The Mill on the Floss* and *Under the Greenwood Tree*. George Eliot is one of the patron saints of the girls' High School.

In India in general and in Bengal and the adjoining regions in particular, the educational battle for girls and women, far from being won has not yet begun in earnest. Where and who are the fighters?

Of the many things said of Ruskin we choose the following paragraph

Ruskin vindicated the claims of the children of the poor. In them he saw the future. To warp their bodies by ill-fitting premature labour and neglect of physical training was to undermine the strength and happiness of the race. Volunteer philanthropies alone could not provide the education which the nation's children required. Nothing short of the power of the State could furnish the training which was indispensable to the welfare of the State. He challenged the sanguine individualism of industrial England. He denied the political philosophy of his time. He did not believe in freedom cheaply won without educational discipline. And the discipline thus enforced on all must be planned by authority and with a definite aim. It must fall upon the children of the rich as well as upon the children of the poor. Its deliberate purpose must be, not pecuniary profit but a fine quality of human life, joy and wisdom commonly spread.

The claims of children even of the children of the well-to-do have only begun to be talked of in India. The vindication of the claims of the children of the poor is far away off. In nation building, that would be the laying of the foundation.

Training for Citizenship

The Rev. L. L. King asks in *Indian Education*,

After all what is the school but a 'drill ground for civic virtue and service'? What are curricula but means whereby those who are to be the men and women of to-morrow are trained to see and to undertake their share of the world's work?

For such training a mere emphasis on civic subjects in the curriculum is not sufficient.

Many classes rarely get within speaking distance of modern history too much time having been spent on the events of five hundred years ago—starting history backwards would be a bad scheme. Instead of the traditional essays—truth the best use of time a policeman what I did on my last vacation—something vital may be assigned how cholera may be prevented some ways in which I may

serve my city what my community has done for me the industries of my town the municipal committee and so on indefinitely stirring biographies of men who have made history studies of the leaders of to-day, will make far better text books than many we are using. This however is merely doing the best we can with the old curricula. It does not satisfy the requirements of a training for present day civic obligation. The curriculum must be brought up to date made aware of modern happenings and brought into line with them. We need new methods in the teaching of old subject matter badly enough but we stand in greater need of new subject matter.

The new subject matter would not be far to seek.

Instead of formal text books we would have the daily paper the weekly magazine. The formal recitation of chapter three or pages ten to fifteen or paragraphs seven to twelve would give way to a discussion of what happened in the world yesterday and of the multitudinous reasons why it happened and the ways of the people among which it happened and the men or the deeds which lay at the bottom of the happening. Here we could study history and geography literature and art science and invention music human nature. We could see history in the making one event growing out of another a living picture rather than a museum.

'It is even more imperative to find place and time for actual community service.

The suggestion has been made in New York that students in commercial courses be required in return for what the community has done for them and as training in community service to give three months' service without pay as clerical helpers in some city or state department office. Volunteer aid from students in epidemics [and famines and floods and cyclones] has already pointed the way to an extensive use of their services.

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'Improved Chances for Fiscal Autonomy for India'

In the *Wealth of India* for September (this reminds us that Indian periodicals are for the most part unpunctual and some very unpunctual) Mr. St. Nihal Singh discourses on improved chances for fiscal autonomy for India. He begins by showing that Britishers are in general not in favour of giving us fiscal autonomy.

Towards the close of 1916 or at the beginning of 1917, I greatly perturbed a well known Labour leader who was very friendly towards

our cause by employing the phrase 'fiscal autonomy for India.'

'If you want Home Rule for India' he said 'the less you speak of fiscal autonomy for India the better.' I asked why. 'The reason is pretty plain' he answered. 'Is it because others besides your capitalists are interested in selling goods to India?' I inquired. I am afraid with some acerbity. He had to admit that there were others and being frank and sincere he told me his fear that even some of the workers in Britain who were sympathetic towards the Indian Home Rule movement might be frightened by talk for fiscal autonomy for India.

After giving the gist of other similar conversations or discussions, he writes —

While British Industrialists and commercialists who supply goods to India are naturally averse from giving India any measure of fiscal freedom Englishmen who have no particular vested interests in India and who have a quickened sense of right and wrong wish India to be given equitable treatment in that respect.

Among such Englishmen he reckons the present Governor of Bombay, Mr. Montagu, Captain the Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, M. P., and Mr. Ben Spoor, M. P. He quotes the exact words used by these persons in the course of some debate or other in the House of Commons, to support fiscal autonomy for India. But Mr. Singh does not desire to encourage a purely optimistic mood; he conveys a warning too. Thus he says:

While some high minded Britons are pleading for fiscal freedom for India with the highest and purest of motives we Indians should not forget that a vigorous and concerted effort is being made to fasten upon us a preferential system of tariffs. It is being said in and outside Parliament that Britain having granted preference to India which will benefit her industries is entitled to have her goods received in India at preferential rates.

Again —

As the Protectionist sentiment is rising in Britain I am becoming more and more fearful that unless Indians speak candidly and insist upon full justice being done to them the grant of fiscal autonomy to India may be impaired by preference stipulations. The agitation for the introduction of the responsible element in the Government of India must also be demanded if for no other reason than to be sure that the fiscal powers delegated to that Government will be used strictly in accordance with Indian wishes.

I find that the labour difficulties and the increase in wages and other costs of production,

are turning the thoughts of British industrialists towards building factories where raw materials are available in abundance, rather than continuing the present policy of importing them from places thousands of miles distant and thereby paying heavy shipping and other vicarious charges. Some time ago a captain of industry told me that he had acquired land in a certain part of India with a view to putting up works there.

Indians cannot of course keep out capitalists who wish to build factories in India but if they possess the requisite political power and the will and shrewdness to use such power they can insure that non Indian capitalists will start and conduct their operations in a manner conducive to the best interests of Indians.

Swami Vivekananda on Art

The Prabuddha Bharata for October reports a dialogue on Art between Swami Vivekananda and a Bengali painter who practises the European style of painting. The Swami explained the inner core of Art as follows —

Art has its origin in the expression of some idea in whatever man produces. Where there is no expression of idea however much there may be a blaze of external colours and manipulation cannot be styled true art. The articles of everyday use like vessels utensils cups and saucers should thus be produced as expressing an idea. In the Paris Exhibition I saw a wonderful figure carved in marble. In explanation of the figure the following words were written underneath—Art unveiling Nature—that is how Art sees the inner beauty by drawing away with its own hands the covering veils of Nature. The figure is carved in such a way as to indicate that the beauty of Nature has not yet become wholly manifest but the beauty of the little that has become manifest is such that the artist has become bewitched by seeing it.

In the passage quoted below the Swami explained the difference between Western and Indian Art.

It is nearly the same everywhere. Real originality is found very little. In those countries pictures are painted by the help of

models obtained by photographing natural objects. But by taking the help of machinery the power of originality vanishes. One cannot give expression to one's ideas. The ancient sculptors used to evolve original ideas by subjective vision and tried to give them an outward expression in picture. Now the picture being a likeness of photographic representation the play of originality in idea and endeavour is getting scarce. But each nation has a characteristic of its own. In its manner customs and way of living is found the expression of that characteristic idea. Take for instance, the music and song and dance of other countries. Their outward expression is all pointed. In dance the movements of the limbs are pointed. In instrumental music the sounds are very pointed striking the ear like a lance thrust so in vocal music. In this country the dance has a liquid movement like the falling of a wave and there is the same rounded movement in the *Ganak* and *Murchana* of vocal song so also in instrumental music. With regard to art a different expression is found among different people. People who have a materialistic view of life they taking Nature as the ideal try to give expression in art to ideas in likeness to external Nature. The people whose ideal is a transcendent reality beyond Nature, try to express in art a subjective ideal by the help of the powers the forms and lines of external Nature. With regard to the first class of people outward Nature is the primary basis of Art. With regard to the second class idealism is the motive of artistic expression. Starting from two different motives in art they have each advanced in art in its own way. Seeing the pictures and paintings of those countries you will mistake them for real natural objects and scenery. With respect to this country also in ancient times when architecture and sculpture attained a high manifestation if you see a figure of the period it will make you forget the world of material Nature and take you to a new ideal world of thought. As in Western countries pictures like what the ancients produced cannot be seen now so in our country new attempts to give expression to original ideas in art are not seen. For example the pictures in your art school are unexpressive of idea. It will be well if you try to paint the figures of the objects of everyday meditation of the Hindus by giving in them the expression of ancient ideals.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Modern Indian Painting

The Connoisseur, of London an illustrated monthly magazine devoted to Art writes in its October issue (p 123).

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'Modern Indian painting has perhaps been never better illustrated than in the first parts of *Chatterjee's Picture Albums*. Each issue contains sixteen illustrations, printed on the same size paper as *The Connoisseur* and all

admirably reproduced in colour. Altogether the work of about twenty five modern artists is represented besides that of several unknown deceased painters.

The work of Abanindranath Tagore receives special notice. Of him and his work it is said

'A prominent position is naturally given to the painting of Abanindranath Tagore a talented member of a talented family who has done more than any one else to revive pictorial art in India and lead it back into paths consistent with native tradition and temperament. He is the leader of the Bengal school of painting on which the hopes of bringing about a great renaissance of Indian art chiefly rest and his work and those of his associates reproduced in the albums show to what a great degree these hopes have been translated into actualities. Though largely returning to methods and ideals that a few years ago would have been considered archaic there is a vitality about his work which shows that in adopting the ancient conventions of Indian art Mr Tagore is not only following the bent of his talents but also that these conventions offer full scope to the modern artist for emotional expression. A fine colourist and draughtsman he shows a wide variety in his themes and their treatment. In some such as *The Kajari* a work showing three women in long white draperies engaged in a rhythmic ceremonial dance the effect is purely decorative attained with a rigid limitation of bright colour while in others where an effect equally decorative is attained it is accompanied by the expression of fuller naturalistic truth and more poignant sentiment. This is especially the case in *The End of the Journey* representing a tired camel stooping down to be relieved of its load which expressed in sumptuous and finely harmonised colour is realised with a truth to animal physiognomy and a pathetic sentiment that recall the work of Landseer. A refined and characterised head of Rabindranath Tagore is more occidental in its treatment though still keeping within the guiding tenets of Indian art. This however is one of the painter's earlier examples and his later work is generally more strictly in accord with the conventions of the Hindu-Persian school.

On the work of other painters the *Connoisseur* observes —

In the reproductions after others a wider range of inspiration is naturally shown. *The Day's Reward* by Mr. J. N. Prakash Ganguli might be a peasant idyll by Millet translated to an Eastern setting while *At the Temple Door* by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore a broad and masterly sketch in brown and yellow shows distinct Japanese influence. Other artists whose work should not be overlooked are Messrs. Nandalal Bose, J. P. Ganguly, A. K.

Halder [Mrs.] Sukhalata Rao Saradacharan Ukil, Surendranath Kar, Sulendranath De Chitrachandra Ray and Samarendranath Gupta. Indeed all the reproductions are worthy of notice while the inclusion of a number of old works gives the reader an opportunity for comparing ancient and modern Indian art.

The following observations on modern Indian art and its appreciation also deserve to be quoted —

Indian painting in the past has hardly been sufficiently appreciated and cannot be said to have been developed to the same extent as the pictorial art in China and Japan. This was probably owing to the unsettled condition of the country before the British occupation and the occidental influence which since then has generally prevailed in Indian artistic education. That the modern Indian art is living and capable of a great future is shown by the reproductions in the albums. As occupying a half way position between the art of the extreme East and that of Europe being endowed with much of the decorative qualities of the former and the sentiment of the latter, it should form a connecting link between the two. It deserves to be widely known in England and one cannot suggest a better way of popularising it than the holding of a representative exhibition in some well known West End gallery. The Indian Government might take up this idea or failing them it should not be difficult to find sufficient private guarantors to ensure the success of such an enterprise.

"How Missions Denationalise Indians"

Mr. Kanalarayan Paul, O. B. E., is National Secretary of the Indian Young Men's Christian Association and also General Secretary of the National Missionary Society which he was largely instrumental in founding. He is a Tamil by race and was educated at the Madras Christian College. He is personally known to many non-Christians in Calcutta. He has contributed to the October number of the quarterly *International Review of Missions* an article describing "How Missions Denationalise Indians." It evinces much insight and liberalism in the writer and not a little courage. It is not Indian Christians and Western missionaries alone who need to ponder on what he has written. 'English educated Hindus too, would find much deplorable denationalisation amongst themselves due, in some measure to causes, in some cases not

dissimilar to those mentioned in the article. The writer says more than once that Bengal is an exception. But there is some denationalisation in Bengal too. By way of preface Mr Paul says:

In considering this question mere externals must be left out of consideration. Changes of dress or manner do often indicate the evil. But there are many in European garb and dining at tables who are Indian in every fibre of their being. Personally I prefer Indian garb and Indian etiquette in all things, because they are more truly artistic and a more normal expression of my feelings. But I am now thinking not of anything external but of the heart and the spirit.

He then goes on to observe that 'the spirit of a people is expressed to a certain extent in its political history but in essential reality in its folk lore its art its literature and its religion. The school of thought from which modern missions were born was puritan and iconoclastic. The first missionaries, of whatever sect inculcated a holy horror of those things which express the spirit of India. This 'horror got softened in course of time and became 'suspicion'.

Referring to the oldest Protestant communities in the South who may be supposed to be nearer real India than the younger sections of the Christian community, he says

Ask any of them a question in folk lore in art in literature or in religion. Their ignorance will be found to be not only as profound as if they had been born in mid Arabia but their suspicion of it is prejudiced. They cling to caste spirit without caste culture merely because that gives special grace to root out.

How can it be otherwise? Folk lore is not what is studied but what is drunk in with the mother's milk, breathed in the earliest atmosphere of the home. Kamini and Sita and Bharata Jihana and Arjuna Hanu-chandra Shakuntala Siraji and a host of others are these not the heroes of our early youth of whom our grandmothers told us near the flickering lamp in the gloaming of whom we heard the ballads sung in the village street sitting out under the moon as the breeze shook the trees overhead and wove fancy settings for the stories? Are not these verses still in our blood? In the bleak fields of Flanders it was possible to collect the necessary talent from the Labour Corps and the 'illiterate Sepoys and Sowars to stage Hanu-chandra. Of course there was Krishna too. But it was Balakrishna the frolicsome shepherd boy and who can fail to love the pranks of his youth?

If there could have been and was worse there is the analogy of the folk lore of Greece and Rome even that of the Hebrews was not entirely free from possible evil. Was it not the office of Christianity to purify and fulfil?

Not that there is no enrichment to the credit of the missionary.

The missionary introduced the folk lore of the Hebrews an enrichment of unspeakable value to young minds. The pity is that he entirely ruled out Indian folk lore. David's heroism in his attitude towards Saul should have completed the panel in the window richly decorated with Bharata's attitude towards Rama and Yudhishtira's towards Duryodhana. Jonathan's supreme sacrifice should have fitted like a mosaic into that of Rama's. The great secret of Hanu-chandra should have interpreted the *vita dolorosa* of those three years which led finally to the tragedy of Calvary. Constituted as the Indian Christian home is at present how is it possible to create this atmosphere? Surely the success of missions in this line is tragically complete.

He passes on to consider the missionary attitude to Indian art, particularly to Indian music.

In 1917 no earlier than that an Englishman who had been principal of a first grade mission college for nearly ten years asked in open council if it were not true that Indian music is inseparable from its association with evil living. Of the very few things which are really common to the whole of India to all its provinces, races and sects to Moslem and Hindu to the educated and the illiterate one is Indian music. In the water logged villages of Eastern Bengal the sand-driven hamlets of the Panjab the parched and baked up fields of the Maharashtra and the coconut groves of Tamil land the same Indian music. I have personally witnessed to be the natural key to joy of life and devotion to God. In all our languages there has come down a rich heritage of poetry, lyric and drama to which this music is set.

The tragedy is not that Indian music is tabooed as heathen from church services but that to Indian Christians its place in national life is absolutely unknown and its possible effects on morals truly feared so far has isolation gone in its thoroughness. Bengal is sound and is an exception. A more reasonable attitude is seen also in the Panjab. Elsewhere and especially in the old and well-established communities of the south whence original streams of refreshment should by now have issued the situation is still forbidding.

It is not Indian Christians alone but Indians of all sects should bear in mind the bond of unity that there is in Indian music. The writer then exposes the tragedy.

comedy of the translations of foreign hymns set to European music for use in Indian Christian Churches. He proceeds next to show how in certain lives "India has expressed her genius" "in the religion and life of her children of which her Christians may well be proud."

There is in the Indian whether Moslem or Hindu and whatever his sect a real abiding sense of the spiritual within and behind all things and acts of sense. In the illiterate it may degenerate into pantheism. In the scholarly it may degenerate into an impersonal absolute indicatable merely by a formula. But to no Indian is the world around his everyday life ever mere matter.

This is an asset peculiar to my people. I have found far too many theological graduates from the West to whom the mystical is well nigh frankly impossible say even with regard to the resurrection of our Lord. It seems to be a temperamental difficulty. It is real denationalization and a lamentable degradation to train Indians in those habits of thought which concern physical culture, industrial organization, commercial enterprise, political advancement, mental culture or even moral progress as ends in themselves. It is truer to India to conserve the mental habit which perceives in all these things but the shadow and the expression of the spirit and the soul.

To bring home the point let us take morality. It is not when the moral sense is awakened that the Indian seeks God. He has never been with out God. If his ethics have been low it is merely because his light did not go farther or because the conception of his sect did not rise to a God who insists on personal morality as some communities in western lands have not to this day the idea of a God who insists on business morality. The point is that all the time the Indian lives and moves in good and as had in the ever-present consciousness of God. The only gospel he needs is a personal introduction to the Risen Christ.

A point of very great importance is next raised which those also should consider who are given to thinking whether a separate Brahmo community is necessary.

Is the constituting of a separate community and the consequent isolation necessary for the purpose? It should not be, from the mission's point of view. It has been inevitable from the Hindu caste point of view. But that situation is changing and one hopes for the speedy arrival of a day when there will be an ever-expanding church in India observing both sacraments but without the socialities broken in their community which for this reason can no longer be called Hindu or marked off as Christian.

This leads the writer on to the other point he wants to make as regards the social heritage of India.

The western individual is born into certain rights, the Indian is born into certain obligations or responsibilities. This again is a conception common to the whole and irrespective of creed or sect or social position. Obligations to religion to parents, to family, to caste to village, often also to the *ray*. Such a thing as individual right is really almost absent, and every privilege which in the West would be claimed on the individual basis is in India conceived of in terms of the group of which the person concerned is member. This sense of solidarity, of corporate life, is a most valuable asset. It is one of the very few redeeming features of the caste system. It outlasts the breaking of caste as can be observed in the Indian Moslem.

The western missionary comes in complete innocence of this essential difference in the whole outlook on life and society and with caste he sows seeds of revolution. The western point of view of rights is so acceptable to selfishness and pride that it insidiously grips the mind and becomes a most disturbing element in society. Take family obligation as an illustration. The European seems to be incapable of understanding the implicit readiness of the Indian to accept wide responsibility for relatives of three four or even farther removes. As for me I cannot understand how my children are more entitled to the advantage which my earnings can fetch than are my brothers and sisters and their children. This will keep one always poor, you say. Yes, if poverty is to be reckoned in money. I prefer to invest it in love which shall reach to my children when I can no longer earn or I am cut off early. I wonder if the true value of this universal sentiment in India has been studied, and mission work anywhere intelligently adjusted in suitable manner to it.

The boarding school system is next investigated.

The boarding school takes away children from home and natural conditions at an early age from about seven to ten and keeps them till they are almost adult. It is supposed that the home and the village conditions offer too many counteracting influences to Christianization. Supposing that they did, supposing that Indian rural home conditions were as bad as some of the foreign sections of New York who would think of selecting the best specimens of the youth isolating them in American conditions and expecting that the individuals so trained will bring about the necessary assimilation of their native community? The difference between a generation and its predecessor in India is in these days in every case very big, and if there is to be assimilation there should be constant so to say daily adjustments of ideas.

and feelings. This is precisely what is happening among non-Christians. The son brought up on Spencer and Mill, on Eucken and Bergson or even on Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells is perfectly in place in the old home, the old father and mother understand him, make the necessary allowance for him, themselves become changed in ways which they will not acknowledge and in all those real essentials which make for family happiness there is no serious trouble. The process is one of leavening, and while it goes on really at a rapid rate and not entirely without rumble and rupture it is all part of a single evolution. Whereas the gulf between the boarding school and the old family is in many cases unbridgeable. The old people see the child, more often daughter than son only during the brief holidays. They have no chance to share her new wealth or to share their old wealth with her. She develops in her own separate sphere—in a Scottish, English or American atmosphere as the case may be. Finally she is finished and comes to a home which is no home for she ever misses there the world which was the environment of all her personality in the most impressionable period of her life. She suffers greatly, often without knowing why. As for the suffering of the mother endured in silence there is no adequate language at my command. No complaints have been made. Of course not. Is there any limit to the sacrifices that an Indian mother will make to obtain advantages for her children? Is not education an advantage in many ways, for social advance, for livelihood and also for marriage? And is there available for our girls any real alternative to the boarding school?

In conclusion he notes with regret that "the evil of the western class system has begun to invade India."

A Justice on the bench of the High Court will go and go with pleasure to his little ancestral village to attend the wedding of the daughter of his brother who is perhaps the village accountant on a salary of one pound a month or is just one of the millions of our average five-acre farmers. He would be absolutely at one with the whole group in the home. The elders of the village would come to honour him with a visit, and in congratulating him and appreciating the honour reflected by his success on their village address him all the while in the on their village address him all the while in the familiar singular number as they used to do when he was a boy among them. He himself would resent being addressed in any other way. Justice Ranade used to touch his old mother's feet every morning. And his conduct was absolutely typical. Already gnobishness of a vile sort is perceivable among members of my community. The caste system is the curse of India. We are hoping and working that it may dissolve quickly and disappear from the face of the land. But the caste system has

many good features, and I should certainly cling to it if it is to be replaced by the unchristian and inhuman class system of the West.

Throughout the article Mr Paul says more than once that "none of the denationalizing processes set afoot by missions has been done consciously to that end."

Reform in Korea

In the *Japan Magazine* for October Mr J. Osuga thus explains the causes of Japan's failure and barbarities in Korea.

What the administrators of Korea failed to realize was that they were undertaking to rule a people with a proud and prolonged history, very different from Formosa and its semi-savage tribes. Korea was for many centuries an independent kingdom with its representatives abroad and boasted itself as the former teacher of Japan. The racial genius of Korea was powerful but narrow and ignorant. Yet the new administration tried to change the Koreans into Japanese at one blow, so to speak. Every thing Korean was discounted or made light of, and everything Japanese was encouraged. Not only so but considerable discrimination was experienced by the Koreans in regard to education, commercial rivalry and the general working of the judiciary. Formosa had been united to Japan by the fortunes of war and submitted to a military government, but Korea was peacefully annexed and yet the mistake was made of imposing on the peninsula a military regime the same as in Formosa. Japan's rule over Korea had in fact come about by a natural process of mutual understanding. Our power extended into the peninsula gradually, step by step, until finally the sovereigns of the countries recognized there was no difference between them and they had better unite under one rule. Thus the union of the two nations was brought about with the full accord of Japan and Korea. This fatal blunder of making no distinction between the people of Formosa and the people of Korea has cost Japan very dear.

As early as practicable in future the Japanese Governor and other officials are to be civilians, and

all discrimination between Koreans and Japanese is to be eliminated and education, economic opportunity and equality before the law, is to be the same for all in the peninsula. As soon as the administration has assumed a fully civilian character the situation will, it is hoped, be all that could be desired. In matters of salary too equality between Koreans and Japanese is to be carefully observed. Positions of trust in the army and the administration

in obtaining from Lord Ripon an assurance that justice would be done to the young Nizam [the father of the present ruler] whom he had installed in the *gadi*. It was Lord Curzon who succeeded in inducing the late Nizam to grant a perpetual lease of this fertile province to the Government of India, in exchange for which he was decorated with the G C B, which some wags explained as an abbreviation of 'Gave Curzon Berar'. Mr Blunt says [page 207] that the Nizam refused to take food for four days after this occurrence, and no wonder, for the Berars formed the richest third of his dominions. The greatest statesman that Hyderabad has yet produced Sir Salar Jung, devoted his life to the patriotic effort of recovering Berar from the Government of India. He might or might not have succeeded in his efforts, but all hope of success was lost owing to his sudden and unexpected death under suspicious circumstances when he was about to carry his plans for the recovery of Berar to the point of success [P 200, *India Under Ripon*]. By good administration he was able to save enough to pay all claims urged by the British Government for Berar. The Berars had been annexed by Lord Dalhousie, against the strenuous protests of the then Nizam, as security for the payment of the arrears of the charges of the subsidiary force maintained in the British interest, and admitted by him to be extravagant, and the cotton growing qualities of the country were adduced by him as a reason for the annexation [Kaye and Mallett, *Sepoy Mutiny*, Vol I, page 62, footnote, Silver Library edition, see also Torrens' *Empire in Asia*, Ch XXVI]. Yet the services rendered by Sir Salar Jung at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny were conspicuous. When the Mutiny broke out, the telegram received by the Resident at Hyderabad was brief but significant:—"If the Nizam goes, all goes." "For three months," says Kaye and Mallett in their history [Vol V, p 89], "the fate of India was in the hands of Afzal ud Dowlah and Salar Jung, his prime minister." But the hopes built by Sir Salar on his loyalty to the British connection were destined to prove futile. Let us hope that the

'eminent services' of the present ruler in the recent war to which pointed reference was made by his 'sincere friend and emperor,' His Majesty King George V, on the occasion of conferring on him the special style of "Exalted Highness", will receive more substantial recognition by the restoration of the rich cotton growing districts of Berar on which the present Nizam seems to have set his heart.

The Nizam's Executive Council

The Nizam's Executive Council is to consist of a President, Sir Ali Imam, seven ordinary members, and an extraordinary member without a portfolio. Of these, only one appears to be a Hindu. Yet Hyderabad is a predominantly Hindu state, so much so that in consideration of this fact Lord Ripon, in his installation address, did not dare to make any allusion to the undoubted fact that the Nizam is the head of the Muhammadans of India [Blunt, *India Under Ripon*, p 192]. It may be said, with some justification, that in the vast dominions governed by the Nizam, there are few Hindus capable of holding such high office. But this in itself is a discredit to any civilised and enlightened administration like that of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, who has moreover an abounding love for his subjects, as he takes care to say in his address to his Executive Council referred to above.

The fact is that the mass of the population in the Nizam's dominions, as in most other Native States, with a few honourable exceptions, are sunk in the deepest ignorance. To them, the new Usmania University, with Urdu as the vehicle of instruction, will prove but a doubtful boon. A widespread system of primary and secondary education is what is required to raise them to the level of the people in the surrounding British territory,—a fact which has not escaped the attention of His Exalted Highness's Government. British India can now boast of an educated middle class, from whose ranks have come statesmen, politicians, orators, reformers, scientists, authors, captains of industry, and men distinguished in every walk of life except the army and the navy, which were

so long absolutely prohibited to Indians. Why is it that we do not generally hear of such men in the Native States and when ever their services are required they have almost invariably to be requisitioned from British India? There can be no denial of the fact that an *intelligentsia* like that of British India has yet to be built up in the vast majority of the Native States. Though in the Native States all the highest posts are open to men of the soil these men are not always the best available and in this sense it cannot always be said that the careers are open to talent. Intrigue is the order of the day and there is little security of tenure and underhand practices are largely prevalent. In spite of all its drawbacks British rule affords greater scope for the development and training of individual capacity and for filling men's minds with useful and ambitious ideas and generally speaking a British subject in India breathes a purer and freer atmosphere where equality before the law among Indians and stability of administrative policy are better maintained and enlightened ideas of Government are more prevalent. Public life is consequently more developed and above all the government is more impersonal. The inauguration of council government in the premier native state of India is therefore to be welcomed. Though the fact of the ruler being a native of the country mitigates to a large extent the evils of despotic government yet in these democratic days the necessity of representative government is manifest and we sincerely hope that under the enlightened administration of Sir Ali Imam Hyderabad will ere long introduce a scheme of full representative government and thus cease to be counted among the backward states which is a stigma and a reproach to the foremost Native State in India.

The introduction of representative institutions is necessary in the Native States in the interests of the rulers themselves because unless the subjects are free educated capable and fully developed in all respects to take part in the modern struggle for existence the rulers are bound to remain weak and their importance in the

eyes of the sovereign power as well as the outside world is likely to suffer. Every where in the modern world it is the ruler of the state where the people are most powerful who is also most honoured and respected abroad and it is this selfish consideration if not the welfare of the people committed to this charge which demands that the people should be thoroughly organised by education and industrial enterprise to equip themselves for marching in the van of progress.

Perpetual Leasing of Berar

The following extract from Mr Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's *India Under Kipling* (T Fisher Unwin London 1909) contains information relating to the leasing of Berar in perpetuity to the Government of India.

N B.—The following is the account given me by an Indian gentleman in whom I have confidence of the final act of the long official intrigue described [chapter IX] at Hyderabad. It is his story for its object the permanent settlement of the Berar provinces by the Government of India twenty years after Lord Ropon's treaty with the Nizam. The Nizam was paid to hand over the Berar provinces to the British Government in return for a perpetual lease of the palace to accommodate his government and the Nizam's residence to his guest verbally consented. In the morning however he would have recalled his promise and it was only on compulsion and on threat of deposition that he signed the treaty before him as a binding document by the Resident. The form of a lease was chosen to evade Lord Ropon's honest assurances at the time of the installation [at which Mr Blunt was present and had a private interview with Lord Ropon] and there are many precedents for the subterfuge. The Nizam's informant added refused for four days to take food after this occurrence.

T N Mukherji.

By the death of Mr T N Mukherji retired superintendent of the Indian Museum the country has lost a self-made man of vast information in various fields of knowledge who used his intellectual resources for the good of his people. As a young man he had known the pangs of going without food for days during famine and had also seen with his own eyes the terrible ravages of famine. This made him resolve that he would apply himself to

more wars let us have war and peace Whether we will it or not an hour is at hand in which we must choose between being citizens of the world or spectators at the death of civilization

Reason wisdom intelligence forces of the intellect and the heart you whom I have always piously invoked come to my side help me sustain my feeble voice carry it whither it will go to all the peoples of the world let it be heard wherever there are men of good will to hear beneficent truth

A new order of things is born The powers of evil are dying poisoned by their own crimes The ravancous and the cruel the devourers of peoples perish of an indigestion of blood Nevertheless sorely stricken by the fault of their blind or guilty masters mutilated decimated the people stand erect they will unite to form one universal people and we shall see the accomplishment of the great Socialist prophecy—The union of the workers will bring peace to the world

Prepare for War and You get War

"As long as there are soldiers there will be wars" says Anatole France A military officer says practically the same thing in the *League of Nations Journal* He is General Sir F Maurice late Director of Military Operations He quotes from an address which he himself delivered in New York a few months ago

I speak to you as a soldier who entered the British Army believing that if you wish for peace you must prepare for war Now after a close study of the causes and events of the Great War I believe that if you prepare for war thoroughly and efficiently as the Germans prepared for war you get war

Pacifism as painted by its opponents

The following characterisation of pacifists is taken from the *International Review*

We can all see now what was the matter with the pacifists They lacked the nerve of the Irish who are ever to be found

Fighting the devils for conciliation
And hating each other for the love of God

They had in fact a totally exaggerated estimate of the value of human life We know that it is often worth just nothing at all unless it be laid down The whole essence of pacifism is materialism It is a denial of all the faiths of all the ages of all the world It fears those that kill the body instead of those that hurt and destroy the soul But the fighter knows better And he knows in his heart even if he has never reasoned it that when he kills his enemy in fair fight he has done the latter no wrong

China's Definite Foreign Policy

The definite foreign policy which China has formulated can be gathered from an article in Asia by Mr Patrick Gallagher He writes —

China approaches the future as a reconstructive asset not a liability Peace not war is on her tongue and in her heart but she declines to be dominated by any Power She is quietly determined to exercise her right as a sovereign nation to choose her own friends and associates She neither needs nor will she accept political tutelage offered in any guise She comes before the world in full comradeship not to lean upon the world but that she may bear her full share of the world's burdens To that end there must be respect for Chinese integrity in fact as well as in assurance throughout the length and breadth of China She does not ask for the return of ceded territory but she does ask for the termination of all the leases wrung from her against Chinese interests and in jeopardy of the peace of the world as a direct consequence of Germany's act of war in 1897 in Shantung

She insists upon three points (1) territorial integrity (2) political independence, (3) economic independence She invites western co-operation of fair terms—her own terms not terms made for her, without her counsel or consent She desires to throw all China completely open to foreign residence and foreign trade and to that end she asks that her officials be helped and not be hampered in their efforts to bring her laws and their administration up to the highest point of modern western efficiency as rapidly as possible She seeks technical assistance, not direction or tutelage China will enter the League of Nations as a man, not as a mendicant

NOTES

Autocracy and the Colour line

With the exception of the American administration of the Philippine Islands the government of 'coloured' dependencies by white men in modern times has generally taken a more or less autocratic form. It is believed or pretended that coloured people appreciate autocracy or despotism best. It has been also thought that the coloured races are incapable of managing their affairs according to democratic methods. The Japanese the Filipinos and to some extent the Chinese have knocked the bottom out of this modern selfish assumption. But as the obsession still persists, the following extract from a noteworthy book by a member of the Anglo-Saxon race may be found useful —

'The conquest of a territory by force and its retention without regard to the wishes of the inhabitants is of course in flat contradiction with all the principles of citizenship. The democratic State which sends an autocratic governor to rule a great dependency is employing two distinct methods of rule, one for use at home the other for use abroad. My own country may be regarded internally as a qualified democracy. The British Empire as a whole is as much an oligarchy as Sparta. The Indians are its Persians and perhaps the Kafirs its helots. The government of white people by this method has however been abandoned. It was virtually destroyed by the American Revolution and the renewed experiment in this direction may be said to have been brought to a conclusion when autonomy was extended to the Transvaal and the Orange Colony. The despotic principle tends now to coincide with the color line and much of the future of the modern state, particularly of my own country, must depend on the relation of the white to the colored and non European races. Until the rise of Japan as a modern power it was almost universally believed that the characteristics of European civilization were a monopoly of race and that whether we liked it or not non European peoples were for ever destined to a type of civilization and a form of government totally different from ours. Probably the greatest social change now in progress in the world is the rise of a new spirit in the East which altogether repudiates this view and the re-action of these changes

upon the West will I am convinced in a statesmanlike spirit be bracing and beneficial. We are not however concerned with speculation as to the future. We have only to note the fact that as it stands the principle of citizenship is crossed in the empire states of our own time with that of the authoritative government of dependencies and that this fact has important re-action on our own domestic constitution. We cannot deny principles of liberty to Orientals or for that matter to Zulus and yet maintain them with the same fervor and conviction for the benefit of anyone who may be oppressed among ourselves. We cannot foster a great bureaucratic class without being impregnated at home by its vices of government. We cannot protect a great dependency from without except by retaining a great military and naval power and to all these necessities our own body social must accommodate itself. (*Social Evolution and Political Theory* by L. T. Hobhouse Prof of Sociology in the University of London being the Julius Beer Lectures before the Columbia University for 1910-11. Columbia University Press 1913. Pp 143-45)

The Nizam and the Berars

The address of His Exalted Highness the Nizam delivered on the occasion of the inauguration of his Executive Council contains the following significant passage

My contributions to the war are too well known for me to dwell upon. The Council will therefore find itself in a happy position to approach the all-important question of the restoration of Berar. My claim to the possession of this integral part of my dominions is based on absolute justice and it is inconceivable that on an impartial examination it can be ruled out. I shall therefore await the advice of the Council on this momentous question with deep interest.

It will thus appear that the present Nizam is not disposed to consider the thorny question of the Berars as closed or to allow it to lapse into the limbo of settled facts. The whole matter will be found dealt with in chapter ix of W. S. Blunt's *India Under Ripon* and the details of the intrigues connected with it read like a thrilling romance for the author, himself a trained diplomat, took a prominent part

in obtaining from Lord Ripon an assurance that justice would be done to the young Nizam [the father of the present ruler] whom he had installed in the *gad*. It was Lord Curzon who succeeded in inducing the late Nizam to grant a perpetual lease of this fertile province to the Government of India in exchange for which he was decorated with the G C B which some wag explained as an abbreviation of Gave Curzon Berar. Mr Blunt says [page 207] that the Nizam refused to take food for four days after this occurrence and no wonder for the Berars formed the richest third of his dominions. The greatest statesman that Hyderabad has yet produced Sir Salar Jung devoted his life to the patriotic effort of recovering Berar from the Government of India. He might or might not have succeeded in his efforts but all hope of success was lost owing to his sudden and unexpected death under suspicious circumstances when he was about to carry his plans for the recovery of Berar to the point of success [P 200 *India Under Ripon*]. By good administration he was able to save enough to pay all claims urged by the British Government for Berar. The Berars had been annexed by Lord Dalhousie against the strenuous protests of the then Nizam as security for the payment of the arrears of the charges of the subsidiary force maintained in the British interest and admitted by him to be extravagant and the cotton growing qualities of the country were adduced by him as a reason for the annexation [Kaye and Mallett *Sepoy Mutiny* Vol I page 12 footnote Silver Library edition see also Torrens *Empire in Asia* Ch XXXI]. Yet the services rendered by Sir Salar Jung at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny were conspicuous. When the Mutiny broke out the telegram received by the Resident at Hyderabad was brief but significant — If the Nizam goes all goes. For three months Kaye and Mallett in their history [Vol V p 89] the fate of India was in the hands of Afzal ul Dowlah and Salar Jung, his prime minister. But the Imperialist Sir Salar on his loyalty to the British connection were destined to prove futile. Let us hope that the

eminent services of the present ruler in the recent war to which pointed reference was made by his sincere friend and emperor His Majesty King George V on the occasion of conferring on him the special style of Exalted Highness, will receive more substantial recognition by the restoration of the rich cotton growing districts of Berar on which the present Nizam seems to have set his heart.

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The fact is that the mass of the population in the Nizam's dominions as in most other Native States with a few honourable exceptions are sunk in the deepest ignorance. To them the new Usmania University with Urdu as the vehicle of instruction, will prove but a doubtful boon. A wide spread system of primary and secondary education is what is required to raise them to the level of the people in the surrounding British territory — a fact which has not escaped the attention of His Exalted Highness's Government. British India can now boast of an educated middle class from whose ranks have come statesmen politicians orators reformers scientists authors captains of industry, and men distinguished in every walk of life except the army and the navy, which were

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eyes of the sovereign power as well as the outside world is likely to suffer. Everywhere in the modern world it is the ruler of the state where the people are most powerful who is also most honoured and respected abroad and it is this selfish consideration, if not the welfare of the people committed to this charge which demands that the people should be thoroughly organised by education and industrial enterprise to equip themselves for marching in the van of progress.

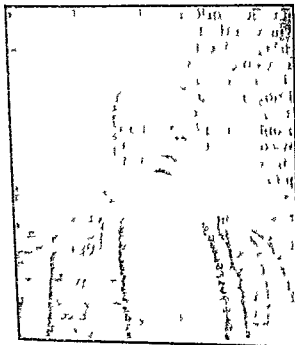
Perpetual Leasing of Berar

The following extract from Mr Wilfrid Swettenham's *India Under Ripon* (Fisher Unwin London 1909) contains information relating to the leasing of Berar in perpetuity to the Government of India —

N.B.—The following is the account given me by an Indian gentleman in whom I have confidence of the final act of the long official mission here described [chapter IX] at Hyderabad which had for its object the permanent cession of the Berar provinces by the Government of India twenty years after Lord Ripon's visit. On their viceroyal visit was paid to Hyderabad and the Nizam was pressed by Lord Curzon at the close of an entertainment at the palace to accord him a perpetual lease of the Provinces for the Indian Government, and the Nizam in deference to his guest verbally consented. In the morning however, he would have recalled his promise and it was only on compulsion and on threat of deposition that he signed the treaty laid before him as a binding document by the Resident. The form of a lease was chosen to evade Lord Ripon's honest assurances at the time of the installation [at which Mr Blunt was present and had a private interview with Lord Ripon] and there are many precedents for the subterfuge. The Nizam, my informant added, refused for four days to take food after this occurrence.

T. N. Mukherji.

By the death of Mr T. N. Mukherji, retired superintendent of the Indian Museum, the country has lost a self-made man of vast information in various fields of knowledge who used his intellectual resources for the good of his people. As a young man he had known the pangs of going without food for days during famine and had also seen with his own eyes the terrible ravages of famine. This made him resolve that he would apply himself to



T. N. Mukherji

such labours as might tend to lessen famines in India. He did much for the progress of agriculture and for finding a market among Europeans and Americans for the products of the Indian arts and crafts. This saved many decaying arts and crafts from extinction and brought money to those who followed them. At the request of the Government he wrote a book on the 'Art Manufactures of India'. It was he who first began to compile the 'Dictionary of Economic Products' which

was subsequently brought to completion and published by Sir George Watt. Mr. Mukherji had a wider and more accurate knowledge of indigenous drugs than Sir George Watt. As an assistant of Sir W. W. Hunter, Mr. Mukherji collected much information for the Imperial Gazetteer. His

visit to Europe is an interesting volume giving an account of his travels in England, Scotland, Holland, Belgium, France, Germany, Austria and Italy. He and his brother Runglal Mukherji first began to compile and publish the Bengali encyclopedia named 'Visvakosh'. He was a voluminous contributor to periodicals

and newspapers on useful subjects. His Bengali stories named "Kankabati," "Blut O Manush," &c., are very popular.

Woman Suffrage

As the Joint Committee has recommended that electoral rules are to be so framed that if any provincial legislative council decided by resolution in favour of women's franchise women should be put on the register of that province, it may be claimed on behalf of the advocates of woman suffrage that they have practically gained their object. The services of Mrs. Annie Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu have been invaluable to the cause. Later, in accordance with a resolution adopted at a public meeting of the women of Bombay, Mrs. Hirabai A. Tata and Miss Mithibai A. Tata, B.A., went to England as the representatives of the Bombay women and the forty-three branches of the Women's Indian Association. Their readiness, energy and self-sacrifice are worthy of praise. In England they submitted an accurate and reasoned



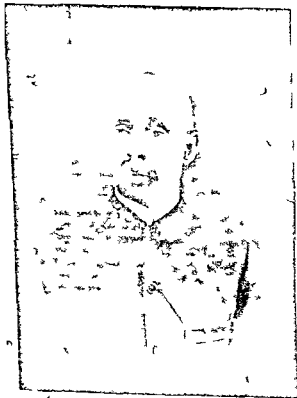
Mrs. Hirabai A. Tata

Asa of which Dr Stein and others have unearthed important remains have much to tell us. The presidential address gave all these a wide berth. It was also incomplete in that it failed to direct attention to numismatics and iconography as branches of indological study. In fact numismatics is indispensable for the reconstruction of ancient Indian chronology.

But these are details. The great fact is that a good and sound beginning has been made and Sir R. G. Bhattacharya and the younger men who worked under his guidance and the inspiration of his example deserve to be warmly congratulated on the success achieved.

Jatramohan Sen

By the death of Babu Jatramohan Sen the country has lost a prominent and



Jatramohan Sen

truly public spirited citizen. He was the most distinguished vahan of the Chittagong bar and was known for his munificence. He worked for religious and social reform

and for educational and economic advancement besides being an active supporter of the Congress cause. The Khastgir High School for Girls in Chittagong was built at his expense on a site given by him to the institution to perpetuate the memory of his father-in-law. The high school for boys in the same town, named Jatramohan Institution, was also established by him.

A Christian Missionary Attack on the Indian Home Rule Movement, and its Refutation

Mr Sherwood Eddy, the Christian Missionary, is not unknown in India. It appears that in America he has been attacking the Indian movement for self government or home rule. Dr J. T. Sunderland, that ever vigilant friend of India, has exposed his misrepresentations, in the columns of the *Chicago Unity* and the *Boston Christian Register*. Almost the whole of Dr Sunderland's reply is quoted below.

THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT

Mr Eddy represents the Home Rule movement in India as an attempt to drive the English out of the country. Unless he is absolutely ignorant he knows it is nothing of the kind. It proposes to leave all foreign affairs and the army and navy entirely in the hands of Great Britain and also the management of all affairs and the adjustment of all relations between the different states and provinces into which India is divided. What the Indian people ask is simply the privilege and the right to manage their own home affairs—a right which belongs in justice to every civilized people in the world.

Says Mr Eddy: If the British withdraw to-morrow India would welter in blood from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Why does he make so uncalled for and so misleading a remark? The Indian people are not asking the British to withdraw. And as to the country "weltering in blood" does he not know that there is not a more peace loving and orderly people in the world than the people of India? If ever they show signs of revolt or resistance to the government it is only when they feel that tyranny and cruel injustice are being inflicted on them and as soon as the injustice is removed there is no more law abiding people on earth than they always show themselves to be.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR IT?

Mr Eddy declares that the people of India are not capable of ruling themselves because of three things: namely, their illiteracy, their castes, and the number of languages spoken among them.

give her sympathy to India struggling to be free?

The Library Movement in Baroda.

In the course of a description of the Viceregal visit to Baroda the *Library Miscellany* writes—

From railways to libraries is not a far cry in the Baroda State on the other hand the two are most intimately interconnected. Wherever the railway has penetrated in the State there have gone our public libraries also. In fact the railways have helped immensely the spread of our libraries in the remotest parts of the Baroda State. The two systems—the Railway and the Library—have some common features between them. The one reduces isolation in space and brings the new light of enlightenment in the backward rural communities the other removes intellectual isolation and introduces a new spiritual enlightenment in the distant ignorant communities. The one hastens material prosperity the other intellectual advancement. While in places which are not yet ready for railways His Highness Government is proposing to introduce a motor service the motor service Library System—viz. our Travelling Library Scheme—has already been very active as penetrated far and deep into the State.

After the Viceroy had been shown the various departments of the Central Library, the 'children's corner' in the library, a village library book-case small travelling library boxes the collection of apparatus of the Visual Instruction Branch stereoscopes stereographs, the radio opticon with picture post cards the magic lantern and slides the KOK parlour cinematograph machines, &c

His Excellency asked one of his secretaries if he had seen anywhere in India any scheme of popular instruction of this kind. Of course the answer was in the negative as Baroda has had the honour of pioneering this movement in India.

A radio opticon is a kind of magic lantern which does not require specially prepared slides but can enlarge and throw on the screen any picture post card any illustration from a book a page of hand writing a photograph &c. Every people's instructor ought to have this machine.

In adopting and pushing forward the library movement and the visual instruction scheme Mysore comes next after Baroda. As Mr C. Nagappa, State

Library Organizer for Mysore, said at the recent first All India Libraries Conference

I may safely claim credit to Mysore for the next movement in India after the pioneer movement started in Baroda. I am not unmindful of the Andhradesa Library movement which has even an earlier history than either the Baroda or the Mysore movement.

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore having allotted a sum of Rs 30,000 for the organisation of a suitable scheme of Visual Instruction arrangements are in progress to organise the scheme. The present equipment of the scheme is as follows: 2 Cinema machines, 4 Magic lanterns, 1 Radio-opticon and 1 Projectoscope.

There are about 35 sets of lantern lecture slides on various subjects comprising in all about 1,000 slides foreign as well as local. Besides we have 53 complete sets of stereoscopic views of the different countries of the world.

Joint Committee's Recommendations Relating to Government of India Bill

Two long telegrams received by the Government of India from the Secretary of State and published by the former give the public an idea of the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill. It is clear that the Bill as recommended to be amended and expanded by the Committee is an improvement on the original Bill though the improvement is not such as to make us go into raptures over it or make us change our attitude towards the Bill. Let us take note of some of the principal recommendations whose adoption may be of advantage to the country.

(2) While laying great stress on the necessity of clearly demarcating and fixing the responsibility of each half of the executive for its own sphere the Committee regard it as of the highest importance that the Governor should foster the habit of free consultation between both halves and that he should insist upon it in all important matters of common interest.

The Rules

(4) The Committee recommend the immediate constitution of a Standing Joint Committee of both Houses for the purpose of securing closer Parliamentary touch with Indian affairs. One of the most important points on which consultation with this committee will be required is the examination of the draft rules under the Bill and for examination of the first rules they recommend that the present committee should be re-appointed as in existence.

This is undoubtedly better than leaving

the rules to be made entirely by the Anglo Indian bureaucracy. As the scheme of the Bill leaves much to be carried out by rules, they are of vital importance. But they are neither to be drafted by us or our representatives nor to be examined and criticised by us or our leaders and representatives. This is not self determination in any sense. Whatever the importance attached to Indian public opinion the Montagu Chelmsford joint report and the Government of India Bill were at any rate published for criticism and suggestions but the rules are to be beyond the range of Indian criticism and suggestions.

Transferred Subjects

(6) The Functions Committee's lists of subjects as revised after consultation at the India Office and put in as evidence by Mr Feetham are accepted. This involves the recommendation that the whole of education (subject to reservations about universities) and the development of industries should be transferred subjects.

As too much is being made of this recommendation let us see what it exactly amounts to. We do not have before us (we doubt if any Indian publicist has) the functions committee's lists of subjects as revised after consultation at the India Office and put in as evidence by Mr Feetham. We possess only the original lists prepared by the functions committee and published by the Government of India.

Education

It may be assumed that the revised lists are not substantially different from the original ones. In the latter so far as education in the widest sense is concerned the following are included among All India Subjects:

30 Central Institutions of scientific and industrial research including observatories and central institutions for professional or technical training.

These institutions would have the resources of the Government of India at their back and would help in the making of leaders in science and captains of industry. But as in the Government of India there are to be no transferred subjects it is to be understood that the transference of education to Indian ministers does not mean that these central

institutions would be under even nominal popular control. These may be reserved for patronising 'eminent' (?) experts from abroad. The exact denotation and connotation of the transference of education as a provincial subject should also be clearly understood. Let us quote from the list of transferred provincial subjects:

4 Education other than European and Anglo-Indian education (excluding—(1) the Benares Hindu University (2) Chiefs Colleges) subject to Indian legislation—

(a) controlling the establishment and regulating the constitutions and functions of new Universities and

(b) defining the jurisdiction of any university outside its own Province.

[Those among the people of Bengal who are disposed to be very enthusiastic please note what follows—Editor M R]

and in the case of Bengal for a period of five years from the date when the reforms scheme comes into operation subject to Indian legislation with regard to the Calcutta University and the control and organisation of secondary education.

So whatever the transfer of education may mean in the other provinces in Bengal for 5 years it would mean only the transfer of primary schools to the Indian minister! As whatever the political heresies or sins of Bengal may be it cannot be pretended that the Bengalis are more backward in university collegiate and secondary education than the people of every other province of India. The reason for depriving them of what would fall to the lot of the other provinces cannot be educational—most probably it is political. We are not ignorant of the historical facts of the appointment labours and report of the Sadler Commission. What we must protest against and condemn is that the fate of the higher and highest education in Bengal is to be determined not by Bengalis for the most part in their legislative council but by a legislative body where their voice cannot be predominant.

The reservation regarding new universities also means that even when these universities (e.g., Dacca, Nagpur) are to have their jurisdiction confined to only one province it is not provincial legislatures but the Indian legislature which would

legislate about them. Of course, inter-university legislation may be undertaken by the Government of India, if the different universities concerned cannot agree among themselves.

Industries.

The development of Industries is recommended to be another transferred subject. Let us try to understand what this, too, exactly means. For the development of industries institutions of scientific and industrial research and for professional or technical training are indispensably necessary. But the *central* (that is to say, the highest and best) institutions of the kind are, as we have shown above, to be under the Government of India, and therefore beyond popular control or effective popular influence. No doubt, among provincial subjects we have "24. Development of industries, including industrial research and technical education." But technical education has hitherto meant, in the Anglo-Indian bureaucratic dictionary, the training of foremen mechanics, typists, carpenters and men of that class,—who are undoubtedly very useful persons, but cannot develop industries.

A thorough and detailed geological survey of the whole country is required as a preliminary to industrial development; because the latter has greatly to do with the mineral resources of the country. But the country has not yet been geologically surveyed in a thorough-going manner, *with the direct object of ascertaining the industrial potentialities of the land.* India is so large a country that this can be done only if the different provinces can have their own adequate staff of geological surveyors; as an All-India staff must either be too small and inadequate, as now, or too cumbersome and unmanageable and thus inefficient. But though it is thus clear that a geological survey, to be adequate from an industrial point of view, should be provincialised, it has been kept, as now, as an Imperial or All-India subject. We know, geological regions have not and cannot have the same boundaries as administrative divisions. But there can be no harm in the survey of portions of the same geologi-

cal tract spreading over two or more provinces by the staffs of these provinces. If in a large country like India interests are narrowed down, they are likely to be more earnestly attended to.

That the development of industries has been made a transferred provincial subject only in name would be clear on considering the fact that the following, too, have been listed as All-India subjects :

"18. Commerce, including banking and insurance.

19. Trading companies and other associations, [Do companies formed for manufacturing purposes come under this heading?—Ed., M. R.]

20. Control of production, supply and distribution of any article in respect of which control by a central authority is declared by or under Indian legislation essential in the public interests,.....

21. Control of petroleum.....

23. Control of mineral development, in so far as such control is reserved to the Governor-General in Council under rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and regulation of mines.

24. Inventions and designs."

All the above subjects are directly or indirectly, more or less, connected with industrial development, but have been classed as All-India subjects. It may be necessary that some of them should be so classed, but our point is that without control over them the transfer of industrial development as a provincial subject would be practically of not much use.

With reference to item 23 above, it should be noted that the following *Provincial* subject, too, viz.,

"23. Development of mineral resources which are Government property, subject to rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State, but, not including the regulation of mines."

is a reserved subject in all Provinces. Of the Provincial subjects, again,

"25. Industrial matters included under the following heads :—

- (a) Factories :
- (b) Settlement of labour disputes :
- (c) Electricity :
- (d) Boilers :
- (e) Gas :
- (f) Smoke nuisances ; and
- (g) Welfare of labour, including provident funds, industrial insurance (general, health and accident) and housing ;

subject as to (a) (b) (c) and (d) to Indian legislation'

are Provincial reserved subjects. So that those who are overjoyed to find the development of industries a transferred subject must derive all the consolation that they can from the bare heading 'Development of industries including industrial research and technical education'. It seems that industries are to be developed by the Provincial Indian ministers in charge without the needful means and accessories.

It has all along been a complaint of Indian industrialists that the railway administrations in India instead of helping indigenous industrial efforts practically hinder them. Railways and other means of communication and transport however would continue to remain for the most part All India subjects. Customs, cotton excise duties and currency are also All India subjects. Vide the extracts from the list of All India subjects given below.

6 Communications—to the extent declared under the following heads—

(a) Railways and tramways except tramways within municipal areas and except in so far as provision may be made for construction and management of light and feeder railways and tramways other than tramways within municipal areas by provincial legislation enacted in accordance with procedure to be prescribed by standing orders of the provincial Legislative Council.

(c) Aircraft

(d) Inland waterways to an extent to be declared by or under Indian legislation

7 Shipping and Navigation (including shipping and navigation on inland waterways in so far as declared to be under Indian control in accordance with G (d))

10 Ports declared to be major ports by or under Indian legislation

12 Customs cotton excise duties

13 Currency and coinage

Other Transferred Subjects

Other transferred subjects in the Functions Committee's original list are local self-government, medical administration, public health and sanitation and vital statistics, public works, agriculture, civil veterinary department, fisheries (except in Assam), co-operative societies (subject to Indian legislation), forests (in Bombay

only), excise (except in Assam), registration of deeds and documents (subject to Indian legislation), registration of births, deaths and marriages (subject to Indian legislation for such classes as the Indian legislature may determine), religious and charitable endowments, adulteration of food stuffs and other articles (subject to Indian legislation as regards export trade), weights and measures (subject to Indian legislation as regards standards), and museums (except the Indian Museum and the Victoria Memorial Calcutta) and zoological gardens.

The reserved subjects are irrigation and canals, drainage and embankments and water storage, land revenue administration, famine relief, land acquisition, administration of justice, provincial law reports, administrator general and official assignee, judicial stamps, development of mineral resources which are government property, industrial matters included under the heads factories, settlement of labour disputes, electricity, boilers, gas, smoke nuisance and welfare of labour ports, inland waterways, police, miscellaneous matters, control of news papers and printing presses, coroners, criminal tribes, European vagrants, prisons and reformatories, pounds, treasure trove, government press franchise and elections for Indian and provincial legislatures, regulation of medical and other professional qualifications and standards, control of members of All India services serving within the province, and of other public services within the province, new provincial taxes, borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province, imposition of punishments by fine, penalty or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the province relating to any provincial subject, any matter which though falling within an All India subject is declared by the Governor General in Council to be of a merely local or private nature within the province.

Agriculture is a transferred subject but irrigation and water storage are not! Nor land revenue administration! Development of industries is a transferred subject but factories &c. are reserved subjects!

A Joint Purse

The Indian Deputations laid great stress on a Joint Purse for the two halves of the Diarchy. It may seem that they have got their hearts desire. But is it certain that a Joint Purse would really materialise from the recommendation quoted below?

(7) The Committee do not endorse the suggested separation of sources of revenue but recommend that the Governor be empowered if a joint purse is found to produce friction at any time to make an allocation of a definite proportion of the revenue and balances to continue in force for at least the whole life of the existing Legislative Council. If the Governor requires assistance in making allocations he should be allowed at discretion to refer the matter for decision to an authority to be appointed by the Governor General. Until mutual agreement between both halves of the Government has been reached or until allocation has been made by the Governor the total provision of the different expenditure heads in provincial budgets of the preceding financial year to hold good.

It seems to us on a careful reading of the recommendation, that the Joint Committee, instead of bluntly saying that there should be a divided purse have given the Governor the power of dividing the purse. What is discretionary with the governor is certainly not a constitutional arrangement which can satisfy the advocates of people's rights.

Governor and Ministers

In the telegraphed summary of the main recommendations, and of the revised clauses, we find the following —

(9) A Minister will have the option of resigning if his advice is not accepted by the Governor and the Governor will have the right of dismissing a Minister whose policy he believes seriously wrong or out of accord with the views of the Legislature. If the Governor resorts to dissolution to find new Ministers the Committee hope that he will be able to accept the view of the new Ministers regarding the issue which forced the dissolution. Ministers will certainly be at least two in number in every province and the fact that they undoubtedly will act together had been recognised and provided for as a desirable position. The Governor should never hesitate to point out to Ministers what he thinks is the right course, or to warn them if he thinks their proposed course is wrong. But if Ministers decide not to adopt his advice the Governor should ordinarily allow Ministers to have their way. Mistakes will doubtless follow, but will bring ex-

perience. The status of Ministers should be similar to that of Executive Councillors.

Clause 1 corresponds to the old clause 3 with the following changes.

(1) The salary of Ministers to be the same as that of Executive Councillors in the same provinces unless the Legislative Council votes a smaller salary.

There are several improvements here. The salary of ministers is to be the same as that of the Executive Councillors in the same Province *unless the Legislative Council votes a smaller salary*, and they are to be at least two in number. The words italicised by us appear to show that the ministers are to be made responsible to the legislature from the first. The committee hope that the Governor will be able to accept the view of the new Ministers regarding the issue which forced the dissolution. The committee also say that "if ministers decide not to adopt his advice the Governor should ordinarily allow ministers to have their way." But this "hope" and this advice to the Governor find no place in the original or the revised Bill. The ministers would owe their appointment to the Governor, irrespective of their influence or following in the country. He may choose *Jo Hukums*. The Governor may advise the ministers, warn them, disregard their advice, and dismiss them at his discretion.

Franchise Amendments

Theoretically the anxiety displayed for larger representation of the rural population and of the urban wage-earning classes may be all right. But this may result in practice in the larger return of the land holding members in rural areas (as the cultivating classes are under the thumb of their landlords) and of the foreign mill or factory owners in some urban areas, because there large numbers of wage-earners have to seek the good graces of the former. This may or may not be a device for lessening the political influence of the educated middle-class, to whose efforts mainly the birth of political consciousness in the country is due and who may justly claim the greatest share of the credit for all progressive constitutional changes. As a class they are more fit to be the people's

representatives than any other class and also possessed of greater political knowledge capacity and courage. We speak of classes not individuals.

The arrangement suggested for providing a larger share of representation to the depressed classes is not the best possible. Nominated representatives cannot be expected generally to courageously stand up for the rights of those they are supposed to represent—far less representatives who are public servants. It would be better to confer the franchise on persons belonging to the depressed classes on lower electoral qualifications than would be ordinarily required and in this way secure to them political representation and power.

What is suggested in relation to the representation of non Brahmins in Madras and Marathas in Bombay will not probably satisfy them. But as communal representation it seems must be accepted as a necessary evil the joint committee's recommendation may be given a trial.

The suggestion regarding women suffrage referred to in a previous note is the next best to giving them the franchise on the same qualifications as to men. It is now up to our women to make their influence felt in every province. Bombay women are sure to get the vote. We have fears for Bengal.

Other Changes

The endorsement of the maintenance of the Lucknow compact is welcome.

A complete and stringent corrupt practices Act is also worthy of support.

The rejection of the Grand Committee does not reduce the power of the Governor to have any law passed that he thinks necessary and to prevent the passage of any law which he does not like. But still the substitution of a transparent trickery method by a straightforward one is to be preferred.

Similarly the rejection of the scheme of the Report and Original Bill for the operation of the Council of State does not in reality constitute any reduction of the power of the Governor General. He can have his way in legislative matters as in the original Bill. But we prefer this frank

way of doing things. Other improvements in connection with the Council of State are that there is to be in it at least a two-thirds majority of elected members of the Council of State that a Bill is not to be held as passed in the Indian Legislature unless assented to by both the Chambers. The recommendation that the Council of State is to be constituted as a true revising chamber from the start would most probably lead to retrogression if aristocratic noodles generally became its members. They do not possess the capacity to truly revise the decisions of the lower house. They would only serve as cat's paws for delaying or preventing the materialization of the decision of the people's representatives.

The expansion of the legal qualification for membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council by the addition of High Court Pleaders of 10 years standing is an improvement as also the following—

(18) The Committee recommend that in future not less than three members of the Governor General's Executive Council should be Indians.

though this increase in the number of Indian members may be to some extent counterbalanced by the repeal in the Bill of the provision in the Government of India Act of 1915 clause 36 (2) fixing the maximum number of Executive Councillors at six. The number may now be larger.

The retention of the Council of the Secretary of State is greatly to be condemned though the increase in the number of Indian members is an improvement.

Qualified Fiscal Autonomy

In the following passage a kind of qualified and indirect fiscal autonomy is recommended.

Thus the Secretary of State in the exercise of his responsibilities to Parliament which he can not delegate may reasonably consider that only in exceptional circumstances should he be called on to intervene in matters of purely Indian interest in which the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are in agreement. A particular instance of this convention would be tariff arrangements. Fiscal autonomy cannot be guaranteed by statute without the unconstitutional result of limiting the ultimate control by Parliament or the Crown's power of veto.

it can only be assured by an acknowledgment of the convention that the Secretary of State should, so far as possible, abstain from intervention in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature agree and should only intervene to safeguard the international obligations of the Empire, or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party.

This is theoretically good so far as it goes and is an improvement on our present position. But the question is, how often and how far will the Government of India agree with the Indian Legislature in protecting the interests of the people of India? What we want is that the views of the Legislative Assembly in fiscal matters should prevail as a matter of course, even if the Governor does not accept them.

Statutory Commission.

In the original Bill, at the expiration of a period of ten years after its passing, the appointment of a statutory commission is provided for. Its appointment is

the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India and the provinces thereof, and matters connected therewith, and the commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to extend or modify the degree of responsible Government then existing in any province. The commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces, which may be referred to the commission by the Secretary of State.

In relation to this commission the two telegrams from the Secretary of State contain the two following paragraphs:

Clause 41 reproduces old Clause 28 with amendments requiring a commission to survey the whole field, and report whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish, extend, modify, or restrict Responsible Government, and as to the advisability of establishing two chamber legislatures in the Provinces.

(23) The appointment of a Statutory Commission at the end of ten years is endorsed. The Commission should include the Government of India in the scope of its enquiry, and consider generally what further advance can be made. Meanwhile no substantive changes should be introduced.

So far as the survey or the inquiry is concerned the original Bill *did* contemplate

the inclusion of the whole field and not merely the provinces, as the Joint Committee seem to think. The suggestion, however vague, to consider whether any advance can be made in the Government of India, is new and a distinct improvement, —assuming, of course, that there is such a vague suggestion, which is not quite clear. We are opposed to the establishment of "two-chamber legislatures in the provinces," and are not therefore in favour of considering its advisability.

Land Revenue Assessment to be Made Statutory.

Agriculturists and their friends should consider the following recommendation an opportunity to endeavour to place land revenue assessment on the basis of equitable principles:—

(26) The principles governing the revision of assessment of land revenue should be brought under closer regulation by statute as soon as possible, as part of a general policy bringing within the purview of legislation the imposition of new burdens.

Other Improvements.

The following may also be considered improvements:

(10) Normally the Executive Council is expected to consist of two members. If in any case the Council includes two service members neither of whom is an Indian, the Committee think it should also include two non-official Indians.

All proposals for provincial taxation should be considered and agreed upon by both halves of the government before submission to the Legislative Council.

The Governor's power [for reserved legislation] is to be exercised only after opportunity for full discussion in the Legislature, and the Standing Committee of Parliament should be specially consulted on acts of this kind by the Secretary of State.

Council secretaries to receive such salaries as the Council votes.

Governor is not to be a member of the council. In the legislative Council a 70 per cent. minimum for elected members and a 20 per cent. maximum for officials are to be maintained.

Clause 9 provides for the President and Deputy President of Legislative Councils. The Deputy President is to be elected from the start, subject to the Governor's approval. The President is to be appointed by the Governor for the first four years and elected thereafter subject to the Governor's approval. The salary of the appoint-

ed President is to be fixed by the Governor and of the elected President and Deputy President by an Act of the Legislature

Similar provision made for the President and the Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly

Composition of the Indian Legislative Assembly to be Total 150 elected 100 officials 26 with power to vary without limit subject to the maintenance of proportions of at last 5/7 elected and at least 1/3 of the balance non-officials

The Voting of the Indian and the Provincial Budgets

It is some advantage that the Indian and the provincial budgets are to be in part voted in the Legislative Assembly and the provincial councils respectively But the joint committee take good care to say

(17) The voting of the Indian budget is not introduced as establishing any measure of responsible Government in the central administration and the power of the Governor-General to disregard adverse votes is to be understood to be real and intended to be used if and when necessary

That the voting will not in any way reduce or fetter the Governor General's power of expenditure will be clear from the following

The proposals of the Governor General in Council for the appropriation of revenue or moneys relating to the following heads of expenditure shall not be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly nor shall they be open to discussion by either chamber at the time when the annual statement is under consideration unless the Governor General otherwise directs

(1) Interest and sinking fund charges on loans and (2) expenditure of which amount is prescribed by or under any law and (3) salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State in Council and (4) salaries of Chief Commissioners and Judicial Commissioners and (5) expenditure classified by the order of the Governor General as (a) ecclesiastical (b) political and (c) defence

If any question arises whether any proposed appropriation of revenue or moneys does or does not relate to the above heads the decision of the Governor General on the question shall be final.

The proposals of the Governor General in Council for the appropriation of revenue or expenditure not specified in the above heads shall be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly in the form of demands for grants

(6) The Legislative Assembly may assent or refuse its assent to any demand or may

reduce the amount referred to in any demand by a reduction of the whole grant

(7) The demands as voted by the Legislative Assembly, shall be submitted to the Governor General in Council who shall if he declares he is satisfied that any demand which has been refused by the Legislative Assembly is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities act as if it had been assented to notwithstanding the withholding of such assent or reduction of the amount therein referred to by the Legislative Assembly

(8) Notwithstanding anything in this section the Governor General shall have power in case of emergency to authorise such expenditure as may in his opinion be necessary for the safety or tranquility of British India or any part thereof

As for the provincial budgets, the Bill after revision does not after all give the people's representatives the power of the purse in any real sense The summary of recommendations says —

(13) When the Council reduce or fail to vote a budget demand for a transferred subject the Committee consider that the Governor will be justified if so advised by his Ministers in re-submitting the vote to the Council for reviewing its decision The Governor's power of restoration of reduced reserved votes must be regarded as real and its exercise as not arbitrary

It is not stated what will be done in case the Council adheres to its first decision relating to a budget demand for a transferred subject

In the revised Bill sub-clause 2 of Clause 11 requires that annual estimates should be laid before the Council in the form of statement and estimates of expenditure, and the estimates of expenditure to be submitted to the Council for assent by a vote in the form of demands for grants The Council may assent to or refuse assent to a demand or may reduce the amount either by reduction of the whole demand or by the omission or reduction of items of grant But 'the local government shall have power, in relation to any such demand to act as if it had been assented to notwithstanding the withholding of such assent if the demand relates to a reserved subject and the governor certifies that the expenditure provided for by the demand is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject' The

Governor also possesses power in cases of emergency to authorise necessary expenditure "for the safety or tranquillity of the province, or for the carrying on of any department." Moreover, the following heads of expenditure are excluded from vote procedure: first, provincial contributions; second, salaries of High Court Judges and Advocate-Generals; third, interest and sinking fund charges on loans; fourth, expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law; and fifth, salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State in Council. The revised Bill gives final decision to the Governor in case of dispute as to whether appropriations relate to these heads.

Retrograde Recommendations.

We consider the following to be reactionary recommendations:

(g) Special representation of land-holders in the provinces to be reconsidered by the Government of India in consultation with the local Governments.

(i) European representation is accepted, except for Bengal. The Government of India should consider with the Bengal Government its readjustment in that province.

BURMA EXCLUDED.

(24) The Committee do not advise the inclusion of Burma in the scope of the scheme and, while not doubting that the Burmese have deserved, and should receive an analogous constitution, they are impressed with the essential differences between Burma and India.

There are essential differences between America and the Philippines, Japan and England, yet the same democratic spirit is admittedly at work in all these countries. So Burma's dissimilarity does not mean that the democratic leaven has not worked successfully there. Burma may in some respects differ from India. But as it is sufficiently similar to India to have formed part of the same empire with India and been administered under the same viceroy according to the same bureaucratic system and laws for long years, why its differences should now be perceived to be so great as to make it unfit to come under the same scheme of 'responsible' government with India, is both a mystery and not a mystery. The

Joint Committee admit that Burma should receive an analogous constitution. Where is that constitution? Why should there be any delay in the case of Burma? Why should it not receive a progressive constitution simultaneously with India? There should not be any intention that Burma should continue to be the scene of unmitigated European domineering and exploitation.

When the committee say that criminal conviction to more than six months' imprisonment is to disqualify a man for five years from the date of expiry of the sentence, their recommendation can be approved in the case of crimes involving moral guilt; but many political offences are not of this description. An exception ought to be made in the case of persons sentenced for political offences of this character.

Why we are not satisfied.

We have given as much credit to the recommendations and the revised clauses as we honestly can. Let us now say why we are not satisfied.

The first paragraph in the telegraphic summary of the recommendations states that "the committee endorse the general scheme of the Bill as an accurate interpretation of the announcement of the 20th August, 1917." We have never been convinced that either the Montagu-Chelmsford Report or the Bill correctly interpreted the announcement in not introducing even the smallest particle of responsibility in the Central Government. The actual words used in the announcement are, "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India." Just as democratising the municipalities and district and local boards (they have not been fully democratised) alone cannot be spoken of as the beginnings of the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, so democratising of the local governments (they are very far indeed from that goal) alone cannot be considered a first step in the realisation of responsible government in India. Some measure of responsibility, however small,

should be introduced in the Government of India. The Aga Khan thinks for example Public Works and Education could be handed over to responsible ministers at the Headquarters. Of the revenues of the country, the Government of India spends the largest items. Unless popular control is able to introduce economy and right distribution and allotment among its departments according to their usefulness and importance national regeneration must remain a dream. The very least which ought to be done is to make a definite promise as to when this element of responsibility would be introduced. Without it it cannot by any stretch of language be contended that India is certainly on the way to the attainment of responsible government.

Functions which are the most essential and important for the life, liberty, enlightenment, happiness and prosperity of the people are discharged by the Government of India, and that government ought therefore to be speedily brought under popular control. Besides those incidentally mentioned in previous Notes a few more may be mentioned here: criminal legislation including criminal procedure, central police organization, civil legislation, public debt of India, emigration and immigration and interprovincial migration, control of possession and use of arms. We ought to have mentioned first the defence of the country, that is to say the organization of the naval, military and air forces in India, and naval and military works, but as our politicians guided by considerations of expediency have chosen to exclude this subject from the scope of home rule it cannot be made a grievance of now. But all the same men who cannot make their own arrangements for the defence of their country can never be truly self-ruling. Sir Abbas Ali Bang says:

Until India like Japan is stimulated to develop internally her military and naval strength for self-defence and has a mercantile marine to serve her extensive sea-board of 9,000 miles she can never be in a position to stand on her own feet and self-government will continue to be a camouflaged unreality.

Moreover military expenditure is our

biggest item of expenditure. Without bringing it under the vote sufficient money can never be found for education, sanitation, industrial development &c.

With the more numerous section of politically minded Indians we have repeatedly urged that personal liberty should be safeguarded by means of a declaration of rights embodied in the Government of India Act. Many of those who were not formerly of this opinion have now come to be convinced by recent events that personal liberty should be guaranteed. Without such a guarantee the Government of India Bill as drafted and revised cannot prevent the massacre of 500 men and the wounding of 1500 more as in Amritsar, without even the proclamation of martial law. Such a guarantee is not unusual in Acts granting autonomy or self-government. For instance in the Organic Act for the Philippine Islands, commonly known as the Jones Law, section 3 provides in part—

That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

That in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to be heard by himself and counsel to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him, to have a speedy and public trial, to meet the witnesses face to face, and to have compulsory process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf.

That no person shall be held to answer for a criminal offence without due process of law, and no person for the same offence shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment, nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.

That all persons shall before conviction be bailable by sufficient sureties except for capital offences.

That the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when in case of rebellion, insurrection or invasion the public safety may require it, in either of which events the Governor General, wherever during such period the necessity for such suspensions shall exist.

That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

That the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated.

That no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for redress of grievances.

It is a great defect of the Government of India Bill that it does not guarantee personal liberty and freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of association and movement &c.

It is said that not a single province should have been considered fit for complete autonomy from the start. There is not even any definite declaration as to when the provinces shall have full internal autonomy. The Bill leaves it possible that the rights now conferred may be partly or wholly withdrawn. As freedom is every people's birthright and as self-determination is only a restatement of that fact the mind cannot but be embittered at the thought that the Indian people should have to depend on the good graces of others for small mercies.

Other causes of our dissatisfaction may be gathered from what we have written in previous pages. Repetition is unnecessary.

Rejection or Acceptance

When the people of a country or their representatives make its laws a declaration on their part that they would or would not accept a Bill has a meaning which a similar declaration in a despotically governed country cannot have. The declaration in the former country means that the popular representatives would or would not vote for the Bill so that it would either become or not become law. In the latter country it cannot have that meaning or result. So that in the case of the people of India if they or any section of them said that they would not accept the Government of India Bill that declaration in itself could not perhaps seal the fate of the Bill—particularly as it is well understood that the proposed constitutional changes were thought of at least as much in the interest of the people of the United Kingdom as in that of the people of India. Thus there never was nor is there now any real meaning in the use on our part of the words rejection or acceptance

in connection with the changes or the Bill—though it must be said that the vociferous laudation of a seriously defective Bill by a section of Indians increases its chances of passing. What could be said and can be properly said, besides pointing out the adequacy or inadequacy, the harmfulness or beneficial character of the Bill is whether we were or are satisfied or dissatisfied. Our answer is that we are not satisfied. But it must also be said that as the revised Bill could have been worse as it was feared it would be it has given many persons the satisfaction to note that there has been an improvement in so many details. Perhaps the secret of the rejoicing which the joint committee's recommendations have caused among a section of Indian politicians lies partly in the falsification of that fear. Many persons who are not satisfied with the revised Bill are cultivating a mood of resignation or self-consolation thinking that in the words of the Bengali proverb an one-eyed uncle is better than no uncle. But this may not always be the last word of speculative wisdom. The passing of a defective law stands in the way of our soon getting a better law as for one thing the defective law lulls the consciences of boon-givers to sleep. There are good reasons to believe that next year there will be a general election in England and it is anticipated that a party more progressive than the persons now in authority will come into power. It has been argued that if the present Bill were withdrawn or thrown out the next government would be likely to give us a better Government of India Act. If from the day when Mr. Montagu made his announcement in the House of Commons right up till now all politically minded Indians had been of the same mind with regard to the terms of the announcement the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the original and revised Bills it is just not probability that the present government would either have introduced a better bill or refrained from legislation altogether. As however the different Indian political parties have not been unanimous at any

only if natural human relations are established. Neighborliness is natural; the relation of master and slave, of the exploiter and exploited, of the bully and the bullied, of those who are privileged and those who are discriminated against, of those who have all opportunities and those who have few, is unnatural. What is unnatural cannot but produce evil results.

The immediate political remedy of punishing the guilty officials has been made impossible by the Indemnity Act. The officials concerned are unrepentant and without any pity even how, particularly the military; they are even jolly. The lasting political remedy lies in our attainment of full internal autonomy including the subordination of the military to the civil popular authority even when they have to be employed in quelling internal disorders.

The Congress Session at Amritsar.

That the people of the Panjab and particularly of Amritsar are going to hold the Congress in their midst this year shows that their mind has not been crushed or killed.

People who have their minds awakened, especially those whose minds are politically awakened, can fight only as citizens, not as mercenaries. As the Panjab is the foremost recruiting ground and as Anglo-Indian bureaucrats of the O'Dwyer type want soldiers but not citizen-soldiers,—because, to use the words used by the Marquess of Hastings in his *Private Journal*, what is wanted by them is "the manly spirit" "unsustained by scope of mind"—therefore a strenuous attempt has all along been made to keep that province free from political agitation. But modern man is a political animal. The political consciousness is bred in his bones and will out at any suitable opportunity. So though "pestilential agitators" and "pestilential" newspapers may be kept out, the Panjab is bound to be politically-minded, and it has become politically-minded.

It may be conjectured that there was another reason for ^{Man in} his history has ^{fought injuri-}

ous autocracy with material weapons and physical force, and has been sought to be crushed by the autocrats with similar weapons and force. The modern Indian, however, wants to fight with intellectual weapons and spiritual force, briefly styled *satyagraha* or passive resistance. At its wit's end to find weapons suitable for this novel and bloodless warfare, O'Dwyerism may have thought it must needs be bloody, and so used the old familiar militant methods. However, though blood has been drawn, the intellectual weapons and the spiritual force remain intact and unimpaired. So it is hoped the Panjab will put up as undaunted and strenuous a fight on the intellectual and spiritual plane as it has hitherto done on the physical plane.

Party ought to be no consideration. Men of all parties ought to assemble at Amritsar,—if for no other reason, at least in brotherly recognition of and respect for the public spirit of Amritsar and the Panjab.

In whatever form the Government of India Bill may pass, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the president elect, may be depended upon to give expression to the nation's opinion of it in language quite unmistakable. He will also have something very unequivocal to say as regards Panjab affairs. The presidential address will deal with other important topics, too. There will, no doubt, be appropriate resolutions and delegates' speeches on all these matters. There is one simple matter which may, however, be lost sight of. There ought to be publicity work done in as many free countries, including England, as possible. A Lala Lajpat Rai and his co-laborers may not always be available in America or elsewhere to do publicity work or to prevail upon a Citizen Malone to place India's case before a civilized public. The political publicity workers should, in co-operation with the Industrial Conference, do publicity work in the field of commerce and industries, too.

The Varendra Research Society.

The Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi is, in its chosen field of work, the

first *swadeshi* cultural enterprise in Bengal. Its museum building was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on the 27th November. From the report read on the occasion by its honorary secretary Prof Radhagovinda Basak M.A. it appears that the society has for its object the organisation of a special study and research of the History, Archaeology, and Ethnology of Bengal. It has published several valuable works on the subjects of its research and study, and made some discoveries by excavations. Its museum contains many important finds. Its president Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatia is not only a worker, but has spent about Rs 15000 for its work, besides meeting the cost of buildings and land amounting to Rs 63,000. Such munificence is worthy of warm praise. He has been helped by his eldest brother, Raja Pramadanath Roy of Dighapatia with building materials worth Rs 6000, and also by his elder brother Mr Basanta Kumar Roy, M.A. B.L. with a sum of Rs 5000 in cash. The Raja has also donated a plot of land worth Rs 4000. Thus the whole family has earned the gratitude of the public. Active members of the Society like Babus Akshay Kumar Maitra, Ramprasad Chandra and Radhagovinda Basak are well known for their erudition and literary achievements.

Addition to Bengal's Educational Difficulties

It has been shown in a previous Note that for a period of five years from the date when the reforms scheme comes into operation secondary and university education in Bengal would be practically directed by the Government of India. The work of educational reconstruction or rather revolution which may be accomplished during these years would, in the main, follow the lines laid down in the Sadler Commission's report. The recommendations of the commission may be good or bad, opinions may differ. But that they will make education a very expensive affair admits of no doubt or difference of opinion. It may be indispensably necessary for the people of Bengal to pay more for education than

they do now. They may have to pinch themselves. But is it right or equitable that the present Anglo Indian bureaucracy should decide from Delhi and Simla how much more expensive education in Bengal should be made and leave Bengal to foot the bill? As education of all grades is to be a transferred subject in all provinces why should Bengal be deprived of the right to repair and reconstruct her own educational edifice? In any case if the Government of India must needs deal with the contemplated changes in Bengal's university and secondary education it ought to be the Government of India reconstructed according to the reforms scheme. The Dacca University Bill also should be dealt with either by the reconstructed Bengal Legislative Council or by the reconstructed Indian Legislature.

The Khilafat Conference

At the Khilafat Conference held at Delhi it was resolved not to participate in the Victory celebration and to render all possible help to the All India Anti Peace Celebration Committee of Delhi to disseminate the reasons for abstention from the victory carnival. It was also resolved that in the event of a satisfactory settlement of the Turkish question not taking place the Muslims of India shall progressively withhold all co-operation from the British and to give practical expression to their sense of dissatisfaction a progressive boycott of British goods should be instituted. Further that as early as possible a deputation on behalf of the Muslims of India be sent to England with the consent of His Excellency the Viceroy with the object of laying before the responsible British Ministers and others the true sentiments of the Muslims with regard to the Turkish and Khilafat questions and also that the deputation if necessary, should proceed to U.S.A., to further the objects of the deputation.

Mr Gandhi dissented from the boycott resolution giving his reasons.

The Muslims and others naturally and rightly in sympathy with them, are justly sore at heart and anxious. As Hakim Ajmal Khan said at the Conference —

MASSACRE OF JALLIANWALA

But just as I condemn without one single word of palliation or excuse these acts so all the more utterly and entirely do I condemn the cold and calculated massacre of the Jallianwala Bagh. The massacre of Glencoe in English history is no greater a blot on the fair name of my country than the massacre at Amritsar. I am not speaking from idle rumour. I have gone into every single detail with all care and thoroughness that a personal investigation could command and it remains to me an unspeakable indefensible unpardonable and inexcusable disgrace.

THE CRUELITIES

I am obliged to go on from that incident to what followed under martial law. I have seen with my own eyes very many who have endured the crawling order the stripping of their persons naked in public under compulsion on men who had to grovel on their bellies in the dust men who underwent public flogging and a hundred other desecrations of man's image which according to our Christian scriptures is made in the likeness of God.

RUTHLESS EMASCULATION OF MANHOOD

This ruthless and deliberate emasculation of manhood by the brute force of the military and police appear to me no less an indelible stain on the fair honour of my country than the massacre at Jallianwala itself. These are the very few words which I have felt compelled as an Englishman to say with regard to the villainous acts of disturbance.

The words of condemnation used by Mr. Andrews are not stronger than they ought to be.

His parting words of advice ought also to be quoted.

I would urge you as you go forward and face all the deeds of evil which have been done not to dwell merely upon vengeance but rather upon forgiveness not to linger in the darkness of hate but to come out into the glorious sunshine of God's love.

O Dwyerian Theory Disproved

Sir Michael O Dwyer and Anglo Indians of that ilk promulgated a theory that the disturbances in Delhi and the Punjab were engineered by outsiders from beyond the boundaries of those provinces. The evidence of official witnesses has exposed the falsity of this theory.

Observations on the Amritsar Atrocities

A European official questioned by a member of the Hunter Committee with

reference to the firing on a particular crowd on a particular day in Delhi replied that it could have been dispersed without firing. Similarly, questioned with reference to a far bloodier incident, namely, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre at Amritsar, General Dyer, the 'hero' of that most shameful one-sided use of arms, admitted that the meeting could have been dispersed without firing. He gave it as the reason for firing that if the crowd had been dispersed in that bloodless manner, the men would have come back again and laughed at him and he would thus have made a fool of himself. So in order to save himself from that great indignity and clamour, he ordered his soldiers to fire at the gathering which resulted in the instantaneous death of some 500 persons including boys, and in some 1500 other casualties. He made his choice between foolishness and fiendishness. Our knowledge of history does not enable us to recall another example of such cold-blooded massacre for such a trivial reason. The people had gathered there for listening to speeches. A notice is officially alleged, had been issued before prohibiting the meeting. There is no proof that the vast majority of the gathering knew of this prohibition and even if they did, assembling therein in spite of the notice was certainly not an offence in any penal code of any modern (or ancient?) government punishable with shooting without warning. For, in spite of the use of the word rebels by General Dyer and others the men were not rebels, no evidence has been brought forward to prove that they were rebels they carried no arms even the possession of sticks by them was not distinctly noticed or remembered by official witnesses and they had come together for the non-militant purpose of listening to speeches. The meeting could have been prevented altogether by posting a few constables or soldiers at the entrances to the Jallianwala Bagh some time before the hour fixed for the purpose. That was not done. The General went to the place, placed his soldiers on high ground and then ordered them at once to begin firing. He could have ordered the crowd to disperse on pain of being shot. He did nothing of the

kind On the contrary he told his men to take aim at the densest part of the crowd showing that he intended to kill the largest number of men possible At the first shot fired the men began to run for their lives But as it was not in his plans to give quarter to the enemy the firing was kept up for ten minutes until 1600 shots had been fired and there was no more ammunition left Many men lying on the ground received several shots each All this was done many days before the proclamation of martial law by Government which explains why the benefit of the indemnity Act has been extended to what took place days before the proclamation of martial law The General has said in his evidence that he intended to fire well and fire straight He also said that it was a horrible duty But in the whole tone and tenour of his evidence there is nothing to show that he did not enjoy the performance of this horrible duty and the narration of his doughty deed When the massacre was over he went away from the scene taking no thought for rendering medical help to the wounded and the dying That was not his job Questioned as regards ambulance arrangements the Deputy Commissioner (the magistrate of the district) too said that that was not his job Another British functionary of the place gave the same reply Evidently though the German wounded were taken care of by their British enemies the armless non militant inhabitants of Amritsar were beyond the pale of humane feelings

It would serve no useful purpose to use strong language though it may be natural under the circumstances and not unjustifiable. It is necessary however to inquire

* In Roget's *Treasury of English Words and Phrases* the following words are grouped together in section 949 as being of somewhat similar import —

rascal scoundrel, villain miscreant cant fi
wretch reptile viper serpent cockatrice bris
lisk urchin tger monster devil &c devil
incarnate demon in human shape Nana Sahib
hell hound hell-cat rake-lhell

As a proper name has found its place in this group it may be incidentally asked whether the year 1919 in the Punjab is going to enrich this group

what had made the local British officials so furious and revengeful No doubt the murder of some Englishmen and the assault on an English woman of the place were brutal cowardly and unjustifiable But the strong and long arm of the law was sure to overtake the culprits as it afterwards did Why then kill and wound so many hundreds of innocent persons?

Teaching the people a lesson which they will not forget for 50 years as in England some British soldiers from the Punjab are said to have boasted having done has never succeeded in its objects in any country The people remember the lesson without being cowed down by it for ever History tells that the lesson of frightfulness (a word used by Mr Justice Rankin in relation to the Jallianwala Bagh massacre) was not new in the Punjab or in any other province of India. But the old lessons could not prevent the recent murders of and assaults on Europeans in that province and elsewhere It is only the firmness which is combined with justice and humanity which succeeds and does not leave any provocative memories behind And it is far easier for the stronger party than for the weaker to be just and humane Is it then the consciousness of their unnatural position which makes most Anglo Indians think of frightfulness as their strongest armour?

A similar enquiry as to why Indian mobs got so infuriated as to kill some Englishmen and burn churches &c would be useful Such acts as we have said before are brutal and cowardly but a mere condemnation does not enable one to get at their etiology Immediate causes of provocation are generally though not always easy to ascertain But these do not explain the aggravated brutality of methods of killing and their sequelae such as burning &c What are the causes of deep seated feelings of bitterness resentment revenge &c?

Without entering into details of the inquiry as to why Europeans hate Indians or Indians hate Europeans (not all Europeans or all Indians but many) it may be said by way of remedying better feelings can prevail

first swadeshi cultural enterprise in Bengal. Its museum building was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on the 27th November. From the report read on the occasion by its honorary secretary Prof Radhagovinda Basak M.A. it appears that the society has for its object the organisation of a special study and research of the History, Archaeology and Ethnology of Bengal. It has published several valuable works on the subjects of its research and study and made some discoveries by excavations. Its museum contains many important finds. Its president Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatia is not only a worker but has spent about Rs 15000 for its work besides meeting the cost of buildings and land amounting to Rs 63 000. Such munificence is worthy of warm praise. He has been helped by his eldest brother Raja Pramadanath Roy of Dighapatia with building materials worth Rs 6000 and also by his elder brother Mr Basanta Kumar Roy M.A. B.L. with a sum of Rs 5000 in cash. The Raja has also donated a plot of land worth Rs 4000. Thus the whole family has earned the gratitude of the public. Active members of the Society like Babus Akshay Kumar Maitra, Ramprasad Chanda and Radhagovinda Basak are well known for their erudition and literary achievements.

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they do now. They may have to pinch themselves. But is it right or equitable that the present Anglo-Indian bureaucracy should decide from Delhi and Simla how much more expensive education in Bengal should be made and leave Bengal to foot the bill? As education of all grades is to be a transferred subject in all provinces why should Bengal be deprived of the right to repair and reconstruct her own educational edifice? In any case if the Government of India must needs deal with the contemplated changes in Bengal's university and secondary education it ought to be the Government of India reconstructed according to the reforms scheme. The Dacca University Bill also should be dealt with either by the reconstructed Bengal Legislative Council or by the reconstructed Indian Legislature.

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Mr Gandhi dissented from the boycott resolution giving his reasons.

The Muslims and others naturally and rightly in sympathy with them are justly sore at heart and anxious. As Khan said at the Conference —



Lord Hardinge gave an assurance of the maintenance of the Turkish sovereignty over the religious places so also did Mr Lloyd George President Wilson also gave such an assurance in his fourteen points. But now things were different and according to the present arrangement the entire Turkish power was being curtailed and the Sultan was being reduced to the position of the Pope of Rome.

Mr Gandhi said —

I was deeply pained to see the telegraphic summary of the Prime Minister's speech which seemed unnecessarily to wound Muslim susceptibility and to forecast a settlement of the Khalafat question in contravention of his own solemn word given with due deliberation and at a time when that word stead ed Mahomedan loyalty and possibly stimulated recruiting among the warlike Mahomedan classes.

Mr M H Kidwai has pointed out in a letter to the *Westminster Gazette* that in Thrace a Turkish possession the Muslims are in a majority of at least three to one and that they prefer to be under Turkish rule. Why should 'self determination' be denied to them and Thrace handed over to Greece or Bulgaria, their deadliest enemies? In proof of the just use of the last three words he states

that in 1878 there were 100 000 Muslims in Thessaly now there is almost none that there were 90 000 Muslims in Crete in 1897 and at the present time there are only 30 000 of them in existence in that island. The Carnegie International Report tells how the Muslims were massacred or exterminated by hundreds of thousands in Macedonia when the Balkan nationalities won the last Balkan war against Turkey. One million five hundred thousand Muslims took refuge in the Ottoman territories and some of them were settled in the Sandjak of Smyrna where the misfortune seems to have found them out once more. The recent massacres in Smyrna of the Muslims by the Greeks are used (?) with great indignation among British and American eye-witnesses.

Sir P C Ray to Assamese Students
In spite of his engrossing labours in the laboratory and the factory (or rather factories for he is now a director of half a dozen or more manufacturing companies) Sir P C Ray has in recent months appeared so often before students and the general public that it is difficult for him to open his lips without practically quoting himself. Nevertheless what he says is always worth listening to worth storing in the mind and worth following. His presidential address at the fourth Assamese Students Conference held at Tejpur team with sound advice. After drawing their attention to the need of thinking for themselves and improving their capacity for industry, patience, courage and self-control he exhorted them to take to the paths of industry commerce and trade and dwell at length on the ample field which Assam provides for such careers and activities. On the cry of Assam for the Assamese he observed, in part —

It has simply degenerated into a scramble for the spoils in the shape of the disposal of a few petty ministerial offices and glorified clericalships. Deputy Magistrate ships and Munshifships. You have a legitimate claim upon a monopoly of these provided you are educationally fit. But gentlemen you should bear in mind that the wealth drained away from your province by such office-holders from outside is mathematical almost zero compared to what you have to part with every year by the foreign exploitation of your rich mineral resources. You must yourselves learn to take an active part in the working of your own mines and forest produces.

Dr Ray paid a well deserved tribute to the old literature of Assam. He reminded the students that they were to consider themselves Indians first and Assamese afterwards.

ERRATA

(In <i>The Eugenics of Hind Marriage</i> which appeared in the last issue of the Review)				
Pages	Col.	Line	for	read
493	1	27	thoughts of	thoughts
	2	31	Gallon	Galton
431	1	25	practical	parental
495	1	40	obligations	obligation
497	2	2	element	elements
498	1	20	let	led
501	1	first line	mills	mill
502	1	29	conflicting	conflicting.

Pages	Col.	Line	for	read
		40	leave	lean
		48	Here	There
		44	Given	Give
503	2	30	their	this

(In *The Two Sasunagi Statues*)

At p 518 second column 10th line and also 15th line from the bottom the two words coins are in both places misprints for the words icons